


UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



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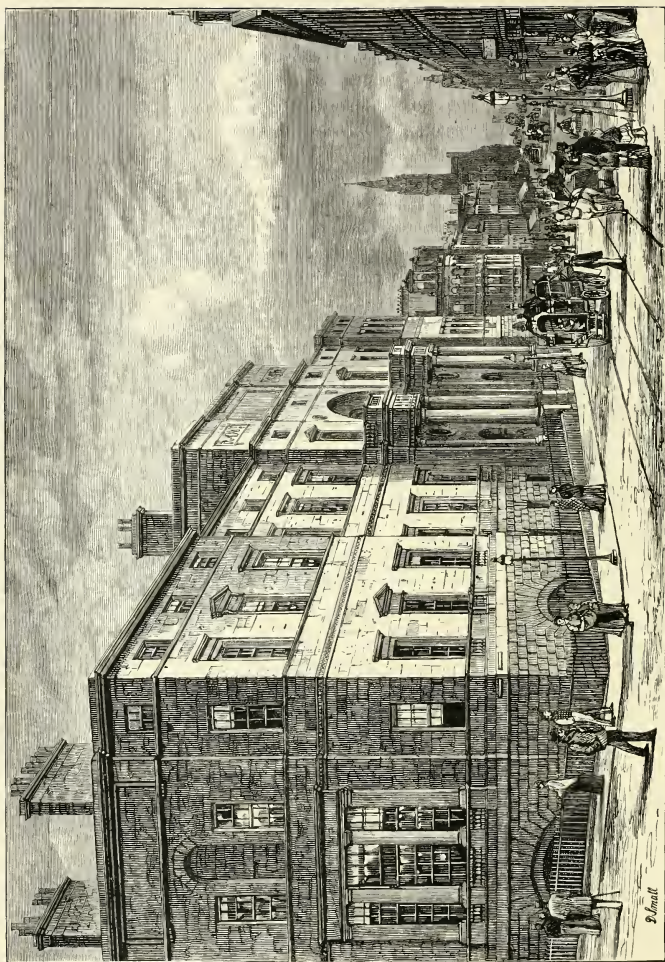


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THE UNIVERSITY.

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CASSELL'S OLD AND NEW EDINBURGH:

Its History, its People, and its Places.

BY

JAMES GRANT,

AUTHOR OF "MEMORIALS OF THE CASTLE OF EDINBURGH," "BRITISH BATTLES ON LAND AND SEA," ETC.

Illustrated by numerous Engravings.

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April, 1833.

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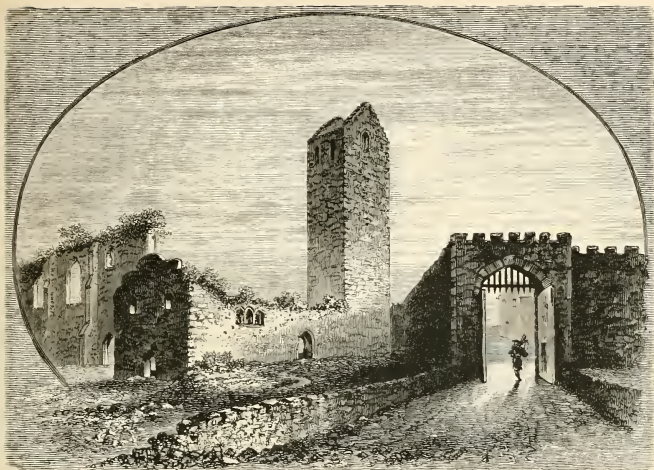
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THE KIRK-OF-FIELD. (After an Etching by James Skene of Rubislaw).

OLD AND NEW EDINBURGH.

CHAPTER I.

THE KIRK OF ST. MARY-IN-THE-FIELDS.

Memorabilia of the Edifice—Its Age—Altars—Made Collegiate—The Prebendal Buildings Ruined—The House of the Kirk-of-Field—The Murder of Darnley—Robert Balfour, the Last Provost.

WE now come to the scene of one of the most astounding events in European history—the spot where Henry, King of Scotland, was murdered in the lonely house attached to the Kirk-of-Field, one of the many fanes dedicated to St. Mary in Edinburgh, where their number was great of old.

When, or by whom, the church of St. Mary-in-the-Fields was founded is alike unknown. In the taxation of the ecclesiastical benefices in the archdeaconry of Lothian, found in the treasury of Durham, and written in the time of Edward I. of England, there appears among the churches belonging to the abbey of Holyrood, *Ecclesia Sancte Marie in Campis*.

This was beyond doubt what was at a later period the collegiate church of St. Mary-in-the-Fields, and the few notices concerning which are very meagre; but thus it must have existed in the thirteenth century, when all the district to the south

of it was covered with oaks to the base of the hills of Braid and Blackford. It took its name from being completely in the fields, beyond the wall of 1450. In the view of the city engraved in 1544, it is shown to have been a large cruciform church, with a tall tower in the centre; and this representation of it is to a great extent repeated in a view found in the State Paper Office (drawn after the murder of Darnley), of which a few copies have been circulated, and which shows its pointed windows and buttresses.

Among the property belonging to the foundation was a tenement at the foot of the modern Blair Street, on the west side, devoted to the altar of St. Katharine in this now defunct church; and in the "Inventory of Pious Donations," preserved in the Advocates' Library (quoted by Wilson), there is a "mortification" by Janet Kennedy, Lady Bothwell, to the chaplain of the Kirk-of-Field of "her fore-

land of umyle Hew Berrie's tenement and chamber adjacent y^e to, lying in the Cowgait, on the south side of the street, betwixt James Earl of Buchan's land on the east, and Thomas Tod's on ye west."

This lady was a daughter of John Lord Kennedy, and was the widow of the aged Earl of Angus, who died of a broken heart after the battle of Flodden.

In 1450-1 an obligation by the Corporation of Skinners in favour of St. Christopher's altar in St. Giles's was signed with much formality on the 12th of January, *infra ecclesiam Beate Marie de Campo*, in presence of Sir Alexander Hundby, John Moffat, and John Hendirsone, chaplains thereof, (Thomas Brown, merchant, and other witnesses. ("Burgh Rec.")

James Laing, a burgess of Edinburgh, founded an additional chaplaincy in this church during the reign of James V., whose royal confirmation of it is dated 19th June, 1530, and the grant is made "to a chaplain celebrating divine service at the high altar within the collegiate church of Blessed Marie-in-the-Fields."

When made collegiate it was governed by a provost, who with eight prebendaries and two choristers composed the college; but certain rights appear to have been reserved then by the canons of Holyrood, for in 1546 we find Robert, Commendator of the abbey, presenting George Kerr to a prebend in it, "according to the force and form of the foundation."

There is a charter by James V., 21st May, 1531, confirming a previous one of 16th May, 1531, by the lady before mentioned, "Janet Kennedy Domina de Bothvill," of tenements in Edinburgh, and an annual rent of twenty shillings for a prebendary to perform divine service "in the college kirk of the Blessed Virgin Mary-in-the-Fields, or without the walls of Edinburgh, *pro salute ipsius Domini Regis* (James V.), and for the souls of his father (James IV.), and the late Archibald, Earl of Angus."

Among the most distinguished provosts of the Kirk-of-Field was its second one, Richard Bothwell, rector of Ashkirk, who in August and December, 1534, was a commissioner for opening Parliament. He died in the provost's house in 1547.

The prebendal buildings were of considerable extent, exclusive of the provost's house, or lodging. David Vocat, one of the prebendaries, and master of the Grammar School of Edinburgh, "clerk and orator of Holyrood," was a liberal benefactor to the church; but it and the buildings attached to it seem to have suffered severely at the hands of the English during the invasion of 1544 or 1547. In the "Inventory of the Townis pur-

chase from the Marquis of Hamilton in 1613," with a view to the founding of a college, says Wilsie, we have found an abstract of "a feu charter granted by Mr. Alexander Forrest, provost of the collegiate church of the Blessed Mary-in-the-Fields, near Edinr., and by the prebends of the said church," dated 1544, wherein it is stated:—"Considering that ther houses, especially ther hospital annexed and incorporated with ther college, were burnt down and destroyed by *their auld enemies of England*, so that nothing of their said hospital was left, but they are altogether waste and entirely destroyed, where-through the divine worship is not a little decreased in the college, because they were unable to rebuild the said hospital. . . . Therefore they gave and granted, set in feu forme, and confirmed to a magnificent and illustrious prince, James, Duke of Chatterhault, Earl of Arran, Lord Hamilton, &c., all and hail their tenement or hospital, with the yards and pertinents thereof, lying within the burgh of Edinburgh, in the street or wynd called School House Wynd, on the east part thereof."

The duke appears, it is added, from frequent allusions by contemporaries, to have built an abode for his family on the site of this hospital, and that edifice served in future years as the hall of the first college of Edinburgh.

In 1556 we find Alexander Forrest, the provost of the kirk, in the name of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, presenting a protest, signed by Mary of Guise, to the magistrates, praying them to suppress "certain odious ballettis and rymes baith sett furth" by certain evil-inclined persons, who had also demolished certain images, but with what end is unknown. ("Burgh Records.")

But two years after Bishop Lesly records that when the Earl of Argyll and his reformers entered Edinburgh, after spoiling the Black and Grey Friars, and having their "haill growing treis plucked up be the ruittis," they destroyed and burned all the images in the Kirk-of-Field.

In 1562 the magistrates made application to Queen Mary, among other requests, for the Kirk-of-Field and all its adjacent buildings and ground, for the purpose of erecting a school thereon, and for the revenues of the old foundation to endow the same; but they were not entirely made over to the city for the purpose specified till 1566.

The quadrangle of the present university now occupies the exact site of the church of St. Mary-in-the-Fields, including that of the prebendal buildings, and, says Wilson—who in this does not quite accord with Bell—to a certain extent the house of the provost, so fatally known in history; and the main access and approach to the whole establishment was

by the gate elsewhere already described as being at the head of the College Wynd, in those days known as "The Wynd of the Blessed Virgin Mary-in-the-Fields."

It was on the 31st of January, 1567, that the weak, worthless, and debauched, but handsome, Henry, Lord Darnley, King-consort of Scotland, was brought to the place of his doom, in the house of the Provost of the Kirk-of-Field.

Long ere that time his conduct had deprived him of authority, character, and adherents, and he had been confined to bed in Glasgow by small-pox. There he was visited and nursed by Mary, who, as Carte states, had that disease in her infancy, and having no fears for it, attended him with a sudden and renewed tenderness that surprised and—as her enemies say—alarmed him.

By the proceedings before the Commissioners at York, 9th December, 1568, it would appear that it had been Mary's intention to take him to her favourite residence, Craigmillar, when one of his friends, named Crawford, hinted that she treated him "too like a prisoner;" adding, "Why should you not be taken to one of your own houses in Edinburgh?"

Mary and Darnley left Glasgow on the 27th of January, and travelled by easy stages to Edinburgh, which they reached four days after, and Bothwell met them with an armed escort at a short distance from the city on the western road, and accompanied them to the House of the Kirk-of-Field, which the ambitious earl and the secretary Lethington were both of opinion was well suited for an invalid, being suburban, and surrounded by open grounds and gardens, and occupied by Robert Balfour, brother of Sir James Balfour of Pittendreich, who, though Lord Clerk Register, and author of the well-known "Practicks of Scots Law," had nevertheless drawn up the secret bond for the murder of the king.

The large and commodious house of the Duke of Chatelherault in the Kirk-of-Field Wynd was about to be prepared for his residence; but that idea was overruled. Balfour's house was selected; a chamber therein was newly hung with tapestry for him, and a new bed of black figured velvet provided for his use, by order of the queen. (Laing, Vol II.)

"The Kirk-of-Field," says Melvil, "in which the king was lodged, in a place of good air, where he might best recover his health," was so called, we have said, because it was beyond the more ancient city wall; but the new wall built after Flodden enclosed the church as well as the houses of the Provost and Prebendaries. "In the extended line of wall," says Bell, "what was (latterly) called the

Potterrow Port was at first denominated the Kirk-of-Field Port, from its vicinity to the church of that name. The wall ran from this port along the south side of the present College Street and the north side of Drummond Street, where a part is still to be seen in its original state. The house stood at some distance from the kirk, and the latter from the period of the Reformation had fallen into decay. The city had not yet stretched in this direction much farther than the Cowgate. Between that street and the town wall were the Dominican Convent of the Black Friars, with its alms-houses for the poor, and gardens covering the site of the old High School and the Royal Infirmary, and the Kirk-of-Field, with its Provost's residence. The Kirk-of-Field House stood very nearly on the site of the present north-west corner of Drummond Street. It fronted the west, having its southern gavel so close upon the town wall that a little postern door entered immediately through the wall into the kitchen. It contained only four apartments. . . . Below, a small passage went through from the front door to the back of the house, upon the right-hand of which was the kitchen, and upon the left a room furnished as a bedroom for the queen when she chose to remain all night. Passing out at the back door there was a turnpike stair behind, which, after the old fashion of Scottish houses, led up to the second storey. Above, there were two rooms corresponding with those below. Darnley's chamber was immediately over Mary's; and on the other side of the lobby above the kitchen, 'a garde robe,' or 'little gallery,' which was used as a servant's room, and which had a window in the gavel looking through the town wall, and corresponding with the postern door below. Immediately beyond this wall was a lane, shut in by another wall, to the south of which were extensive gardens." ("Life of Queen Mary," chap. xx.)

Darnley occupied the upper chamber mentioned, while his three immediate servants, Taylor, Nelson, and Edward Simmons, had the gallery. The door at the foot of the staircase having been removed, and used as a cover for "the vat," or species of bath in which Darnley during his loathsome disease was bathed, the house was without other security than the portal doors of the gateway.

During much of the time that he was here Mary attended him with all her old affection and with assiduous care, passing most of each day in his society, and sleeping for several nights in the lower chamber. The marks of tenderness and love which she showed him partially dispelled those fears which the sullen and suspicious Darnley had

begun to entertain of his own safety ; for he knew that he had many bitter enemies, against whom he trusted that her presence would protect him.

Many persons are said to have suspected Bothwell's fell purpose, but none dared apprise him of his danger, "as he revealed all," says Melvil, "to some of his own servants, who were not honest." Three days before the murder, the Lord Robert Stuart, Mary's illegitimate brother, warned Darnley that if he did not quit the Kirk-of-Field "it would cost him his life."

Darnley informed Mary of this, on which she sent for her brother, and inquired his meaning in her husband's presence ; but Lord Robert, afraid of involving himself with Bothwell and the many noble and powerful adherents of that personage, denied ever having made any such statement. "This information," adds Melvil, "moved the Earl of Bothwell to haste forward with his enterprise."

He had secured either the tacit assent or active co-operation of the Earls of Huntley, Argyle, Caithness, and the future Regent Morton, of Archibald Douglas, and many others of the leading lords and officers of state ; and in addition to these conspirators of high rank, he had received a number of other unscrupulous wretches, with whom Scotland seemed at that time to abound.

Four of these, Wilson, Powrie, Dalgleish, and French Paris, were only humble retainers ; but other four who were active in the Kirk-of-Field tragedy were John Hepburn of Bolton, John Hay of Tallo, the Laird of Ormiston, and Hob Ormiston his uncle.

Bothwell artfully contrived to get the Frenchman Paris, who had been long in his service, taken into that of the queen about this period, and thus render important service by obtaining the door-key of the Kirk-of-Field House, from which impressions were taken and counterfeits made.

If the depositions of this villain are to be credited, it was not until Wednesday, the 5th of February (1567), that the plot was revealed to him, and that on seeing him grow faint-hearted at dread of his own danger, Bothwell asked him, impatiently, more than once, what he thought of it. "Pardon me, sir," replied Paris, "if I tell you my opinion according to my poor mind."

"What ! are *you* going to preach to me ?" asked Bothwell, scornfully.

Paris ultimately consented to act ; and it would seem that Bothwell for a few days was undecided, like his four chief accomplices, whether to slay Darnley when walking in the garden or sleeping in bed, or to blow the house and its inmates up together. Eventually a quantity of Government

powder was brought from the Castle of Dunbar to Bothwell's house, near Holyrood, and Paris was instructed to admit Hay, Hepburn, and Ormiston into the queen's room, below that of Darnley, from which he, to blacken her, alleged she removed a valuable coverlet—a very unlikely act of parsimony on her part.

On the night of Sunday, the 9th of February, all was ready for the dreadful project. When the dusk fell Bothwell assembled the conspirators at his own house, and, according to the depositions of Powrie, Dalgleish, Tallo, and others, allotted to each the grim part he was to play. He was well aware that the queen had dined that day at the palace, and that in the evening she was to sup with the Bishop of Argyle in the house of Mr. John Balfour, with whom the prelate lodged.

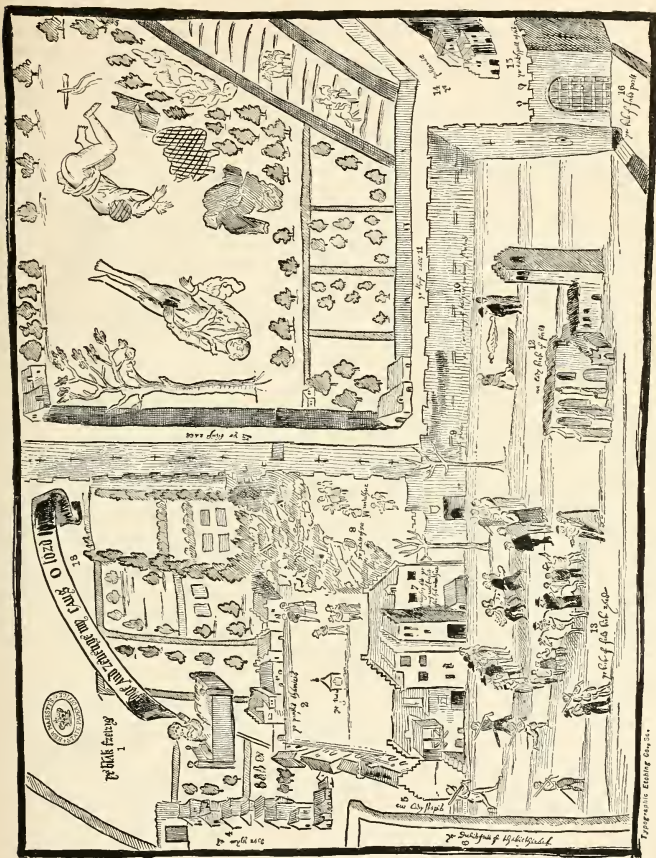
At nine she left the supper-table, and, accompanied by the Earls of Argyle, Huntley, and Cassilis, went to visit Darnley at the Kirk-of-Field before returning to Holyrood, where she was to be present at a masque in honour of the marriage of Margaret Carwood, one of her favourite attendants.

Meanwhile, Dalgleish, Powrie, and Wilson, were conveying the powder in bags from Bothwell's house to the convent gate at the foot of the Blackfriars Wynd, where it was received by Hay of Tallo, Hepburn of Bolton and Ormiston, who desired them to return home.

Bothwell, who had been present with her at the banquet of the bishop, quitted the table at the same time as Mary, but left her and walked up and down the Cowgate while the powder was being received and deposited. By his orders a large empty barrel was deposited in the Dominican garden. Into this all the bags of powder were to have been placed, but as the lower back door of the Provost's house was too small to admit it, they were conveyed in separately, and placed in a heap on the floor of the room beneath that in which the victim then lay a-bed.

At length all was in readiness ; the queen had departed by torchlight to the Holyrood masque, attended by Bothwell, and Ormiston had withdrawn ; but Hay and Hepburn, with their false keys, remained in the room with the powder. Paris, who had in his pocket the key of the queen's room in the Kirk-of-Field, followed her train to the palace.

If, again, any credit can be given to the confession of Paris, he stated that on entering the ball-room where the masquers were dancing, a melancholy seized him, and he remained apart from all ; on which Bothwell accosted him angrily, saying that if he retained that gloomy visage in



EXPLANATION OF THE ORIGINAL LETTERING IN THE ROUGH SKETCH.

- | | | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. ye blak freiris | The Black Friars. | 10. ye berreing of Tailour ye kingis | The burying of Taylor, the king's |
| 2. ye priestis chamberis | The priest's chambers | servand | servant. |
| 3. ye well | The well. | 11 and 17. ye chief raw | The chief Row. |
| 4. ye mylk row | The Milk Row. | 12. our lady kirk of field | Our Lady Kirk-of-Field. |
| 5. our lady stapis | Our Lady's steps. | 13. ye kirk of field kirk yard | The Kirk-of-Field kirk yard. |
| 6. ye Dukis gait of Chatilheraut | The Duke of Chatelherault's gate. | 14. ye potterraw | The Potter Row. |
| 7. ye lugin att ye king was keipit | The lodging at which the King | 15. ye catch pill gait | The Catchpole Gate. |
| eftir his murthur | was kept after his murder. | 16. ye kirk of field portt | The Kirk-of-Field Port. |
| 8. ye place of ye murthur | The place of the murder. | 17. judge and revenge my caus, O | |
| 9. ye provost place | The Provost's place. | Lord | |

ROUGH SKETCH OF THE KIRK-OF-FIELD, FEBRUARY 1567, TAKEN HASTILY FOR THE ENGLISH COURT.
(Reduced facsimile of the original in H.M. State Paper Office.)

Typographical Error.

Her Majesty's presence he should make him suffer for it. Paris then says he expressed a desire to go to bed.

"No," said Bothwell; "you must remain with me. Would you have those two gentlemen, Hay and Hepburn, locked up where they now are?"

"Alas!" replied the luckless varlet, who felt himself in the power of a stronger will. "What more must I do this night? for I have no heart in this business." "Follow me!" was the stern command; and at midnight Bothwell left the palace for his own house, where he substituted for his rich court dress of black velvet and satin one of plain stuff, and wrapped himself up in his riding-cloak. Accompanied by Paris, Powrie, Wilson, and Dalgleish, he passed down a lane which ran along the wall of the queen's south gardens, joining the foot of the Canongate, where the gate of the outer court of the palace formerly stood.

Here they were challenged by a sentinel of the Archer Guard, who demanded, "Who goes there?" "Friends," replied Powrie. "What friends?" "Friends of the Lord Bothwell." After being passed out, they proceeded up the dark Canongate, where they found the Netherbow Port shut; but Wilson roused the keeper, John Galloway, by rashly calling to him to open the gate "for the friends of my Lord Bothwell." "What do ye out of your beds at this time of night?" asked Galloway; but they passed on without replying. (Depositions in Laing.)

They called at Ormiston's lodging in the Netherbow; but the wary laird, deeming that he had done enough in assisting to convey the powder, declined to do more, and sent word that he was from home; so passing down Todrig's Wynd, they crossed the Cowgate, entered the convent gardens, and waited for Hay and Hepburn near the House of the Kirk-of-Field. From this point mystery and obscurity cloud all that followed.

When left alone by the departure of the queen, a gloomy foreboding of impending peril would seem to have fallen upon the wretched Darnley. He read a portion of the Scriptures, repeated the 55th Psalm, and fell asleep, his young page Taylor watching in the apartment near him. Thomas Nelson, Edward Simmons, and a boy, lay in the servants' apartment, or gallery, next the city wall.

One account has it that it was at this time that Hay and Hepburn, concealed in the room with the powder, by means of their false keys gained access to the king's apartment; that the noise of their entrance awoke him, and springing from bed in his shirt and pelisse, he strove to make his escape, but was knocked down and strangled, his shrieks

for mercy being heard by some women in an adjoining house; that his page was dispatched in the same manner, and their bodies flung into the orchard, where they were found next morning, untouched by fire or powder, and then the house was blown up to obliterate all traces of the murder. This peculiar version of it is based on a dispatch from the papal nuncio to Cosmo I., and found in the archives of the Medici by Prince Labanoff, who communicated it to Mr. Tytler.

Bothwell's accomplices, on the other hand, when brought to trial, all more or less emphatically denied that Darnley was either strangled or assassinated, and *then* carried into the garden; Hepburn expressly declared that he only knew that Darnley was blown into the air, "and handled with no man's hands that he saw." Melvil says, on the morning after the murder, Bothwell "came forth and told me he saw the strangest accident that ever chanced—to wit, the thunder came out of the lift (sky) and burnt the king's house, and himself found lying at a little distance from the house under a tree, and willed me to go up and see him, how there was *not a mark nor hurt on all his body.*" (Melvil's "Memoirs," 1735.)

No doubt rests upon the part played by Bothwell, however the murder at the Kirk-of-Field was achieved.

Dalgleish, Powrie, and Wilson, were left at the head of the convent garden, while French Paris passed over the wall at the back of the house, and joined the two assassins, who were locked in the room where the powder lay. On the arrival of the daring earl, Hepburn lighted the match connected with the train and the powder, and having locked the doors, they then withdrew to await the event.

Bothwell fretted with impatience as the match burned slowly for a quarter of an hour; then, precisely at two in the morning, it took effect.

The whole house seemed to rise, says Hay of Tallo, in his deposition. Then, with a noise as of the bursting of a thunderbolt, the solid masonry of the house was rent into a thousand fragments; scarcely a vestige of it remained, and "great stones, of the length of ten feet and breadth of four feet," were found blown from it all over the orchard.

Paralysed with fear, Paris fell with his face forward on the earth; even Bothwell was appalled, and said, "I have been in many important enterprises, but I never felt as I do now!" The whole of the conspirators now hurried back to the High Street, and sought to get out of the city by dropping from the wall at Leith Wynd, but were forced once more to rouse the porter at the Netherbow. They then passed down St. Mary's Wynd and the south back

of the Canongate to Bothwell's lodging, near the palace, at the gates of which they were again challenged by the Archers of the Guard—a corps which existed from 1562 to 1567—who asked “if they knew what noise that was they heard a short time before.” They replied that they did not. Rushing to his house, Bothwell called for something to drink, and throwing off his clothes, went to bed.

Tidings that the house had been blown up and the king slain spread fast through the startled city, and George Hackett, a servant of the palace, communicated these to Bothwell, whom he found in “ane great effray pitch-black,” and excited. Then with assumed coolness he inquired “what was the matter?” On being distinctly informed, he began to shout “Treason!” and on being joined by the Earl of Huntley, he repaired at once to the presence of the queen.

By dawn the whole area of the Kirk-of-Field was crowded by citizens, who found that the three servants who slept in the gallery were buried in the ruins, out of which Nelson was dragged alive.

In Holyrood the queen kept her bed in a darkened room, while a proclamation was issued, offering the then tolerable sum of £2,000 Scots to any who would give information as to the perpetrators of the crime. On the same day the body of Darnley was brought to Holyrood Chapel, and after being embalmed by Maistre Mastin Picauet, “ypothegar,” was interred on Saturday night, without the presence of any of the nobles or officers of state, except the Lord Justice Clerk Bellenden and Sir James Traquair.

Bothwell was denounced as the murderer by a paper fixed on the Tolbooth Gate. But though the earl was ultimately brought to trial, no precisely proper inquiry into the startling atrocity was made by the officers of the Crown.

A bill fastened on the Tron Beam, declared that the smith who furnished the false keys to the king's apartment would, on due security being given, point out his employers; and other placards, on one of which were written the queen's initials, M.R., were posted elsewhere—manifestations of public feeling that rendered Bothwell so furious that he rode through the city at the head of a band of his armed vassals, swearing that he “would wash

his hands” in the blood of the authors, could he but discover them; and from that time forward he watched all who approached him with a jealous eye, and a hand on his dagger. (Tytler.)

When that part of the city wall which immediately adjoined the house of the Kirk-of-Field was demolished in 1854, it was found to be five feet thick, and contained among its rubble many fragments of a Gothic church or other edifice, and three cannon-balls, one of 24 pounds' weight, were found in it.

In the records of the Privy Council in 1579, we find an order for denouncing and putting to the horn Robert Balfour, Provost of the Kirk-of-Field, for having failed to appear before the Lords, and answer “to sic thingis as sauld have been inquirt of him at his cuning.” The Provost, brother of the notorious Sir James, had been outlawed or forfeited in 1571, as there rested upon both the charge of having been chief agents in the murder of Darnley.

He was ultimately remitted and pardoned, and this was ratified by Parliament in 1584, when he and his posterity were allowed to enjoy all their possessions, “providing alwayis that these presentis be not extendit to repossess and restoir the said Robert to ony ryt he has, or he may pretend, to ye Provostrie of ye Kirk-of-Field, sumtym situat within the libertie of ye burgh of Edinburgh.”

In this same year, 1584, the Town Council were greatly excited by a serious affray that ensued at the Kirk-of-Field Port, and to prevent the recurrence of a similar disorder, ordained that on the ringing of the alarm bell the inhabitants were all to convene in their several quarters under their bailies, “in armour and good order.” And subsequently, to prevent broils by night-walkers, they ordered “that at 10 o'clock fifty strokes would be given on the great bell, after which none should be upon the streets, under a penalty of £20 Scots, and imprisonment during the town's pleasure.” (“Council Records.”)

A fragment of ruin connected with the Kirk-of-Field is shown as extant in 1647 in Gordon's map, near what is now the north-west corner of Drummond Street, and close to the old University. A group of trees appear to the eastward, and a garden to the north.

CHAPTER II.

THE UNIVERSITY.

Annals of the Old College—Charters of Queen Mary and James VI.—Old College described—The first Regents—King James's letter of 1617—Quarrel with Town Council—Students' Riot in 1620—The Principal dismissed—Abolished Offices—Dissection for the first time—Quarrel with the Town Council—The Museum—The Greek Chair—System of Education introduced by Principal Rollock—The Early Mode of Education—A Change in 1730—The Old Hours of Attendance—The Silver Mace—The Projects of 1763 and 1789 for a New College—The Foundation laid—Completion of the New College—Its Corporation after 1858—Principals—Chairs, and First Holders thereof—A few Notable Bequests—Income—The Library—The Museums.

OF the four Scottish Universities, the youngest is Edinburgh, a perfectly Protestant foundation, as the other three were established under the Catholic *régime*; yet the merit of originating the idea of academical institutions for the metropolis is due to Robert Reid, who, in 1558, six years before the date of Queen Mary's charter, "had bequeathed to the town of Edinburgh the sum of 8,000 merks for the purpose of erecting a University within the city."

In 1566 Queen Mary entered so warmly into the views of the magistrates as actually to draw up a charter and provide a competent endowment for the future college. But the unsettled state of the realm and the turbulence of the age marred the fulfilment of her generous desire; yet the charter she had prepared, acted, says Bower, in his "History," so powerfully upon her son, James VI., that it was inserted in the one which is now deemed the foundation charter of the university, granted by the king in 1582, with the privilege of erecting houses for the professors and students. In recalling the active benefactors of the university, we cannot omit the names of the Rev. James Lawson, whose exertions contributed so greatly to the institution of the famous High School; and of Provost William Little, and of Clement Little, Commissary of Edinburgh, the latter of whom gave, in 1580, "to the city and kirk of God," the whole of his library, consisting of 300 volumes—a great collection in those days—it is supposed for the use of the proposed college.

The teachers at first established by the foundation were a Principal or *Primarius*, a Professor of Divinity, four Regents or Masters of Philosophy, and a Professor of Philology or Humanity.

On the site of the Kirk-of-Field a quaint group of quadrangular buildings grew up gradually but rapidly, forming the old college, which Maitland describes as having three courts, the southern of which was occupied on two sides by the classrooms and professors' houses, and on the others by the College Hall, the houses of the principal and resident graduates. A flight of steps led from this to the western quadrangle, which was rich in

dormer windows, crowstepped gables, and turret stairs. Here the students then resided. The eastern quadrangle contained the Convocation Hall and Library. The gateway was at the head of the College Wynd, with a lofty bell-tower, and the first five words of the *ave* in Gothic characters cut upon its lintel, as it was the original portal to the Kirk-of-Field.

When Scott completed his education here the old halls, and solemn, yet in some senses mean, quadrangles, were all unchanged, as in the days of James VI. and the Charleses, and exhibited many quaint legends carved in stone.

The old Library was certainly a large and handsome room, wherein were shown a skull, said to be that of George Buchanan; the original Bohemian protest against the Council of Constance for burning John Huss and Jerome of Prague, dated 1417, with 105 seals attached to it; the original marriage contract of Queen Mary with the Dauphin; many coins, medals, and portraits, which were afterwards preserved in the new university.

The old college buildings were begun in 1581; and in 1583 the Town Council constituted Mr. Robert Rollock, then a professor at St. Andrews, a professor in this university, of which he became afterwards Rector and Principal, and to which by the power of his learning he allured many students. The sum of £1 13s. 4d. was given him to defray the expenses of his removal to Edinburgh, where he began to teach on the 11th of October, when public notice was given "that students desirous of instruction shall give up their names to a bailie, who shall take order for their instruction."

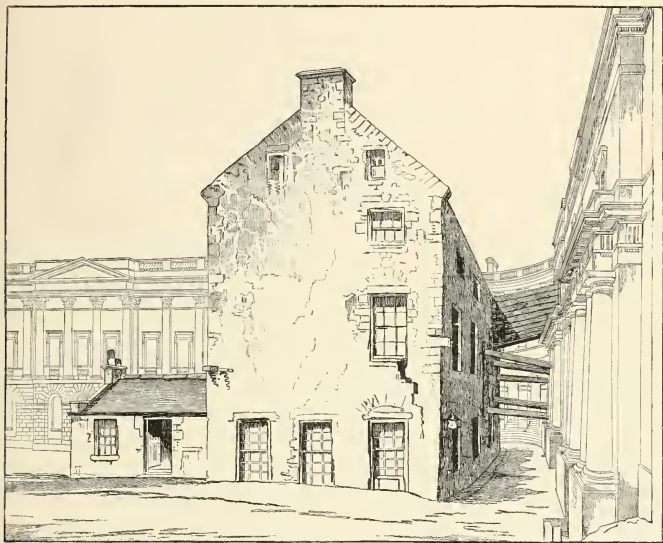
As there was then no other teacher but himself, he was compelled to put all the students into one class. "He soon felt, however, that this was impracticable," says Bower, "so as to do justice to the young men committed to his care. After having made this experiment, he was obliged to separate them into two classes. The progress which they made was very different, and a considerable number of them were exceedingly deficient in a knowledge of the Latin language."

On his recommendation a Mr. Duncan Nairn

was appointed as second master in the college, where he taught Latin for the first year, and Greek in the second. He died in 1586; and from the circumstance that he and Rollock were paid board by the Town Council, it has been supposed that they were both bachelors, and did not live within the college.

ture upon being examined in their knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and the whole circle of the sciences." Those chosen on this occasion were Mr. Adam Colt of Inveresk, and Mr. Alexander Scrimger of Irwin.

The first visitation of this university was held in 1614, when the Town Council appointed sixteen



THE LIBRARY OF THE OLD UNIVERSITY, AS SEEN FROM THE SOUTH-EAST CORNER OF THE QUADRANGLE, LOOKING NORTH. (From an Engraving by W. H. Lizars of a Drawing by Playfair).

In 1585, Rollock, "a simple man in Church matters," says Calderwood, was created principal, for which, and for preaching weekly in St. Giles's, he had 400 merks per annum.

As students came in, the necessity for adding to the number of Regents became so imperative that the Council, as patrons of the college, had to advertise for candidates all over the kingdom. Six appeared, and a ten days' competition in skill followed—a sufficient proof that talent was necessary in those early days, and much patience on the part of the judges. "They must have possessed great hardihood," says Bower, "who could adven-

of their own number, and five of the ministers of the city visitors, joining with them three advocates as their assessors.

There was not then a chancellor in the university, or any similar official, as in other learned academies. When James VI., in 1617, paid a visit to his native kingdom, and established his court at Stirling, he desired the principal and regents of his favourite university to hold a public disputation in his presence. On this, the five officials repaired to Stirling, where the royal pedant anxiously awaited them, and took a very active part in the discussion.

He seemed greatly delighted with the result, and felt much self-gratification at the part he had himself borne. Thus, immediately after the removal of the court to Paisley, on the 25th of July, 1617, he addressed the following letter to the magistrates of Edinburgh:—

“JAMES R.

“Trustie and weil beloved, we greet you weil.

“Being sufficientlie perswadit of the guid beginning and progresse which ye haiff made in repairing and building of your college, and of your commendable resolution constantlie to proceed and persist thairin, till the same sall be perfytlie finished; for your better encouragement in a wark so universallie beneficial for our subjectis, and for such ornament and reputation for our cite, we haiff thoct guid not only to declair our specciall approbation thairof, but lykeways, as we gave the first being and beginning thairunto, so we haiff thoct it worthie to be honoured with our name, of our awin impositione; and the rather because of the late cair, which to our great content, we ressaied of the gude worth and sufficiencie of the maisters thairof, at thair being with us at Stirling: In which regard, these are to desyre you to order the said college to be callit in all times hereafter by the name of KING JAMES’S COLLEGE: which we intend for an specciall mark and baidge of our faivour towards the same.

“So we doubting not but ye will accordinglie accept thairof, we bid you heartilie fairweill.”

Though James gave his name to the college, which it still bears, it does not appear that he gave anything more valuable, unless we record the tithes of the Archdeaconry of Lothian and of the parish of Wemyss, together with the patronage of the Kirk of Currie. He promised what he called a “God-bairne gift,” but it never came.

The salary of the principal was originally very small; and in order to make his post more comfortable he was allowed to reap the emoluments of the professorship of divinity, with the rank of rector; but in 1620 these offices were disjoined, and his salary, from forty guineas, was augmented to sixty, and Mr. Andrew Ramsay was appointed Professor of Divinity and Rector, which he held till 1626, when he resigned both.

They remained a year vacant, when the Council resolved to elect a rector who was not a member of the university, and chose Alexander Morrison, Lord Prestongrange, a judge of the Court of Session, who took the oath *de fidei administratione*, but never exercised the duties of his position.

In the year 1626 Mr. William Struthers, a minister of Edinburgh, in censuring a probationer, used some expression derogatory to philosophy, among others terming it “the *dishdout* to divinity,” which was bitterly resented by Professor James Reid, who in turn attacked Struthers’ doctrine. The latter, in revenge, got his brother to join him, and endeavoured to get Reid deposed by the

Council; and so vexed did the question ultimately become, that the professor, weary of the contest, resigned his chair.

It would seem to have been customary for the Scottish Universities to receive in those days students who had been compelled to leave other seats of learning through misbehaviour, and by their bad example some of them led the students of Edinburgh to commit many improprieties, till the Privy Council, by an Act in 1611, forbade the reception of fugitive students in any university.

In 1640 the magistrates chose Mr. Alexander Herrison, a minister of the city, Rector of the University, and ordained that a silver mace should be borne before him on all occasions of solemnity. They drew up a set of instructions, empowering him to superintend all matters connected with the institution. The custody of the Matriculation Roll was also given to him; the students were to be matriculated in his presence, and he was furnished with an inventory of the college revenues and donations in its favour. “For some years,” says Arnot, “we find the rector exercising his office; but the troubles which distracted the nation, and no regular records of this university having been kept, render it impossible for us to ascertain when that office was discontinued, or how the college was governed for a considerable period.”

From the peculiar constitution of this college, and its then utter dependence upon the magistrates, they took liberties with it to which no similar institution would have submitted. “Thus, for example,” says Bower, “they borrowed the college mace in 1651, and did not return it till 1655. The magistrates could be under no necessity for having recourse to this expedient for enabling them to make a respectable appearance in public when necessary, attended by the proper officers and insignia of their office. And, on the other hand, the public business of the college could not be properly conducted, nor in the usual way, without the mace. At all public graduations, &c., it was, and still is, carried before the principal and professors.”

The magistrates of Edinburgh were in those days, in every sense of the word, proprietors of the university, of the buildings, museums, library, anatomical preparations, and philosophical apparatus; and from time to time were wont to deposit in their own Charter Room the writs belonging to the institution.

They do not seem to have done this from the earliest period, as the first notice of this, found by Bower, was in the Register for 1655, when the writs and an inventory were ordered to be

placed in the city charter room; and this order occurs often afterwards, or is referred to thus:—

"In 1663 the magistrates came down with their halberts to the college, took away all our charters and papers, declared the Provost perpetual rector, though he was chancellor before, and at the same time discharged university meetings."

During the summer of 1656 some new buildings were in progress on the south side of the old college, as the town council records state that for the better carrying on thereof, "there is a necessitie to break down and demolishe the hous neirest the Potterrow Port, which now the *Court du Guaird* possesseth; thairfor ordaines the thesaurer with John Milne to visite the place, and doe therein what they find expedient, as weil for demolishing the said hous as for provyding for the *Court du Guaird* uterwayis."

During the year 1665 some very unpleasant relations ensued between the university and its civic patrons, and these originated in a frivolous cause. It had been the ancient practice of the regents of all European seminaries to chastise with a birch rod such of the students as were unruly or committed a breach of the laws of the college within its bound. Some punishment of this nature had been administered to the son of the then Provost, Sir Andrew Ramsay, Knight, and great offence was taken thereat.

In imitation of his colleagues and predecessors, the regent, on this occasion, had used his own entire discretion as to the mode and amount of punishment he should inflict; but the Lord Provost was highly exasperated, and determining to wreak his vengeance on the whole university, assumed the entire executive authority into his own hands.

"Having proceeded to the college, and exhibited some very unnecessary symbols of his power within the city—the halberts, we presume—on the tenth of November he repaired to the Council Chamber and procured the following Act to be passed:—'*The Council agrees that the Provost of Edinburgh, present and to come, be always Rector and Governor of the college in all time coming.*' The only important effects which this disagreeable business produced were, that it was the cause of corporal punishment being banished from the university, and that no rector has since been elected," adds Bower, writing in 1817. "The *Senatus Academicus* have repeatedly made efforts to revive the election of the office of rector, and have as often failed of success."

A short time before his death Cromwell made a grant to the college of £200 per annum, a sum which in those days would greatly have added to

the prosperity of the institution; but he happened to die in the September of the same year in which the grant was dated, and as all his Acts were rescinded at the Restoration, his intentions towards the university came to nothing. The expense of passing the document at the Exchequer cost about £476 16s. Scots; hence it is extremely doubtful if the smallest benefit ever came of it in any way.

The year 1680 saw the students of the university engaged in a serious riot, which created a profound sensation at the time.

"After the Restoration, the students," says Arnot, "appear to have been pretty much tainted with the fanatic principles of the Covenanters," and they resolved, while the Duke of Albany and York was at Holyrood, to manifest their zeal by a solemn procession and burning of the pope in effigy on Christmas Day, and to that end posted up the following:—

"AN ADVERTISEMENT.

"THESE are to give notice to all Noblemen, Gentlemen, Citizens, and others, that We, the Students of the Royal College of Edinburgh (to show our detestation and abhorrence of the Romish religion, and our zeal and fervency for the Protestant), do resolve to burn the effigies of *Anti-christ*, the *Pope of Rome* at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh, the 25th of December instant, at Twelve in the forenoon (being the festival of Our Saviour's nativity). And as we hate tumults as we do superstition, we do hereby (under pain of death) discharge all robbers, thieves, and bawds to come within 40 paces of our company, and such as shall be found disobedient to these our commands, *Sibi Caveant*.

"By our Special command, ROBERT BROWN, Secretary to all our Theatricals and Extra Literal Divertisements."

This announcement filled the magistrates with alarm, as such an exhibition was seriously calculated to affront the duke and duchess, and, moreover, to excite a dangerous sedition. According to a history of this affair, published for Richard Jane-way, in Queen's Head Alley, Paternoster Row, 1681, the students bound themselves by a solemn oath to support each other, under penalty of a fine, and they employed a carver, "who erected then a wooden Holiness, with clothes, triple crown, keys, and other necessary habiliments," and by Christmas Eve all was in readiness for the display, to prevent which the Lord Provost used every means at his command.

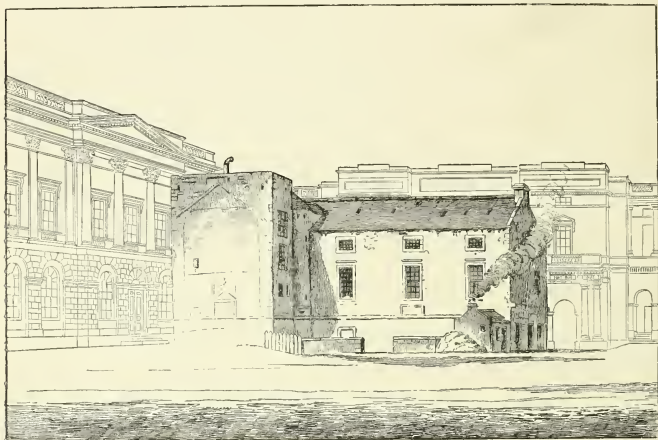
He sent for Andrew Cant, the principal, and the regents, whom he enjoined to deter the students "with menaces that if they would not, he would make it a bloody Christmas to them." He then went to Holyrood, and had an interview with the duke and the Lord Chancellor, who threatened to march the Scottish troops into the town. Meanwhile, the principal strove to exact oaths and promises from the students that they would re-

linquish their intention, and a few who were English were seized in their beds, and carried by the guard to the Tolbooth.

All the forces in Leith and the neighbourhood were marched into the Canongate, where they remained all night under arms; and in the morning the Provost allowed the privileges of a fortified city to be violated, it was alleged, by permitting the Foot Guards and Mars Fusiliers (latterly 21st Foot) to enter the gates, seize advantageous

grey Dragoons; then came the Fusiliers, under the Earl of Mar; and Lord Linlithgow, with one battalion of the Scots Foot Guards, in such haste that he fell off his horse. The troops were ordered to extinguish the flames and rescue the image.

"This, however, understanding the combustible state of its interior, they were in no haste to do; keeping at a cautious distance, they merely belaboured his Holiness with the butt end of their musquets, which the students allege was a mode



THE LIBRARY OF THE OLD UNIVERSITY, AS SEEN FROM THE SOUTH-WESTERN CORNER OF THE QUADRANGLE, LOOKING EAST. (From an Engraving by W. H. Lizars of a Drawing by Playfair).

posts, and make the Grassmarket their headquarters. The City Militia held the High Street, a guard was placed on the college, and the guards at the palace were doubled.

Undismayed by all this, the students mustered in the Old High School Yard, with their effigy in pontifical robes, and proceeded without opposition down the High School Wynd, and up Blackfriars Wynd to the lower end of High Street, where, finding there was no time to lose, though opposed by the militia, they set fire to the figure amid shouts of "*Pereat Papa!*" but had instantly to fly. Arnot says the burning took place in the Blackfriars Wynd.

Grin old Dalyell of Binns came galloping through the Netherbow Port at the head of his

of treatment not much more respectful than their own. In the course of this operation the head fell off," and was borne in triumph up the Castle Hill by a number of boys. But this trumpety affair did not end here.

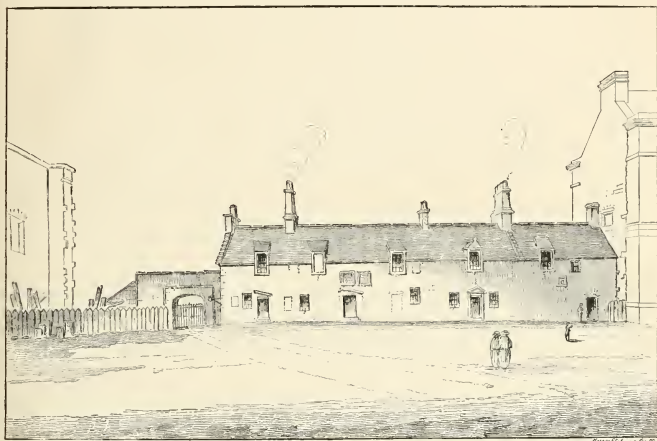
Seven students were apprehended, and examined before the Privy Council by Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, the King's Advocate, and after being a few days in custody, were liberated. So little were they gratified by this leniency that many street scuffles took place between them and the troops, whom they alleged to be the aggressors.

Violent denunciations of revenge against the magistrates were uttered in the streets; and upon the 11th of January, 1681, the house of Priestfield

—the seat of Sir James Dick, Lord Provost, the family being in town—was deliberately set in flames by fire-balls, and burned to the ground, with all its furniture.

A barrel half full of combustible materials, and bearing, it was said, the Castle mark, was found in the adjacent park, and several people deposed that on the night of the conflagration they saw many young men going towards the house of Priestfield with unlighted links in their hands, and

To prevent a recurrence of such outbreaks, Charles II. appointed a visitation of the university, naming the great officers of state, the bishop, Lord Provost, and magistrates of the city, and certain others, of whom five, with the bishop and Lord Provost should be a quorum, to inquire into the condition of the college, its revenues, privileges, and buildings; to examine if the laws of the realm, the Church government, and the old rules of discipline were observed; to arrange the methods of study; to



PART OF THE BUILDINGS OF THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE QUADRANGLE OF THE OLD UNIVERSITY.

(From an Engraving by W. H. Lizars of a Drawing by Playfair.)

one with a dark lantern; but notwithstanding that a pardon and 200 merks (about £110 sterling) were offered by the Privy Council to any who would discover the perpetrators of this outrage, they were never detected.

The gates of the college were ordered to be shut, and the students to retire at least fifteen miles distant from the city; but in ten days they were permitted to return, upon their friends becoming cautious for their peaceable behaviour, and the gates were again thrown open; but all students "above the Semi-class" were ordered by the Privy Council to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and go regularly to the parish churches; but, says Fountainhall, "there were few or none who gave thir conditions."

repress faction and punish disorder; to correspond with the other Scottish Universities, so that a uniformity of discipline might be adopted; and to report fully on all these matters before the 1st of November, 1683. "What the visitors did in consequence of this appointment," says Arnot, "we are not able to ascertain."

As this visitation was to be for the suppression of fanaticism, upon the accomplishment of the Revolution a Parliamentary one was ordered of all the universities in Scotland by an Act of William and Mary, "with the purpose to remove and oppress such as continued attached to the hierarchy or the House of Stuart. From such specimens of their conduct in a visitatorial capacity as we have been able to discover, we are entitled to say," re-

marks Arnot, "that these Parliamentary visitors proceeded with great violence and injustice."

Before the autumn of 1690 the professors who were faithful to the House of Stuart were expelled by a royal commission. Proclamation was made at the Cross, and an edict fixed to it and the college gates, and at Stirling, Haddington, and elsewhere, warning the principal and professors, and all schoolmasters in Edinburgh and the adjacent counties, to appear before the Committee of Visitors on the 20th of August, to answer upon the points contained in the Act of Parliament. "*Also summoning and warning all the lieges who have anything to object against the said principal, professors, &c., to appear before the said Committee, the said day and place, to give in objections, &c.*" After an edict which bespoke that the country, although it had been subjected to a revolution, had not acquired a system of liberty nor the rudiments of justice: after an invitation so publicly thrown out by the Commissioners of Parliament in a nation disturbed by religious and political factions, it is not to be supposed that informers would be wanting." (Ibid.)

Sir John Hall, Knight, the Lord Provost, sat as president of this inquisition, which met on the day appointed; and after adjourning his trial—for such it was—for eight days, they brought before them Alexander Monro, who had succeeded Cant as principal in 1685, and Sir John Hall, addressing him, bade him answer to the various articles of his indictment, and commanded the clerk to read them aloud.

To the first two articles (one of which was that he had renounced the Protestant faith) the principal replied extempore. But when he discovered that the clerk was about to read from a list, bringing forward he knew not what charges, "he complained of proceedings so unjust and illegal, desired to know his accusers, and be allowed time to prepare his defences."

Thereupon he was furnished with an unsigned copy of the informations lodged against him, and had a few days given him to prepare replies. Having sent in these, containing an acknowledgment of certain matters of small moment, and a denial of the rest, he was asked by the commissioners if he was prepared to take all the tests, religious and political, imposed by the new laws of the Revolution.

To this he replied in the negative, on which a sentence of deprivation was passed upon him, in which his acknowledgment of certain charges made against him and his refusal to embrace the new formulas were mingled as grounds for the said

sentence. (*Presbyterian Inquisition*, as quoted by Arnot.)

Dr. John Strachan, Professor of Divinity since 1683, was next brought before these commissioners. Like the principal, he was served with an unsigned indictment. His case and the proceedings thereon were identical with those of the principal, and he too was expelled from his chair; but it does not appear that any more than these two were served thus.

Gilbert Rule, the new principal, held his chair till 1703, and was famous for nothing but seeing "a ghost" on one or two occasions, as we learn from Wodrow's "Analecta."

In the year 1692 the professors of the university seem to have held several conferences with their patrons, the Town Council and magistrates, as to the expediency of restoring, or perhaps establishing permanently, the offices of rector and chancellor, which, owing to civil war and tumult, had fallen into disuse or been permitted to pass away; and now the time had come when a spirit of improvement was developing itself among men of literary tastes in Scotland, and more particularly among the regents of her universities generally.

In a memorial drawn up and prepared by the principal, Gilbert Rule, the professors urged, "That in obedience to the commands of the honourable patrons, they have considered the rise and establishment of the university; and they find from authentic documents that she has been in the exercise of these powers, and for a considerable time governed in that manner, wherein consists the distinguishing character of a university from the lesser seminaries of learning. She continues in the possession of giving degrees to all the learned sciences; but her government by a rector has now, for some considerable time, gone into disuse. To what causes the sinking the useful office of rector is most likely to have been owing, they are unwilling to explore, lest the scrutiny should lead them into the view of some unhappy differences, whereof, in their humble opinion, the memory should not be recalled. It is plain, however, the university in former times was more in the exercise of certain rights and privileges, and in certain respects carried more the outward face of a university than she has done for some time past."

Whether the Lord Provost, Sir John Hall, and the Council, were hostile to these wishes we know not, but the memorialists failed to achieve their end.

In 1694 we hear of an advance in medical education in Edinburgh, eleven years before the first professor of anatomy was appointed. In the latter

end of the year named, a body was, for the first time, regularly dissected in the city, after the celebrated Dr. Archibald Pitcairn—who left a distinguished position as a professor of medicine in the University of Leyden, to marry a lady of Edinburgh—had been induced to settle there, and seek a practice.

The Doctor, on the 14th of October, wrote to his friend Dr. Gray, of London, stating that he was making efforts to obtain from the magistrates subjects for dissection, such as the bodies of those who died in the House of Correction at Paul's Work, and had none to bury them. "We offer," he says, "to wait on these poor for nothing, and bury them after dissection at our own charges, which now the town does; yet there is great opposition by the chief surgeons, who neither eat hay nor suffer the oxen to eat it. I do propose, if this be granted, to make better improvements in anatomy than have been made at Leyden these thirty years; for I think most or all anatomists have neglected or not known what was most useful for a physician."

The person who moved ostensibly in this matter was Alexander Monteith, who entered the College of Surgeons in December, 1691. He was a prominent Jacobite, and owner of Todshaugh, now called Foxhall, in West Lothian. He was an eminent surgeon, and a friend of Pitcairn's. The Town Council on the 24th of October, in compliance with his urgent request, granted to him the bodies of those who died in the House of Correction and of all foundlings who died at the breast.

They gave him, at the same time, a room for dissection, with permission to inter the mutilated remains in the College Kirk Cemetery, stipulating that he should inter all intestines within forty-eight hours, the rest of the body within ten days, and that his prelections should only be in the winter season.

Though the College of Surgeons did not generally oppose this new movement, they greatly disliked his exclusive permission from the Council, and proposed to give demonstrations in anatomy as well, asking for the unclaimed bodies of those who died in the streets, and also of foundlings. Their petition was granted, on the understanding that they should have a regular anatomical theatre ready before the Michaelmas of 1697; but it was not until 1705 that the Anatomical Chair was founded in the university.

In 1703 a struggle for emancipation from the Town Council was made by the professors. It had been usual for the former body to appoint a day for graduation, or laureation, as it was named in those days. This was for the first or senior class; and to preside at this learned ceremony a certain por-

tion of the somewhat unlearned civic patrons were regularly deputed, with their robes, insignia, and halberdiers, to attend.

The professors, as may be supposed, were becoming very impatient of this yearly interference with their internal arrangements, and perhaps imagined, not unnaturally, that literature, science, and philosophy, could derive but little lustre "from the presence of men who, generally speaking, would have ears which heard not, and understandings which could not perceive."

Thus they bethought them of a plan whereby they hoped to get rid of such officious visitors in all time coming.

Accordingly, when all the professors met in the Old College Hall, on the 20th of January, 1703, they, as an independent faculty, adopted the following resolution:—

"The Faculty of Philosophy within the city of Edinburgh, taking to their consideration the reasons offered by Mr. Scott why his magistrand class should be privately graduated, and being satisfied with the same, do unanimously, *according to their undoubted right, contained in the charter of erection*, and their constant and uninterrupted custom in such cases, appoint the said class to be laureated privately upon the last Thursday of April next, being the twenty-seventh day of the said month. Signed by order, and in presence of the Faculty, by Robert Anderson, *Clerk*."

This was deemed by the Provost and bailies as the very tocsin of rebellion, and roused at once their wrath. A visitation accordingly followed, by the Lord Provost, Sir Hugh Cunningham, Knight, and the bailies, with the inevitable halberdiers, in the library of the college on the 15th of the following month; there he informed the Senatus that among many other contumacious things, he had become cognisant "of an unwarrantable act of the masters of that college, viz., the Professors of Philosophy, Humanity, Mathematics, and Church History, wherein they assert themselves a *Faculty*, empowered by the charter of erection to appoint, &c."

It is difficult to know how this quarrel might have ended, had not the Lord Advocate, as mediator between the parties, effected a compromise, which, however, implied a surrender of the asserted point at issue by the four professors; at the same time, so resolute were the magistrates and Council in their intention of upholding and defending their privileges as patrons of the university, that Bailie Blackwood, in the name of the rest, declared that the Council of the city "would not be satisfied with the masters simply

passing from the pretended act of *their pretended Faculty*, unless it were passed from as an act wanting all manner of foundation."

On the 5th of May, 1703, the magistrates, flushed with triumph, ordained that Mr. Scott's class should be publicly graduated, as of old, in the public hall of the university, which was accordingly done, without consulting that professor or any other member of the *Senatus Academicus*.

A memorial, however, signed by the former and the other professors, so far succeeded in soothing the irate Provost and bailies, that they ultimately granted him that which he had so earnestly wished—a private graduation of his students; but while doing so, they took the opportunity of loftily and sternly prohibiting the other professors, "upon their peril, to graduate any in time coming but such as took out a certificate or diploma with the town's seal, and poor scholars to have it *gratis*; and order that all certificates *make honourable mention* of the magistrates and Council of Edinburgh as *Patrons of the College*."

Some curious matters of detail occurred about this time, when the Rev. William Carstares was principal, in connection with the museum of "Rarities belonging to the College," on the state of which the Council appointed a commission to report how far the said "rarities" in the drawers corresponded to the inventory thereof.

Among other things, the commission reported that the wire-work in the presses was so wide that students and others visiting the museum, "by putting their fingers into the holes, did disorder (the contents), and possibly might embezzle, some of them; particularly there was wanting a coralline substance growing upon a piece of silver, much like unto a *Spanish cob*."

To remedy these mischances it was proposed that the wires should be more close. Of two cabinets they found that one contained the *Materia Medica* in three drawers; and as to the other, they knew not what was in it, as it had no keys, and they had never seen it opened. The commission offered the further suggestion that "the Rarities purchased in the time of Mr. Henderson's father, such as the *woman's horn set with silver*, and the skeleton, &c., be registered and catalogued by themselves."

The keyless cabinet was ordered to be broken open, and found to contain only a quantity "of atheistical books, which the late principal, Dr. Gilbert Rule, had caused to sequester from the others."

These were delivered to the librarian, with orders that no one should be permitted to read them

without the express permission of the Town Council.

The Humanity Class, as a separate professorship, was founded by the Faculty of Advocates, who, on being voted a sum of money for the endowment of a chair connected with their own profession, devoted it in the first instance to the cultivation of Latin, as the language in which the most valuable legal knowledge was to be found; and John Ray was the first professor, in 1597.

In 1707, on the Treaty of Union with England, there was ratified by Parliament and in the Act of Security an Act of 1621, by which the Scottish Parliament defined in ample form the rights, immunities, and privileges of the university.

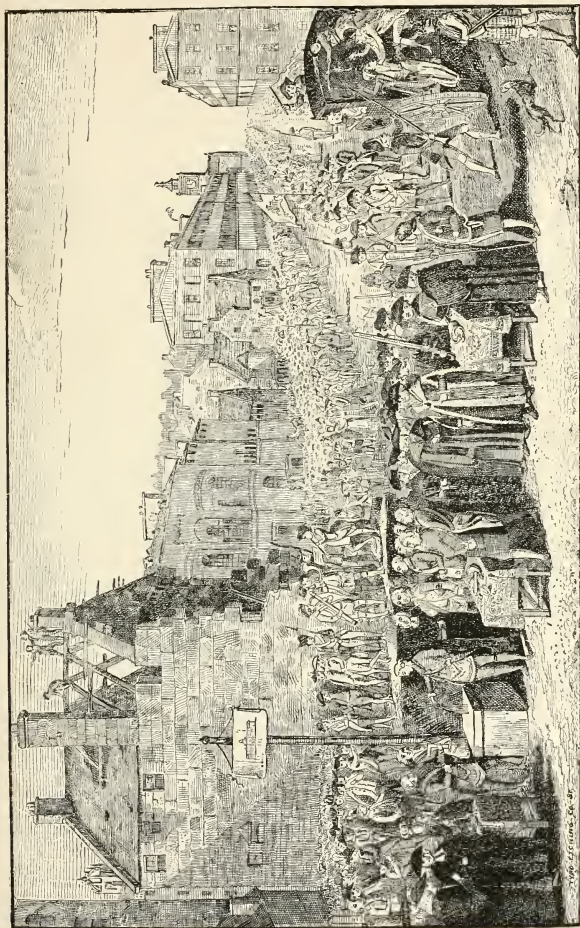
It was not until 1708 that a separate professorship of Greek was appointed. For some twenty years before that period the proposal to that effect had been made, and a master actually named, who was to teach within the college, without the rank or salary of professor. But in the year above named, on the 16th of June, the Town Council, "considering that as a knowledge of the Greek tongue is a valuable piece of learning, and much esteemed in all parts of the world where letters and science do flourish, so they, being willing to contribute their utmost endeavour to advance the knowledge of that language, do judge that nothing can more effectually promote the said end than the fixing of a Professor of Greek in this burgh." Consequently, William Scott, one of the regents, was appointed.

Following Bower's "History," we may give the following condensed view of the course of study which was introduced by Principal Rollock in 1583.

In the beginning of October the session commenced, and lasted till about the end of the ensuing August, when an examination of the students took place before the Town Council and the senior members of the college. As the younger men were prepared for the perusal of the higher order of Latin Classics, the most of their time was passed in reading the most approved Roman authors, particularly Cicero, who in those days was in the greatest repute among the learned.

Translations from English into Latin, and *vice versa*, were a regular exercise throughout the whole session, and the "common theme," as it was called, was prescribed by the principal towards its close—i.e., the subject of a brief essay to be written in pure Latin, affording each student an opportunity of displaying his attainments in that language, and knowledge of the general principles of composition.

The appointment of this subject was evidently



LAYING THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE NEW UNIVERSITY, Nov. 16, 1789
 (Reduced Facsimile of the Etching by David Allan.)

meant as a check upon the teacher and the taught, as it depended upon the decision of the principal whether or not the student in the next session should proceed in the same order of study.

In the early days of the university Greek was universally begun at college, there being scarcely an opportunity of acquiring even the elements of that magnificent language elsewhere. Indeed, there was an absolute prohibition ordained by the Privy Council in 1672 of teaching Greek or Philosophy in any schools but the four universities; and a warrant was granted "to direct letters, at the instance of the professors of any of the universities and colleges of this kingdom, against all such persons as shall contravene the said Act."

From this we may conclude that the acquirements of the students in Greek Literature could not be very great; and yet the sessions were so long, the application so uninterrupted, that the amount of their readings was not much less than those of the present day, in their shorter terms. Their favourite authors were (after the New Testament) Isocrates, Homer, Hesiod, and Phocylides; and in connection with these results of the first year there was added a brief system of rhetoric, disguised under the title of *dialectics*. These, with the catechism, filled up the cycle of academical study till the autumnal recess began.

When the session opened in October the students were again examined in public. The professor prescribed a theme in Greek, and the study of rhetoric was resumed immediately after. Their text-book was the work of Takeus, which would seem to have differed very little from the *dialectics* of his master, Peter Ramus.

The attention of the students was next called to the Progymnasmata of Aphthonius, and to Cassander, the forerunner of Aristotle; and about January the *Organon* of the latter was introduced, and then the books of the Categories, the Analytics, the Topics, and two of the Elenchi.

The studies of the third year, under Rollock's system, consisted of the higher branches of the Ancient Logic, Hebrew, and Anatomy, the last solely carried out by books, as there were no dissections of the human body in Edinburgh University, as we have shown, till the reign of Queen Anne.

The fourth year was devoted to what in the sixteenth century was denominated Physics—or the courses and appearances of natural phenomena. They read the books *De Cælo* and the *Sphæra* of John Sacroboscus. Theories of the planets were explained, and the seats of the constellations pointed out.

These were succeeded by the books *De Ortu, De Meteoris*, and *De Anima*, and the course concluded with Hunter's *Cosmographia*.

As a whole, it would seem from the materials collected by Bower that the course of a student's fourth year was somewhat superficial, being nearly made up of a brief introduction to Geography, a long time spent upon somewhat useless abstractions of Aristotle, and a little attention paid to scholastic divinity.

Such, then, was the system of education introduced by Robert Rollock, the first Principal, or *Primarius*, of the old University of Edinburgh.

It was not until about 1660—the year of the Restoration—that the University, by means of benefactions from public bodies and private individuals, attained a respectable rank among similar institutions.

In the manner already described, education was conducted in Scottish seminaries until the year 1647, when commissioners from the four Universities met at Edinburgh, upon a suggestion of the General Assembly of the Church, to take into their consideration the mode of tutelage which was pursued in each. Among other resolutions, it was then found necessary "that there be a *Cursus Philosophicus* drawn up by the four universities, and printed, to the end that the unprofitable and noxious pains in writing be shunned; and that each university contribute their travails thereto. And it is thought upon, against the month of March ensuing, viz., that St. Andrews take the metaphysics; that Glasgow take the logics; Aberdeen the ethics and mathematics; and Edinburgh the physics. It is thought fit that students are examined publicly on the Black Staine before Lammas, and after their return at Michaelmas, that they be examined in some questions of the Catechism."

Earnest, indeed, were the Scottish universities in their efforts to improve their systems of study. Thus the Commission, whose proposals we have referred to, met again at Edinburgh in 1648, and after renewing the resolutions of the former year, they arranged that every regent be bound "to prescribe to his scholars all and every part of the said course to be drawn up, and examine the same; with liberty to the regent to add his own considerations besides, by the advice of the Faculty of the University;" and also, "that in the draft of the *cursus*, the text of Aristotle's logics and physics be kept and shortly anagogue, the textual doubts cleared upon the back of every chapter, or in the analysis and common places, handled after the chapters treating of that matter."

Save Glasgow, all the Colleges complied with this requisition, and at a later meeting of the Commissioners, drafts of the courses used by the different teachers were presented and read; but the zeal of the Church was not attended with any permanent effect; for notwithstanding all their efforts to introduce uniformity, no particular *cursus* was ever distinctly agreed upon, and each University continued to pursue the method to which it had been used of old.

The professors, however, were not at liberty to teach any book, or pursue any system they chose. On the contrary, these matters came under the scrutiny of the Senatus Academicus of each university, and in the case of Edinburgh they were, strangely enough, under the supervision of the Town Council.

In 1730, when Dr. Stevenson was appointed to the chair of logic and metaphysics, we get the next glance at the system of education pursued there. This professor, whose merits and memory were long a tradition of the university, was the first who, in all our Scottish seminaries, ventured to question the utility of scholastic logic as a study for youths, and to introduce, in lieu thereof, lectures of a more miscellaneous nature. He did not restrict the work of his students to subtle subjects connected with the dialectics of Aristotle, but directed their attention to the principles of composition, and the laws of just criticism; while, that he might comply with the practice of the age, he continued—rather inconsistently it has been said—to deliver his remarks on English literature, and the doctrines of French critics such as Dacier and Bossu, in Latin.

At that time the hours of assembling were two o'clock one day, and three another, alternately; and in the morning, about the commencement of each session, the students generally read a book of the "Iliad." "Dr. Stevenson," says Bower in his "History," "had two reasons for this: besides becoming acquainted with the progress which they made in the Greek language, he wished to begin with an easy author, that those who were most deficient might have it in their power to improve themselves, and come better prepared to the perusal of such Greek rhetoricians as were afterwards to be put into their hands; and it afforded him an opportunity of commenting upon the beauties of Homeric poetry, pointing out the imitations which Virgil, Milton, and others have borrowed from the great father of the epic poem, and giving to his pupils such a specimen as was calculated to incite them to become more familiar with his works. They next proceeded to read and

translate, in the professor's hearing, Aristotle's Poetics, and Longinus's Essay on the Sublime. These exercises formed the business of the morning hour during the session."

The forenoon he dedicated to the subject he was more strictly called upon to teach—logic; and he was very attentive to this portion of his duty, conceiving it absolutely necessary to give a clear account of its history and nature, and to render intelligible to the students the art which for ages was deemed the only path to science. When Dr. Stevenson was admitted a professor Locke's philosophy was little known in the Scottish universities, and he was the first who attached a proper value to the speculations of the illustrious Englishman. These were altogether new to Stevenson's Scottish students, and it is said that it required all the familiarity of his illustrations, and all the forcibility of his address, to enable them to grasp such abstractions, and to relish inquiries that explained the operations of the human mind.

He held the chair from 1730 to 1744. He assembled his students thrice weekly in the afternoon, and delivered to them a history of philosophy, using as his text-book the *Historia Philosophica* of Heineccius. He also used freely Diogenes Laertius, Stanley and Brucker's more recent works on the same subject. He required his students to compose a discourse upon a topic assigned to them, and to contest or define a philosophical thesis in presence of the principal, or whoever might be present.

It is necessary to be somewhat minute in some of these details, as in the history of a university it is impossible to omit a reference to the method of instruction adopted at different periods.

In 1695 it was directed that "the courses of all colleges (in Scotland) should commence on the first lawful day of November, and continue to the last day of January thereafter, and that the magistrand or senior classes were only to continue till the first of May."

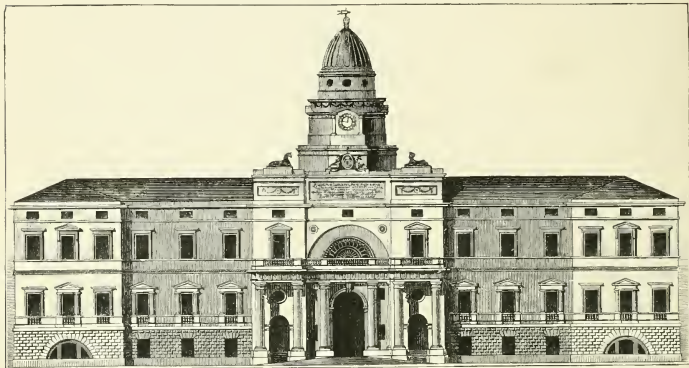
This was probably to leave time for the necessary examinations, prior to the annual graduation; but for many years after the establishment of the Edinburgh University, the work of the professors was a system of perpetual drudgery. The classes assembled in the gloomy buildings of the old rambling college at six in the morning in winter, at five in summer; and were under the eyes of the teachers till nine.

At ten they met again, and continued their studies till twelve. At mid-day the regents attended to confer or dispute. At six an examination commenced; and on days set apart for recreation

and play, the students went into the fields around the Burgh loch, or elsewhere, and returned at four, for examination at six.

In summer they held their conferences concerning the lectures till three. From three to four they were examined by the regent, and from four to six were again permitted to ramble in the fields. Even on Saturdays each of the professors held a disputation in his own class—in winter from seven till nine a.m., and in summer from six till nine, and was similarly occupied from ten till twelve. "That is," says a writer on this subject, "a

few tourists who came to Edinburgh in those days. "What is called the college," wrote an Italian traveller in 1788, "is nothing else than a mass of ruined buildings of very ancient construction. One of them is said to be the house which was partly blown up with gunpowder at the time it was inhabited by Lord Darnley, whose body was found at some distance, naked, and without any signs of violence. The college serves only for the habitation of some of the professors, for lecture rooms, and for the library. Here resides, with his family, the celebrated Dr. William Robertson, who is head



THE ORIGINAL DESIGN FOR THE EAST FRONT OF THE NEW BUILDING FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.
From the Plate in "The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam," London, 1793—1822)

regent in those times taught as many hours on a Saturday as his successors at the present devote to their students in the course of a whole week. In short, the saving of human labour in teaching seems to be the great glory and improvement of the age."

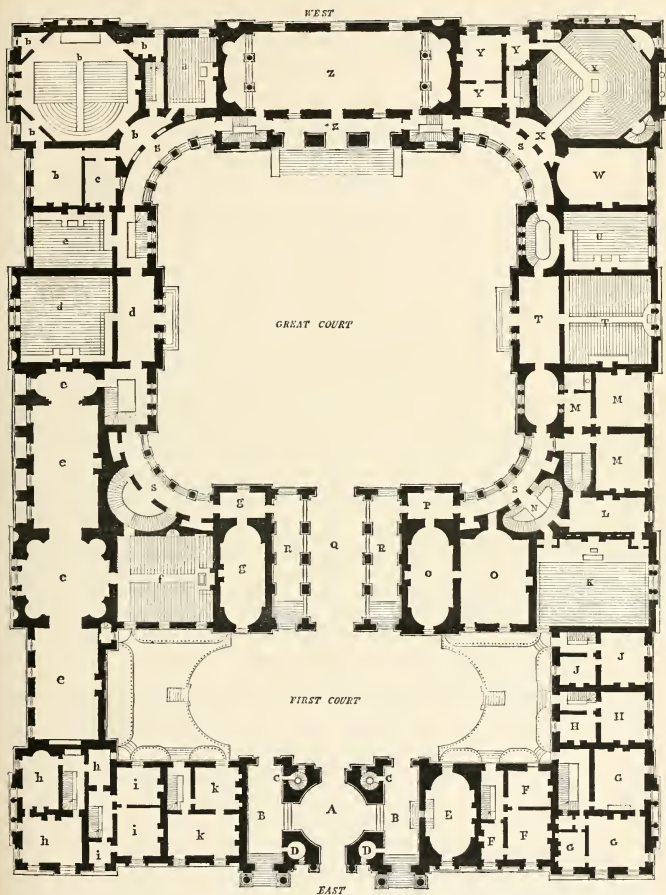
The examination on the students' notes had become that which the commissioners of 1695 regarded it—the most useful and instructive part of a professor's duties.

On the 22nd November, 1753, one of the most shining lights of the old university—Dugald Stewart—was born within its walls, his father, and predecessor in the chair of mathematics, being Dr. Matthew Stewart, who was appointed thereto in 1747.

The poverty and dilapidation of the old university buildings excited the comment of all the

of the university, with the title of principal. The students, who amount annually to some seven or eight hundred, do not live in the college, but board in private houses, and attend the lectures according as they please. Dr. Robertson thinks this method more advantageous to youth than keeping them shut up in colleges, as at Oxford and Cambridge. He says that when young men are not kept from intercourse with society, besides that they do not acquire that rude and savage air which retired study gives, the continual examples which they meet with in the world, of honour and riches acquired by learning and merit, stimulate them more strongly to the attainment of these; and that they acquire, besides, easy and insinuating manners, which render them better fitted in the sequel for public employments."

Elsewhere the tourist says, "The results are such,



ORIGINAL PLAN OF THE PRINCIPAL STOREY OF THE NEW BUILDING FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

(From the Plate in "The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam," London, 1788-1822. For References see p. 27.)

that young men are sent here from Ireland, from Flanders, and even from Russia; and the English of the true old stamp prefer having their sons here, than in Oxford and Cambridge, in order to remove them from the luxury and enormous expense which prevail in these places."

In the olden time, as now, a silver mace was borne before the principal. The original was one of six, traditionally said to have been found, in the year 1683, in the tomb of Bishop Kennedy, at St. Andrews. Two of these are now preserved there, in the Divinity College of St. Mary's; one, of gorgeous construction, is now in the College of St. Salvador, and the other three were respectively presented to the Universities of Aberdeen, Glasgow, and Edinburgh. They are supposed to have been constructed for Bishop Kennedy in 1461, by a goldsmith of Paris named Mair.

From Kincaid we learn that, unfortunately, the silver mace given to the Edinburgh University was stolen, and never recovered, though a handsome reward was offered; and on the 2nd October, 1788, a very ornamental new one was presented to the senatus by the Magistrates, as patrons of the University.

Halls and suites of chambers had been added to the latter from time to time by private citizens; but no regular plan was adopted, and till the time of their demolition the old College buildings presented a rude assemblage of gable-ended and crowstepped edifices, of various dates, and little pretension to ornament.

So early as 1763 a "memorial relating to the University of Edinburgh" was drawn up by one of its professors, containing a proposal for the rebuilding of the College on the site of the old buildings, and on a regular plan; voluntary contributions were to be received from patriotic individuals, and, under proper persons, places were opened for public subscriptions. The proposal was not without interest for a time; but the shadow of the "dark age" lay still upon Edinburgh. The means proved insufficient to realise the project; thus it was laid aside till more favourable times should come; but the interval of the American war seemed to render it hopeless of achievement.

In 1785, however, the design was again brought before the public in a spirited letter, addressed to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas (afterwards Viscount Melville), "On the proposed improvements of the city of Edinburgh, and on the means of accomplishing them." Soon after this, the magistrates set on foot a subscription for erecting a new structure, according to a design prepared by the

celebrated architect, Robert Adam. Had his plans been carried out in their integrity, the present structure would have been much more imposing and magnificent than it is; but it was found, after the erection began to progress, that funds failed, and a curtailment of the original design became necessary.

After a portion of the old buildings had been pulled down, the foundation stone of the new college was laid on the 16th of November, 1789, by Lord Napier, as Grand Master Mason of Scotland, the lineal descendant of the great inventor of the logarithms. The ceremony on this occasion was peculiarly impressive.

The streets were lined by the 35th Regiment and the old City Guard. There were present the Lord Provost, Thomas Elder of Forneth, the whole bench of magistrates in their robes, with the regalia of the city, the Principal (Robertson, the historian), and the entire Senatus Academicus, in their gowns, with the new silver mace borne before them, all the students wearing laurel in their hats, Mr. Schetkey's band of singers, and all the Masonic lodges, with their proper insignia. Many Scottish nobles and gentry were in the procession, which started from the Parliament Square, and passing by the South Bridge, reached the site at one o'clock, amid 30,000 spectators.

The foundation stone was laid in the usual form, and, amid prayer, corn, oil, and wine were poured upon it. Two crystal bottles, cast on purpose at the Glass House of Leith, were deposited in the cavity, containing coins of the reigning sovereign, cased in crystal. These were placed in one bottle; in the other were deposited seven rolls of vellum, containing an account of the original foundation and the then state of the university. The bottles, being carefully sealed up, were covered with a plate of copper wrapped in block tin. On these were engraved the arms of the city, of the university, and of Lord Napier. The inscription on the plate was as follows, but in Latin:—

"By the blessing of Almighty God, in the reign of the most magnificent Prince George III., the buildings of the University of Edinburgh, being originally very mean, and almost a ruin, the Right Hon. Francis Lord Napier, Grand Master of the Fraternity of Freemasons in Scotland, amid the acclamations of a prodigious concourse of all ranks of people, laid the foundation stone of this new fabric, in which a union of elegance with convenience, suitable to the dignity of such a celebrated seat of learning, has been studied. On the 16th day of November, in the year of our Lord 1789, and of the era of Masonry 5789, Thomas

Elder being Lord Provost of the city, William Robertson, Principal of the University, and Robert Adam, the architect. May the undertaking prosper and be crowned with success."

The proceedings of the day were closed by a princely banquet in the Assembly Rooms.

The building was now begun, and, portion by portion, the old edifices engrafted on those of the Kirk-of-Field gave place to the stately quadrangular university of the present day; and, as nearly as can be ascertained, on the spot occupied by the Senate Hall stood that fatal tenement in which King Henry was lodged on his return from Glasgow, and which was partly blown up on the night of his assassination, between the 9th and 10th of February, 1567. In the repaired portion some of the professors resided, and it was averred to be ghost haunted, and the abode of mysterious sounds.

The foundation stone of the old university—if it ever had one—was not discovered during the erection of the present edifice. The magistrates, with more zeal for the celebrity of the city than consideration for their financial resources, having wished that—subscriptions apart—they should bear the chief cost of the erection, it remained for more than twenty years after the foundation-stone was laid a monument of combined vanity, rashness, and poverty, Government, as usual in most Scottish matters, especially in those days, withholding all aid. Yet, in 1790, when Professor William Cullen, first physician to His Majesty in Scotland, and holder of the chair of medicine from 1773, died, it was proposed "to erect a statue to him in the new university," the walls of which were barely above the ground.

Within the area of the latter masses of the old buildings still remained, and in the following year, 1761, these gave accommodation to 1,255 students. In that year we learn from the *Scots Magazine* that the six noble pillars which adorn the front, each 22 feet 4 inches high, and in diameter 3 feet 3 inches, were erected. These were brought from Craigleith quarry, each drawn by sixteen horses.

Kincaid records that the total sum subscribed by the end of February, 1794, amounted to only £32,000. Hence the work languished, and at times was abandoned for want of funds; and about that time we read of a meeting of Scottish officers held at Calcutta, who subscribed a sum towards its completion, the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, heading the list with a contribution of 3,000 sicca rupees.

But many parts of the edifice remained an open and unfinished ruin, in which crows and other

birds built their nests; and a strange dwarf, known as Geordie More (who died so lately as 1828), built unto himself a species of booth or hut at the college gate unchallenged.

In an old "Guide to Edinburgh," published in 1811, we read thus of the building:—"It cannot said to be yet half finished, notwithstanding the prodigious sums expended upon it; if we advert to the expenses which will unavoidably attend the completing of its ichnography or inside accommodations, and, without the interference of the Legislature, it will perhaps be exhibited to posterity as a melancholy proof of the poverty of the nation."

This state of matters led to the complete curtailment of Adam's grand designs, and modifications of them were ultimately accomplished by Mr. W. H. Playfair, after Parliament, in 1815, granted an annual sum of £10,000 for ten years to finish the work, which, however, was not completely done till 1834; and since then, the idea of the great central dome, which was always a part of the original design, seems now to have been entirely abandoned.

The university, as we find it now, presents its main front to South Bridge Street, and forms an entire side respectively to West College Street, to South College Street, and to Chambers Street on the north. It is a regular parallelogram, 356 feet long by 225 wide, extending in length east and west, and having in its centre a stately quadrangular court. The main front has some exquisite, if simple, details, and is of stupendous proportions. In style, within and without, it is partly Palladian and partly Grecian, but is so pent up by the pressure of adjacent streets—on three sides, at least—that it can never be seen to advantage. It has been said that were the university "situated in a large park, particularly upon a rising ground, it would appear almost sublime, and without a parallel among the modern edifices of Scotland; but situated as it is, it makes upon the mind of a stranger, in its exterior views at least, impressions chiefly of bewilderment and confusion."

It is four storeys in height, and is entered by three grand and lofty arched porticoes from the east; at the sides of these are the great Craigleith columns above referred to, each formed of a single stone.

On the summit is a vast entablature, bearing the following inscription, cut in Roman letters:—

"Academia Jacobi VI., Scotorum Regis anno post Christum natum M,DLXXII. instituta; annoque M,DCC,LXXXIX., renovari coepit; regnante Georgio III. Principe munificentissimo; Urbis Edinensis Prefecto

Thoma Elder; Academicæ Primario Gulielmo Robertson. Architecto, Roberto Adam."

The ranges of buildings around the inner court are in a plain but tasteful Grecian style, and have an elegant stone balustrade, forming a kind of paved gallery, which is interrupted only by the entrance, and by flights of steps that lead to the library, museum, the Senate Hall, and various class-rooms. At the angles on the west side are spacious arcade piazzas, and in the centre is a fine statue of Sir David Brewster.

At the Treaty of Union with England, and when the Act of Security was passed, all the Acts passed by the Scottish Parliament, defining the rights, privileges, and immunities of this and the other universities of Scotland, were fully ratified; but its privileges and efficiency have been since augmented by the Scottish Universities Act, passed in 1858, making provision for their better government and discipline, and for the improvement and regulation of the course of study therein.

It is now a corporation consisting of a chancellor, who is elected for life by the General Council, whose sanction must be given to all internal arrangements, and through whom degrees are conferred, and the first of whom was Lord Brougham; a vice-chancellor, who acts in absence of the former, and who has the duty of acting as returning officer at Parliamentary elections, and the first of whom was Sir David Brewster; a rector, who is elected by the matriculated students, and whose term of office is three years, and among whom have been William Ewart Gladstone, Thomas Carlyle, Lord Moncrieff, Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell, and others; a representative in Parliament, elected in common with the University of St. Andrews—the first M.P. being Dr. Lyon Playfair.

After these come the university court, which has the power of reviewing all the decisions of the Senatus Academicus, the attention of professors as to their modes of teaching, &c., the regulation of class fees, the suspension and censure of professors, the control of the pecuniary concerns of the university, "including funds mortified for bursaries and other purposes."

This court holds the patronage of the Chair of Music, and a share in that of Agriculture, and it consists of the rector, the principal, and six assessors, one of whom is elected by the Town Council.

By the Act of 1858 the patronage of seventeen chairs, previously in the gift of the latter body, was transferred to seven curators, who hold office for three years. They also have the appointment

of the principal, who is the resident head of the college for life.

He, with the whole of the professors, constitutes the Senate, which is entrusted with the entire administration of the university—its revenues, property, library, museums, and buildings, &c.; and the business is conducted by a secretary.

The chairs of the university are comprehended in the four faculties, each of which is presided over by a dean, elected from among the professors of each particular faculty, and through whom the students recommended for degrees are presented to the Senatus.

The following is a list of the principals elected since 1582, all of them famous in literature or art:—

1585. Robert Rollock.	1716. William Wishart.
1599. Henry Charteris.	1730. William Hamilton.
1620. Patrick Sands.	1732. James Smith.
1622. Robert Boyd.	1736. William Wishart <i>secundus</i> .
1623. John Adamson.	1754. John Gowdie.
1652. William Colville.	1762. William Robertson
1653. Robert Leighton.	1793. Geo. Husband Baird.
1662. William Colville.	1840. John Lee.
1675. Andrew Cant.	1859. Sir David Brewster.
1685. Alexander Monro.	1868. Sir Alex. Grant, Bart.
1690. Gilbert Rule.	
1703. William Carstairs.	

To attempt to enumerate all the brilliant alumni who in their various Faculties have shed a glory over the University of Edinburgh, would far exceed our limits; but an idea of its progress in literature, science, and art, may be gathered from the following enumeration of the professorships, with the dates when founded, and the names of the first holder of the chairs.

Those of Greek, Logic and Metaphysics, Moral and Natural Philosophy, were occupied by the regents in rotation from 1583, when Robert Rollock was first Regent, till 1708.

Faculty of Arts.

Humanity, 1597. John Ray, Professor.
 Mathematics, 1674. James Gregory.
 Greek, 1708. William Scott.
 Logic and Metaphysics, 1708. Colin Drummond.
 Moral Philosophy, 1708. William Law.
 Natural Philosophy, 1708. Robert Stewart.
 Rhetoric, 1762. Hugh Blair.
 Astronomy, 1786. Robert Blair.
 Agriculture, 1790. Andrew Coventry.
 Theory of Music, 1839. John Thomson.
 Technology, 1855. George Wilson. (Abolished 1859)
 Sanskrit, 1862. Theodor Aufrecht.
 Engineering, 1868. Fleming Jenkin.
 Commercial Economy, 1871. W. B. Hodgson.
 Education, 1876. Simon Laurie.
 Fine Arts, 1880. Baldwin Brown.
 Geology, 1871. Archibald Geikie.

Faculty of Theology.

Theology, 1620. Andrew Ramsay.
 Hebrew, 1642. Julius Conradus Otto.
 Divinity, 1702. John Cumming.
 Biblical Criticism, 1847. Robert Lee.

Faculty of Law.

Public Law, 1707. Charles Areskine.
 Civil Law, 1710. James Craig.
 History, 1719. Charles Mackie.
 Scottish Law, 1722. Alexander Bayne.
 Medical Jurisprudence, 1807. Andrew Duncan (*secundus*).
 Conveyancing, 1825. Macvey Napier.

colonies and India avail themselves very extensively of the educational resources of the University of Edinburgh. In 1880 there were 3,172 matriculated students, of whom 1,634 were medical alone; of these 677 were from Scotland, 558 from England, 28 from Ireland, and the rest from abroad; and these numbers will be greatly increased when the Extension Buildings are in full working order, and further develop the teaching resources of the University.



THE QUADRANGLE, EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY.

Faculty of Medicine.

Botany, 1676. James Sutherland.
 Medicine and Botany, 1738. Charles Alston.
 Practice of Medicine, 1724. William Porterfield.
 Anatomy, 1705. Robert Elliot.
 Chemistry and Medicine, 1713. James Crawford.
 Chemistry (alone), 1844. William Gregory.
 Midwifery, 1726. Joseph Gibson.
 Natural History, 1767. Robert Ramsay.
 Materia Medica, 1768. Francis Home.
 Clinical Surgery, 1803. James Russell.
 Military Surgery, 1806. John Thomson (abolished).
 Surgery, 1777. Alexander Monro (*secundus*).
 General Pathology, 1831. John Thomson.

The average number of students is above 3,000 yearly, and by far the greater proportion of them attend the Faculty of Medicine. The British

There are two sessions, beginning respectively in October and May, the latter being confined to law and medicine. The university confers all the usual degrees. To qualify in Arts it is necessary to attend the classes for Latin, Greek, Mathematics, Logic, Rhetoric, Moral and Natural Philosophy.

There are some 125 bursaries amounting in the annual aggregate value of scholarships and fellowships to about £1,600.

The revenues of the university of old were scanty and inadequate to the encouragement of high education and learning in Edinburgh; and the salaries attached to the chairs we have enumerated are not inferior generally to those in the other universities of Scotland.

Among the first bequests we may mention that of 8,000 merks, or the wadsett of the lands of Strathnaver, granted by Robert Reid, Prior of Beaulieu and last Catholic Bishop of Orkney, to build a college in Edinburgh, having three schools, one for bairns in grammar, another for those that learn poetry and oratory, with chambers for the regent's hall, and the third for the civil and canon law, and which is recorded by the Privy Council of Scotland (1569-1578) "as greatly for the common weal and policy of the realm." Robert Reid was a man far in advance of his time, and it is to him that Edinburgh owes its famous university.

The patronage of James VI. and private benefactions enabled it to advance in consequence. Sir William Nisbet, Bart., of Dean, provost of the city in 1669, gave £1,000 Scots towards the maintenance of a chair of theology; and on the 20th March in the following year, according to Stark, the Common Council nominated professors for that Faculty and for Physic.

In 1663 General Andrew, Earl of Teviot, Governor of Dunkirk, and commander of the British troops in Tangiers (where, in the following year he was slain in battle by the Moors), bequeathed a sum to build eight rooms "in the college of Edinburgh, where he had been educated." William III. bestowed upon it an annuity of £300 sterling, which cost him nothing, as it was paid out of the bishops' rents in Scotland. Part of this was withdrawn by his successor Queen Anne, and thus a professor and fifteen students were lost to the university. Curiously enough this endowment was recovered quite recently. It does not appear that there are now any "bishops' rents" forthcoming, and when the chair of International Law was re-founded in 1862, a salary of £250 a year was attached to it, out of funds voted by Parliament. But in an action in the Scottish Courts, Lord Rutherford-Clark held that the new professorship was identical with the old, and that Professor Lorimer, its present holder, was entitled to receive in the future the additional sum of £150 from the Crown, though not any arrears.

One of the handsomest of recent bequests was that of General John Reid, colonel of the 88th Regiment, whose obituary notice appears thus in the *Scots Magazine*, under date February 6th, 1807: "He was eighty years of age, and has left above £50,000. Three gentlemen are named executors to whom he has left £100 each; the remainder of his property in trust to be life-rented by an only daughter (who married without his consent), whom failing, to the College of Edinburgh. When it takes that destination he desires his executors to

apply it to the college *imprimis*, to institute a professor of music, with a salary of not less than £500 a year; in other respects to be applied to the purchase of a library, or laid out in such manner as the principal and professors may think proper."

Thus the chair of music was instituted, and with it the yearly musical Reid festival, at which the first air always played by the orchestra is "The Garb of Old Gaul," a stirring march of the General's own composition.

By the bequest of Henry George Watson, accountant in Edinburgh, £11,000 was bestowed on the University in 1880, to found the "Watson-Gordon Professorship of Fine Art," in honour of his brother, the late well-known Sir John Watson-Gordon, President of the Scottish Academy; and in the same year, Dr. Vans Dunlop of Rutland Square, Edinburgh, left to the University £50,000 for educational purposes; and by the last lines of his will, Thomas Carlyle, in 1880, bequeathed property worth about £300 a year to the University, to found ten bursaries for the benefit of the poorer students; and the document concludes with the expression of his wish that "the small bequest might run forever, a thread of pure water from the Scottish rocks, trickling into its little basin by the thirsty wayside for those whom it veritably belongs to."

By an Act 1 and 2 Vic. cap. 55, "the various sums of money mortified in the hands of the Town Council, for the support of the University, amounting to £13,119 were discharged, and an annual payment of £2,500 (since reduced to £2,170) secured upon the revenues of Leith Docks," is assigned to the purposes of the earlier bequests for bursaries, &c.

The total income of the university, as given in the calendar, averages above £24,000 yearly.

The library is a noble hall 198 feet long by 50 in width, and originated in 1580 in a bequest by Mr. Clement Little, Commissary of Edinburgh, a learned citizen (and brother of the Provost Little of Over-Liberton), who bequeathed his library to the city "and the Kirk of God." This collection amounted to about 300 volumes, chiefly theological, and remained in an edifice near St. Giles's churchyard till it was removed to the old college about 1582. There were originally two libraries belonging to the university; but one consisted mostly of books of divinity appropriated solely to the use of students of theology.

The library was largely augmented by donations from citizens, from the alumni of the University, and the yearly contributions of those who graduated in arts. Drummond of Hawthornden, the cele-

brated cavalier-poet, bequeathed his entire library to the University, and the gift is deemed a valuable one, from the rare specimens of our early literature which enriches the collection. Among the chief donors whose gifts are extensive and valuable may be named Principal Adamson, Dr. Robert Johnston, the Rev. James Nairne of Wemyss, Dr. John Stevenson, who held the chair of Logic and Metaphysics from 1730 till 1774, Dr. William Thomson, Professor of Anatomy at Oxford; and in 1872 the library received a very valuable donation from J. O. Halliwell, the eminent Shaksperian critic, a collection of works relating to Shakspeare, and formed by him at great cost.

The average collection of the university extends to about 150,000 volumes, and 700 volumes of MSS. The university possesses above seventy valuable portraits and busts of ancient and modern alumni, most of which are kept in the Senate Hall and library. The latter possesses a fine copy of Fordun's *Scotichronicon* (on vellum) in folio, from which Goodall's edition of 1775 was printed.

The Museum of Natural History was established in 1812, in connection with the university, and contains a most valuable zoological, geological, and mineralogical collection, the greater portion of which was formed by the exertions of Professor Robert Jamieson, who was fifty years Professor of Natural History (from 1804 to 1854) and Regius keeper of the museum. In 1854 it was transferred by the Town Council (at that time patrons of the university) to Government, under whose control it has since remained. The whole of the collections have been now removed to the Natural History department of the adjoining museum of Science and Art; but are available for the educational purposes of the university, and are freely accessible to the students of the natural history class.

The Anatomical Museum was founded in 1800 by Dr. Alexander Monro *secundus*, who presented his own anatomical collection and that of his father to the University, "to be used by his future

successors in office, for the purpose of demonstrating and explaining the structure, physiology, and diseases of the human body."

In 1859 Sir David Monro, M.D., presented a considerable collection of anatomical preparations, formed by his talented father, Dr. Alexander Monro *tertius*. Many valuable additions have been made since then; among them, some by the late John Goodsir, Professor of Anatomy, 1846-1867, more especially in the comparative department; and since his death the Senatus purchased from his representatives his private museum and added it to the collection, which now contains many thousand specimens illustrative of human anatomy, both normal and pathological, and of comparative anatomy.

There are minor museums in connection with the classes of natural philosophy, midwifery, materia medica and botany, and one was recently constructed by Professor Geikie for the use of the geological class.

In October, 1881, nearly the whole of the great anatomical collection referred to here, including the skeletons of the infamous Burke and one of his victims known as "Daft Jamie," was removed from the old to the new University buildings at Lauriston.

REFERENCES TO THE PLAN ON PAGE 21.

A, Entrance; B B, Passages; C C, Stairs to Divinity Class and Janitors' Houses; D D, Porter's Lodges; E, Faculty Room or Senatus Academicus; F, Professor's House; G, Principal's House; H, Professor's House; J, Professor's House; K, Chemistry Class; L, Preparation Room; M, Professor of Chemistry's House; N, Stairs to Gallery and Upper Preparation Room of Chemistry Class; O, Royal Society; P, Lobby to Royal Society; Q, Carriage-way to Great Court; R, Arcades for foot-passengers; S S S S, Corridors of Communication; T T, Lobby and Class for Practice of Physics; U, Civil Law Class Room; V, Preparation Room or Anatomical Museum; X X, Anatomical Theatre and Lobby; Y Y, Painting Rooms and private room; Z, Great Hall for Graduations, &c., with Loggia and two staircases to the Galleries above; a, Class for the Theory of Physics; b, Mathematical Class, Professor's Room, Instrument Room, Lobby, &c.; c, Universal History and Antiquity Class, with the Professor's Room; d, Class and Lobby for the Professor of Humanity; e, Museum for Natural History; f, Class for Natural History; g, Guard Hall and Lobby; h, Librarian's House; i, Professor's House; k, Professor of Divinity's House. The Houses marked F, H, J, and I are to be possessed by the Professors of Humanity, Greek, Hebrew, and Mathematics.

CHAPTER III.

THE DISTRICT OF THE BURGHMUIR.

The Muster by James III.—Burghmuir feued by James IV.—Muster before Flodden—Relics thereof—The Pest—The Skirmish of Lowsie Low—A Duel in 1722—Valleyfield House and Leven Lodge—Barclay Free Church—Bruntsfield Links and the Golf Clubs.

THE tract of the Burghmuir, of which the name alone remains, and which extended from the water of the South loch on the north, to the foot of the

almost unchanged Braid Hills on the south; from Dalry on the west, to St. Leonard's Craigs on the east, formed no inconsiderable portion of the

great forest of Drumsheugh, wherein the white bull, the Caledonian boar, the elk and red deer roamed, and where broken and lawless men had their haunt in later times.

Yet some clearances of timber must have been made there before 1482, when James III. mustered on it, in July, 50,000 men under the royal standard for an invasion of England, which brought about the rebellious raid of Lauder. On the 6th October, 1508, his son James IV., by a charter

Among those who then got lands here were Sir Alexander Lauder of Blyth, Provost of the City, and George Towers of the line of Inverleith, whose name was long connected with the annals of the city.

It was on this ground—the Campus Martius of the Scottish hosts—that James IV. mustered, in the summer of 1513, an army of 100,000 men, the most formidable that ever marched against England; and a fragment of the hare-stane, or bore-



THE LIBRARY HALL. EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY.

under the Great Seal, leased the Burghmuir to the council and community of Edinburgh (City Charters, 1143–1540) empowering them to farm and clear it of wood, which led to the erection within the city of those quaint timber-fronted houses, many of which still remain in the closes and wynds, and even in the High Street. In 1510 we find, from the Burgh Records, that the persons to whom certain acres were let there, were bound to build thereon “dwelling-houses, malt-barns, and cow-bills, and to have servants for the making of malt betwixt (30th April) and Michaelmas, 1512; and failing to do so, to pay £40 to the common works of the town; and also to pay £5 for every acre of the three acres set to them.”

stane, in which the royal standard was planted, on this and many similar occasions, is still preserved, and may be seen built into a wall, at Banner Place, near Morningside Church. As Drummond records, the place was then “spacious and made delightful by the shade of many stately and aged oaks.”

“There were assembled,” says Pitcottie, “all his earls, lords, barons, and burgesses; and all manner of men between sixty and sixteen, spiritual and temporal, burgh and land, islesmen and others, to the number of a hundred thousand, *not reckoning* carriages and artillerymen, who had charge of fifty shot-cannons.” When some houses were built in the adjacent School Lane in 1825, hundreds

of old horse-shoes were dug up, where a farrier's forge is supposed to have stood; and another relic of that great muster was removed only in 1876, a landmark known as King James's knowe, a small knoll, evidently artificial and partly built of freestone, from which he is said to have reviewed and addressed his army on the eve of its departure for Flodden.

Close by, when digging the foundation of the corner block of the present Marchmont Terrace next the Links, in the same year 1876, a large tree, 150 years old, had to be removed, and there was found, ten feet below its roots, a quarry-pick of antique pattern, and a dozen wedges, which must have lain there at least 400 years.

Seven years after Flodden, we find from the Burgh Records, that a pestilence was spreading daily, and the infected were removed from the city, and received "within the hous and barnis of the Burrow-mure,"—edifices which the magistrates afterwards ordered to be unroofed and stripped of their timberwork, with sanitary views, no doubt; and under the City Treasurer's accounts in 1554 we find two entries in August.

"Item: for cords to hang and bind uthir vj Inglishmen peratts (pirates) on the gallows of the Burrow Mure—iiijjs.

"Item: for cords to bind the man that was (be) heiddit for the slaughter of the sister of the Sennis man."

In the same year, under the Regency of Mary of Guise, that part of the muir "besyde the sisters of the Sciennes," was appointed for the weapon-shaws of the armed burghers, with "lang wappinnis, sic as speiris, pikis, and culveringis;" and about the same time, in the "Retours," we find that rising citizen George Towers, heiring his father George Towers, in the lands of Bristo, and twenty acres in "Dalry and Tolcroce."

In 1556, by order of the magistrates, a door was made to the gallows on the Burghmuir, to be the height of the enclosing wall, "sua that doggis sall nocht be abill to carry the carrionis

furth of the samyn, as they had done in tymes past."

In 1568, when a pest again appeared, the infected, with all their furniture, were lodged in huts built upon the muir, where they were visited by their friends after 11 a.m.; "any one going earlier was liable to be punished with death." Then their clothes were cleansed in a huge caldron in the open air, under the supervision of two citizens, styled the Bailies of the Muir, who together with the cleansers and bearers of the dead, wore grey gowns, with white St. Andrew crosses thereon.

During the contest between the Kingsmen and Queensmen, the Burghmuir was the scene of many a combat, and we read of one in 1571, when according to Crawford of Drumsoy, Sir William Kirkaldy sent from the Castle 200 musketeers and pikemen, with several citizens, under the Lords Huntley, Home, and Kilwinning, who attacked Morton's men near the Powburn, but were driven in as far as the Kirk-of-field; but after fresh succours came, they fell back to a place on the muir, "called the Lowsie Low, when the Loyalists were again shamefully beaten, and forced to shelter themselves within the city, with twice the loss they had sustained before."

In April, 1601, John Watt, Deacon of the Trades in Edinburgh—the same gallant official who raised them in arms for the protection of James VI. in the tumult of 1596—was shot dead on the muir; but by whom the outrage was perpetrated was never known.

One of the earliest notices we find of the name by which the open part of the muir is now known occurs in Balfour's "Annales," when in 1644, the Laird of Lawers' troop of horse is ordered by Parliament to muster on "Brountoune Links to-morrow," and the commissary to give them a month's pay.

In this part many deep quarries were dug, from which, no doubt, the old houses of Warrender and other adjacent edifices were built. These



THE BORE-STANE.

hollows are still discernible, and in them the Scots Foot Guards were posted under Viscount Kingston, to cover the approach to the city in 1666, when the Covenanters took post at Pentland, prior to their defeat at Rullion Green.

In 1690 the money and corn rents of the muir amounted to only £126 19s. 6d. sterling; and about that time a considerable portion of Bruntsfield belonged to a family named Fairlie.

In 1722 Colonel J. Chonly's Regiment—the 26th or Cameronians—was encamped on the Links, where a quarrel ensued between a Captain Chiesley and a Lieutenant Moodie; and these two meeting one day in the Canongate, attacked each other sword in hand, and each, after a sharp conflict, mortally wounded the other, “Mr. Moodie's lady looking over the window all the while this bloody tragedy was acting,” as the *Caledonian Mercury* of the 7th August records.

At the north-west corner of Bruntsfield Links there stood, until the erection of Glengyle Terrace, Valleyfield House, an ancient edifice, massively built, and having a half-timber front towards the old Toll-cross, which was long there. It had great crowstepped gables and enormous square chimneys, was three storeys in height, with small windows, and was partly quadrangular. Traditionally it was said to have been a temporary residence of the Regent Moray during an illness; but, if so, it must at some time have been added to, or changed proprietors, as on the door-lintel of the high and conically-roofed octagon stair, on its east side, were the date 1687, with the initials, M. C. M. Its name is still retained in the adjacent thoroughfare called Valleyfield Street.

A little way northward of its site is Leven Lodge, a plain but massive old edifice, that once contained a grand oak staircase and stately dining-hall, with windows facing the south; but now almost hidden amid encircling houses of a humble and sordid character. It was the country villa of the Earls of Leven, and in 1758 was the residence of George sixth Earl of Northesk, who married Lady Anne Lesly, daughter of Alexander Earl of Leven, and their only son, David Lord Rosehill was born there in the year mentioned.

In 1811 it was the residence of Lady Penelope Belhaven, youngest daughter of Ronald Macdonald of Clanronald; she died in 1816, since when, no doubt, its declension began. It was about that time the property of Captain Swinton of Drum-dryan.

Immediately south of Valleyfield House, at the delta formed by a conglomeration of old edifices, known under the general name of the Wright's

houses, and on the site of an old villa of the Georgian era, that stood within a carriage entrance, was built, in 1862-3, the Barclay Free Church at an expense of £10,000, and from the bequest of a lady of that name. It is said to be in the second style of Pointed architecture, but is correctly described by Professor Blackie as being “full of individual beauties or prettinesses in detail, yet as a whole, disorderly, inorganic, and monstrous.” By some it is called Venetian Gothic. It has, however, a stately tower and slender spire, that rises to a height of 250 feet, and is a landmark over a vast extent of country, even from Inverkeithing in Fife-shire.

In its vicinity are Viewforth Free Church, built in 1871-2 at a cost of £5,000, in a geometric Gothic style, with a tower 112 feet high; and the Gilmore Place United Presbyterian Church, the congregation of which came hither from the Vennel, and which, after a cost of £7,900 for site and erection, was opened for service in April, 1881.

No part of Edinburgh has a more agreeable southern exposure than those large open spaces round the Meadows (which we have described elsewhere) and Bruntsfield Links, which contribute both to their health and amenity.

The latter have long been famous as a playground for the ancient and national game of golf, and strangers who may be desirous of enjoying it, are usually supplied with clubs and assistants at the old Golf Tavern, that overlooks the breezy and grassy scene of operations, which affords space for the members of no less than six golf clubs, viz:—the Burghers, instituted 1735; the Honourable Company of Edinburgh, instituted prior to 1744; the Bruntsfield, instituted 1761; the Allied Golfing Club, instituted 1856; the Warrender, instituted 1858; and the St. Leonards, instituted 1857. Each of these is presided over by a captain, and the usual playing costume is a scarlet coat, with the facings and gilt buttons of the club.

To dwell at length on the famous game of golf is perhaps apart from the nature of this work, and yet, as these Links have been for ages the scene of that old sport, a few notices of it may be acceptable.

It seems somewhat uncertain at what precise period golf was introduced into Scotland; but some such game, called cambuca, was not unknown in England during the reign of Edward III., as we may learn from Strutt's “Sports and Pastimes,” but more probably he refers to that known as Pall Mall. Football was prohibited by Act of the Scottish Parliament in 1424, as interfering with the more necessary science of

archery, but the statute makes no reference to golf, while it is specially mentioned in later enactments, in 1457 and 1471, under James III.; but still it seems to have thriven, and in the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer, under James IV., the following entries are found :—

1503, Feb. 3. Item to the King to play at the Golf with the Erle of Bothwile	xlijs.
„ Feb. 4. Item to Golf Clubbes and Ballis to the King	ixs.
1503, Feb. 22. Item, xij Golf Balls to the King	iiijs.
1506. Item, the 28th day of Julij for ij Golf Clubbes to the King	ijjs.

During the reign of James VI. the business of club making had become one of some importance, and by a letter, dated Holyrood, 4th April, 1603, William Mayne, Bowyer, burgess of Edinburgh, is appointed maker of bows, arrows, spears, and clubs to the king. From thenceforward the game took a firm hold of the people as a national pastime, and it seems to have been a favourite one with Henry, Duke of Rothesay, and with the great Marquis of Montrose, as the many entries in his “Household Book” prove. “Even kings themselves,” says a writer in the *Scots Magazine* for 1792, “did not decline the princely sport; and it will not be displeasing to the Society of Edinburgh Golfers to be informed that the two last crowned heads that ever visited this country (Charles I. and James VII.) used to practise golf on the Links of Leith, now occupied by the society for the same purpose.”

In 1744 the city gave a silver club, valued at £15, to be played for on the 1st of April annually by the Edinburgh Company of Golfers, the victor to be styled captain for the time, and to append a gold or silver medal to the club, bearing his name and date of victory. The Honourable Company was incorporated by a charter from the magistrates in 1800, and could boast of the most illustrious Scotsmen of the day among its members. Until the year 1792 St. Andrews had a species of monopoly in the manufacture of golf balls. They are small and hard, and of old were always stuffed with feathers. The clubs are from three to four feet long. “The heads are of brass,” says Dr. Walker, in a letter to the famous Dr. Carlyle of Inveresk; “and the face with which the ball is struck is perfectly smooth, having no inclination, such as might have a tendency to raise the ball from the ground. The game may be played by any number, either in parties against each other, or each person for himself, and the contest is to hole the course in the fewest strokes.”

“Far!” or “Fore!” is the signal cry before the ball is struck, to warn loiterers or spectators; and “Far and Sure!” is a common motto with golf clubs.

Topham, an English traveller in Scotland in 1775, in describing the customs of the Scots, makes the *summit* of Arthur's Seat and other high hills round Edinburgh the favourite places for playing golf!

In virtue of a bet in 1798, Mr. Scales of Leith, and Mr. Smellie, a printer, were selected to perform the curious feat of driving a ball from the south-east corner of the Parliament Square over the weathercock of St. Giles's, 161 feet from the base of the church. They were allowed the use of six balls each. These all went considerably higher than the vane, and were found in the Advocate's Close, on the north side of the High Street.

Duncan Forbes, the Lord President, was so fond of golf that he was wont to play on the sands of Leith when the Links were covered with snow. Kay gives us a portrait of a famous old golfer, Andrew McKellar, known as the “Cock o' the Green,” in the act of striking the ball. This enthusiast spent entire days on Bruntsfield Links, club in hand, and was often there by night too, playing at the “short holes” by lantern light. Andrew died about 1813.

Bruntsfield Links and those of Musselburgh are the favourite places yet of the Edinburgh Club; but the St. Andrews meetings are so numerously attended that the old city by the sea has been denominated the *Metropolis* of golfing.

In a miscellaneous collection, entitled “*Mistura Curiosa*,” a song in praise of golf has two verses thus :—

“I love the game of golf, my boys, though there are folks in
town
Who, when upon the Links they walk, delight to run it
down;
But then those folks who don't love golf, of course, can't
comprehend
The fond love that exists between the golfer and his friend.
“For on the green the new command, that ye love one
another,
Is, as a rule, kept better by a golfer than a brother;
For if he's struck, a brother's rage is not so soon appeased,
But the harder that *I hit* my friend, the better he is pleased.”

Until the Royal Park at Holyrood was opened up, levelled, and improved, at the suggestion of the late Prince Consort, Bruntsfield Links was the invariable place for garrison reviews and field days by the troops; but neither they nor any one else can interfere with the vested rights of the golfers to play over any part of the open ground at all times.

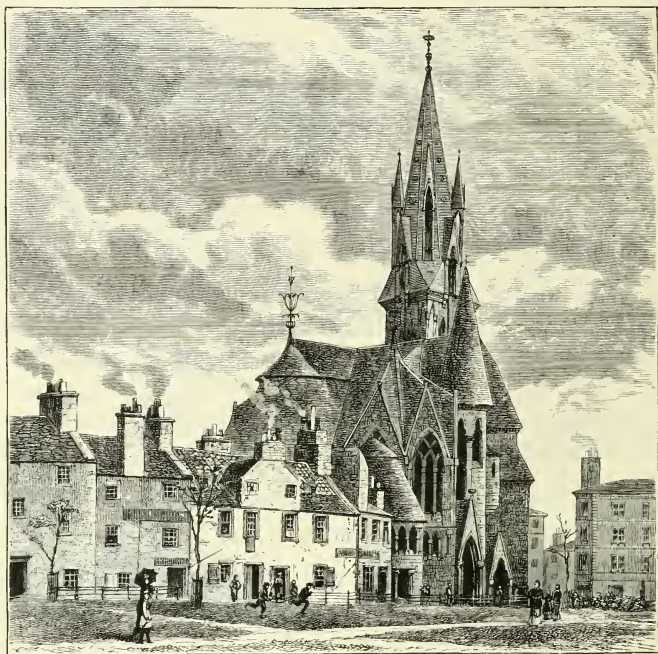
On the summit of the green slope now crowned by the hideous edifice known as Gillespie's Hospital, a picturesque mansion of very great antiquity, quadrangular in form, striking in outline, with its peel-tower, turrets, crowstepped gables and gablets,

encrusted with legends, dates, and coats of arms, for ages formed one of the most important features of the Burghmuir.

This was the mansion of Wrychtis-housis, belonging to an old baronial family named Napier,

alliances by which the family succession of the Napiers of the Wrychtis-housis had been continued from early times."

By the Chamberlain Rolls, William Napier of the Wrychtis-housis was Constable of the Castle of



WRIGHT'S HOUSES AND THE EARLS' CHURCH, FROM BRUNTSFIELD LINKS.

to which additions had been made as generations succeeded each other, but the original part or nucleus of which was a simple old Scottish tower of considerable height. "The general effect of this antique pile," says Wilson, "was greatly enhanced on approaching it, by the numerous heraldic devices and inscriptions which adorned every window, doorway, and ornamental pinnacle, the whole wall being crowded with armorial bearings, designed to perpetuate the memory of the noble

Edinburgh in 1390, in succession to John, Earl of Carrick (eldest son of King Robert II.); and it is most probable that he was the same William Napier who held that office in 1402, and who, in the first years of the fifteenth century, with the aid of Archibald, Earl of Douglas, and the hapless Duke of Rothesay, maintained that important fortress against Henry IV. and all the might of England.

To the gallant resistance made on this occasion,

the genealogist of the Napier family conceives, with great probability, that the property was held by the tenure of payment to the king of a silver penny yearly upon the *Castle Hill* of Edinburgh.

The edifice to which we refer was undoubtedly one of the oldest, and by far the most picturesque, baronial dwelling in the neighbourhood of the city; and blending as it did the grim old feudal tower of the twelfth or thirteenth century with more ornate additions of the Scoto-French style of later years, it must have formed—even in the tasteless age that witnessed its destruction—a pleasing and striking feature from every part of the landscape

broken, and the whole of them dispersed. Among those we have examined," says Wilson, "there is one now built into the doorway of Gillespie's School, having a tree cut on it, bearing for fruit the stars and crescents of the family arms, and the inscription, DOMINUS EST ILLUMINATIO MEA; another, placed over the hospital wall, has this legend below a boldly cut heraldic device, CONSTANTIA ET LABORE, 1339. On two others, now at Woodhouselee, are the following: BEATUS VIR QUI SPERAT IN DEO, 1450, and PATRIÆ ET POSTERIS, 1513. The only remains of this singular mansion that have escaped the general wreck," he adds, "are the sculptured



THE AVENUE, BRUNTSFIELD LINKS.

around it, especially when viewed from Bruntsfield Links against a sunset sky.

One of the dates upon it was 1339, four years after the battle of the Burghmuir, wherein the Flemings were routed under Guy of Namur. Above a window was the date 1376, with the legend, SICUT OLIVA FRUCTIFERA. Another bore, IN DOMINO CONFIDO, 1400. Singular to say, the arms over the principal door were those of Britain after the union of the crowns. Emblems of the Virtues were profusely carved on different parts of the building, and in one was a rude representation of our first parents, with the distich—

“Quhen Adam delyed, and Eve span,
Quhair war a' the gentles than?”

There were also heads of Julius Caesar and Octavius Secundus, in fine preservation. “Many of these sculptures were recklessly defaced and

pediments and heraldic carvings built into the boundary-walls of the hospital, and a few others, which were secured by the late Lord Woodhouselee, and now adorn a ruin on Mr. Tytler's estate at the Pentlands.”

Annot mentions, without proof, that this house was built for the residence of a mistress of James IV.; but probably he had never examined the dates upon it.

It is impossible to discover the origin of the name now; though Maitland's idea, that it was derived from certain *wrights*, or carpenters, dwelling there while cutting down the oaks on the Burghmuir is far-fetched indeed. One of the heraldic sculptures indicated an alliance between a Laird of Wrychtishouse and a daughter of the neighbouring Lord of Merchiston, in the year 1513.

In 1581, William Napier of the former place became caution in £1,000 for the appearance and

good behaviour of William Douglas of Hyvelie (Reg: Privy Council Scot.). His son Robert, who was a visitor at the house of William Turnbull of Airdrie, then resident in Edinburgh, on the 4th of September, 1608, "by craft and violence," carried off a daughter of the latter in her eleventh year, and kept her in some obscure place, where her father could not discover her. Turnbull brought this matter before the Privy Council, by whom Robert Napier was denounced as a rebel and outlaw. Of this old family nothing now remains but a tomb on the north side of the choir of St. Giles's; it bears the Merchiston crest and the Wrychtishouse shield, and has thus been more than once pointed out as the last resting-place of the inventor of the logarithms.

The Napiers of Wrychtishouse, says the biographer of the philosopher, were a race quite distinct from that of Merchiston, and were obviously a branch of Kilmahew, whose estates lay in Lennox. Their armorial bearings were, *or on a bend azure*, between two mullets *or* spur rowels.

In its later years this old mansion was the residence of Lieutenant-General Robertson of Lude, who served throughout the whole American war, and brought home with him, at its close, a negro, who went by the name of Black Tom, who occupied a room on the ground floor. Tom was again and again heard to complain of being unable to rest at night, as the figure of a lady, headless, and with a child in her arms, rose out of the hearth, and terrified him dreadfully; but no one believed Tom, and his story was put down to intoxication.

Be that as it may, "when the old mansion was pulled down to build Gillespie's Hospital there was found under the hearthstone of that apartment a box containing the body of a female, from which the head had been severed, and beside her lay the remains of an infant, wrapped in a pillow-case trimmed with lace. She appeared, poor lady, to have been cut off in the blossom of her sins; for she was dressed, and her scissors were yet hanging by a ribbon to her side, and her thimble was also in the box, having, apparently, fallen from her shrivelled fingers."

If we are to judge from the following notice in the *Edinburgh Herald* for 6th April 1799, the mansion was once the residence of Lord Barganie (whose peerage is extinct), as we are told that by Gillespie's trustees, "Barganie House, at the Wrights Houses, has been purchased, with upwards of six acres of ground, where this hospital is to be erected. The situation is very judiciously chosen; it is elevated, dry, and healthy."

In 1800 the demolition was achieved, but not without a spirited remonstrance in the *Edinburgh Magazine* for that year, and Gillespie's Hospital, a tasteless edifice, designed by Mr. Burn, a builder, in that ridiculous castellated style called "Carpenter's Gothic," took its place. The founder, James Gillespie, was the eldest of two brothers, who occupied a shop as tobacconists east of the Market Cross. Here John, the younger, attended to the business, while the former resided at Spylaw, near Colinton, and superintended a mill which they had erected there for grinding snuff; and there snuff was ground years after for the Messrs. Richardson, 105, West Bow. Neither of the brothers married, and though frugal and industrious, were far from being miserly. They lived among their workmen and domestics, in quite a homely and patriarchal manner, "Waste not, want not" being ever their favourite maxim, and money increased in their hands quickly. Even in extreme age, we are told that James Gillespie, with an old blanket round him and a night-cap on, both covered with snuff, regularly attended the mill, superintending the operations of his man, Andrew Fraser, who was a hale old man, living in the hospital, when the first edition of "Kay" was published, in 1838. James kept a carriage, however, for which the Hon. Henry Erskine suggested as a motto:—

"Wha wad hae thoct it,
That noses had bocht it?"

He survived his brother five years, and dying at Spylaw on the 8th April, 1797, in his eightieth year, was buried in Colinton churchyard. By his will he bequeathed his estate, together with £12,000 sterling (exclusive of £2,700 for the erection and endowment of a school), "for the special intent and purpose of founding and endowing an hospital, or charitable institution, within the city of Edinburgh or suburbs, for the aliment and maintenance of old men and women."

In 1801 the governors obtained a royal charter, forming them into a body corporate as "The Governors of James Gillespie's Hospital and Free School."

The persons entitled to admittance were:—first, Mr. Gillespie's old servants; second, all persons of his surname over fifty-five years of age; third, persons of the same age belonging to Edinburgh and Leith, failing whom, from all other parts of Midlothian. None were to be admitted who had private resources, or were otherwise than "decent, godly, and well-behaved men and women."

In the Council-room of the hospital—from which the school was built apart—is an excellent

likeness of the founder, painted by Sir James Foulis of Woodhall, Bart.

In 1870 the original use to which the foundation was put underwent a change, and the hospital became a great public school for boys and girls.

At the western extremity of what was the Burghmuir, near where lately was an old village of that name (at the point where the Colinton road diverges from that which leads to Biggar), there stands, yet unchanged amid all its new surroundings, the ancient castle of Merchiston, the whilom seat of a race second to none in Scotland for rank and talent—the Napiers, now Lords Napier and Ettrick. It is a lofty square tower, surmounted by corbelled battlements, a cape-house, and tall chimneys. It was once surrounded by a moat, and had a secret avenue or means of escape into the fields to the north. As to when it was built, or by whom, no record now remains.

In the missing rolls of Robert I., the lands of Merchiston and Dalry, in the county of Edinburgh, belonged in his reign to William Bisset, and under David II., the former belonged to William de Sancto Claro, on the resignation of William Bisset, according to Robertson's "Index," in which we find a royal charter, "datum est apud Dundee," 14th August, 1367, to John of Cragy of the lands of Merchiston, which John of Creighton had resigned. So the estate would seem to have had several proprietors before it came into the hands of Alexander Napier, who was Provost of Edinburgh in 1438, and by this acquisition Merchiston became the chief title of his family.

His son, Sir Alexander, who was Comptroller of Scotland under James II. in 1450, and went on a pilgrimage to St. Thomas of Canterbury in the following year—for which he had safe-conduct from the King of England—was Provost of Edinburgh between 1469 and 1471. He was ambassador to the Court of the Golden Fleece in 1473, and was no stranger to Charles the Bold; the tenor of his instructions to whom from James II., shows that he visited Bruges and the court of Burgundy before that year, in 1468, when he was present at the Tournament of the Golden Fleece, and selected a suit of brilliant armour for his sovereign.

Sir Alexander, fifth of Merchiston, fell at Flodden with James IV.

John Napier of Merchiston was Provost 17th of May, 1484, and his son and successor, Sir Archibald, founded a chaplaincy and altar in honour of St. Salvador in St. Giles's Church in November, 1493. His grandson, Sir Archibald Napier, who married a daughter of Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, was slain at the battle of Pinkie, in 1547.

Sir Alexander Napier of Merchiston and Edin-bellie, who was latterly Master of the Mint to James VI., was father of John Napier the celebrated inventor of the Logarithms, who was born in Merchiston Castle in 1550, four years after the birth of Tycho Brahe, and fourteen before that of Galileo, at a time when the Reformation in Scotland was just commencing, as in the preceding year John Knox had been released from the French galleys, and was then enjoying royal patronage in England. His mother was Janet, only daughter of Sir Francis Bothwell, and sister of Adam, Bishop of Orkney. At the time of his birth his father was only sixteen years of age. He was educated at St. Salvador's College, St. Andrews, where he matriculated 1562-3, and afterwards spent several years in France, the Low Countries, and Italy; he applied himself closely to the study of mathematics, and it is conjectured that he gained a taste for that branch of learning during his residence abroad, especially in Italy, where at that time were many mathematicians of high repute.

While abroad young Napier escaped some perils that existed at home. In 1508 a dreadful pest broke out in Edinburgh, and his father and family were exposed to the contagion, "by the vicinity," says Mark Napier, "of his mansion to the Burghmuir, upon which waste the infected were driven out to grovel and die, under the very walls of Merchiston."

In his earlier years his studies took a deep theological turn, the fruits of which appeared in his "Plain Discovery of the Revelation of St John," which he published at Edinburgh in 1593, and dedicated to James VI. But some twenty years before that time his studies must have been sorely interrupted, as his old ancestral fortalice lay in the very centre of the field of strife, when Kirkaldy held out the castle for Queen Mary, and the savage Douglas wars surged wildly round its walls.

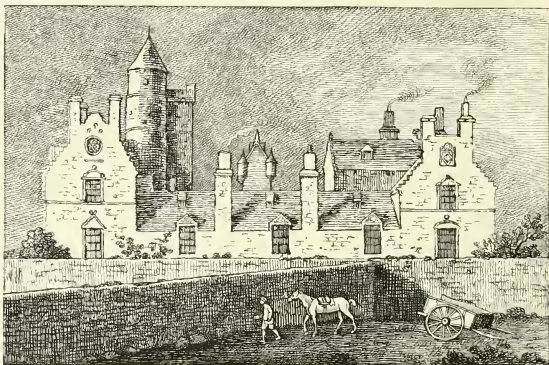
On the 2nd April, 1572, John Napier, then in his twenty-second year, was betrothed to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Stirling of Keir; but as he had incurred the displeasure of the queen's party by taking no active share in her interests, on the 18th of July he was arrested by the Laird of Minto, and sent a prisoner to the Castle of Edinburgh, then governed by Sir William Kirkaldy, who in the preceding year had bombarded Merchiston with his iron guns because certain soldiers of the king's party occupied it, and cut off provisions coming north for the use of his garrison. The solitary tower formed the key of the southern approach to the city; thus, whoever triumphed, it became the object of the opponent's enmity.

On being released, John Napier retired to his distant estate in Lennox, and in the meanwhile, as the king's men had garrisoned his castle of Merchiston on the 5th May, 1572, the queen's troops marched out to besiege it, under the command of a captain named Scougal.

After a hard struggle, during which several were killed and wounded, they stormed the outworks, and set them on fire to smoke the defenders out of the donjon keep; but a body of the king's men came from Leith in hot haste, and compelled the assailants to retire, though Kirkaldy covered the

panic-stricken, and with his cannon he fell back through the fields where now the southern district of the city lies. There he was assailed by the king's troops in earnest. A confused skirmish took place, most of his men were made prisoners, conveyed to Leith, and hanged, while he had a narrow escape, his horse being killed under him by a shot from Holyrood Palace. Another conflict of a more serious nature occurred before Merchiston on the last day of the same month.

The citizens were suffering greatly by famine while this disastrous civil strife prevailed, and a



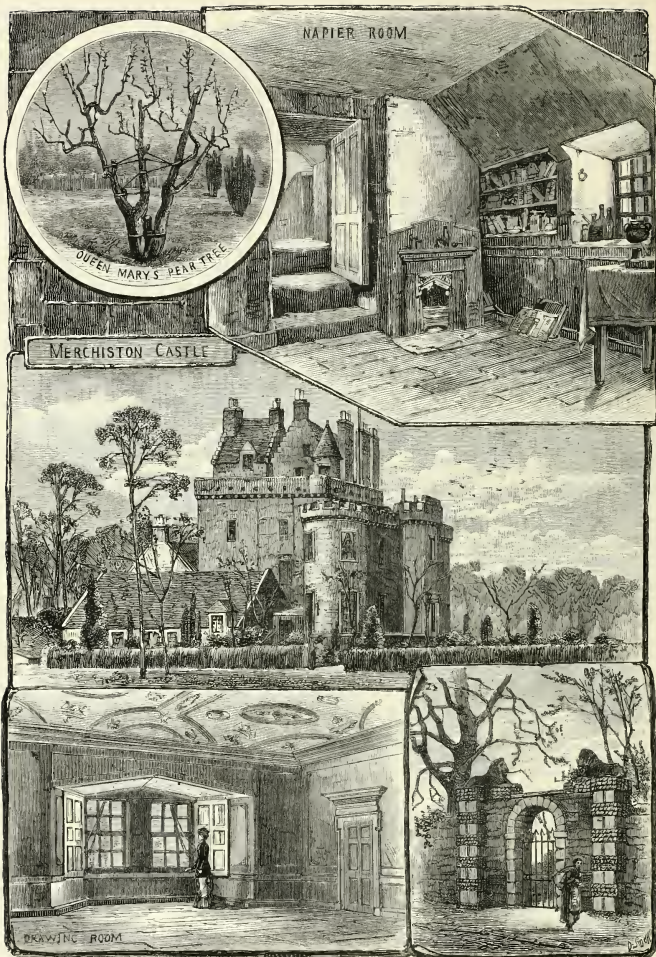
Wright's Houses
Wright's Houses
Wright's Houses sold by *Lansie* at the *Grey* Edinburgh

WRYCHTISHOUSES, FROM THE SOUTH-WEST. (After an Etching by C. Kirkpatrick Sharpe, in "Wilson's Memorials.")

attack by firing forty guns from the Castle of Edinburgh.

The men of Scougal (who were mortally wounded) fled over the Links and adjacent fields in all directions, hotly pursued by the Laird of Blairquhan. On the 10th of the subsequent June the queen's troops, under George, Earl of Huntly, with a small train of artillery, made another attack upon Merchiston, while their cavalry scoured all the fields between it and Blackford—fields now covered with long lines of stately and beautiful villas—bringing in forty head of cattle and sheep. By the time the guns had played on Merchiston from two till four o'clock p.m., two decided breaches were made in the walls. The garrison was about to capitulate, when the assembly of a number of people, whom the noise of the cannonade had attracted, was mistaken for king's troops; those of Huntly became

party of twenty-four men-at-arms rode forth to forage. The well-stocked fields in the neighbourhood of the fortalice were the constant scene of enterprise, and on this occasion the foragers collected many oxen, besides other spoil, which they were driving triumphantly into town. They were pursued, however, by Patrick Home of the Heugh, who commanded the Regent's Light Horsemen. The foraging party, whom hunger had rendered desperate, contrived to keep their pursuers, amounting to eighty spears, at bay till they neared Merchiston, when the king's garrison issued forth, and re-captured the cattle, the collectors of which "alighted from their horses, which they suffered to go loose, and *faught craullie*," till succoured from the town, when the fight turned in their favour. In this conflict, Home of the Heugh, Sir Patrick Home of Polwarth, four more gentle-



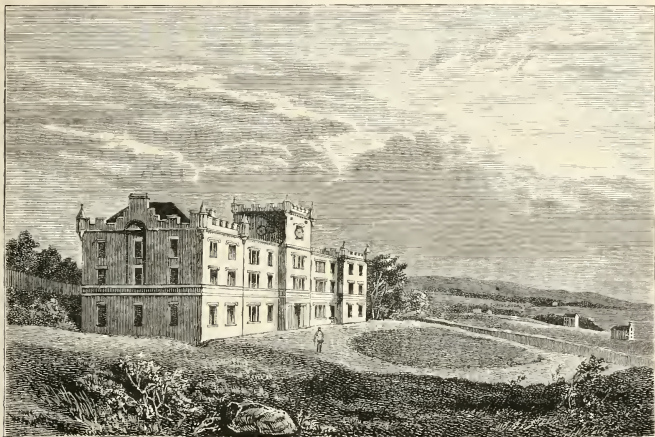
MERCHISTON CASTLE.

men, and others fell. Of the queen's men, only one lost his life by a shot from the battlements of Merchiston.

When peace came the philosopher returned to his ancestral tower, and resumed his studies with great ardour, and its battlements became the observatory of the astrologer. Napier was supposed by the vulgar of his time to possess mysterious supernatural powers, and the marvels attributed to him, with the aid of a devilish familiar, in the shape of a jet-black cock, are preserved

grain, he threatened to *poind* them, "Do so, if you can catch them," said his neighbour; and next morning the fields were alive with reeling and fluttering pigeons, which were easily captured, from the effect of an intoxicating feed of saturated peas. The place called the Doo Park, in front of Merchiston, took its name from this event.

The warlock of the tower, as he was deemed, seems to have entertained a perfect faith in the possession of a power to discover hidden treasure. Thus, there is still preserved among the Merchis-



GILLESPIE'S HOSPITAL, FROM THE EAST. (From an Engraving by R. Scott in the "Scots Magazine," 1805.)

among the traditions of the neighbourhood to the present day. He impressed all his people that this terrible chanticleer could detect their most secret doings.

Having missed some valuables, he ordered his servants one by one into a dark room of the tower, where his favourite was confined, declaring that the cock would crow when stroked by the hand of the guilty, as each was required to do. The cock remained silent during this ceremony; but the hands of *one* of the servants was found to be entirely free from the soot with which the feathers of the mysterious bird had been smeared.

The story of how he bewitched certain pigeons is still remembered in the vicinity of Merchiston. Having been annoyed by some that ate up his

ton papers a curious contract, dated July, 1594, between him and Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig—a Gowrie conspirator—which sets forth: "Forasmuch as there were old reports and appearances that a sum of money was hid within Logan's house of Fast Castle, John Napier should do his utmost diligence to work and seek out the same." For his reward he was to have the third of what was found—by the use of a divining rod, we presume. "This singular contract," says Wilson, "acquires a peculiar interest when we remember the reported discovery of hidden treasure, with which the preliminary steps of the Gowrie conspiracy were effected."

In 1608 we find the inventor of logarithms appearing in a new light. In that year it was

reported to the Privy Council that he and the Napiers of Edinbellie, having quarrelled about the tiend sheaves of Merchiston, "intended to convocate their kin, and sic as will do for them in arms;" but to prevent a breach of the peace, William Napier of the Wrychtishousis, as a neutral person, was ordered by the Council to collect the sheaves in question.

In 1614 he produced his book of logarithms, dedicated to Prince Charles—a discovery which made his name famous all over Europe—and on the 3rd of April, 1617, he died in the ancient tower of Merchiston. His eldest son, Sir Archibald, was made a baronet of Nova Scotia by Charles I., and in 1627 he was raised to the peerage as Lord Napier. His lady it was who contrived to have abstracted the heart of Montrose from the mutilated body of the great cavalier, as it lay buried in the place appointed for the interment of criminals, in an adjacent spot of the Burghmuir (the Tyburn of Edinburgh). Enclosed in a casket of steel, it was retained by the family, and underwent adventures so strange and remarkable that a volume would be required to describe them.

Merchiston has been for years occupied as a large private school, but it still remains in possession of Lords Napier and Ettrick as the cradle of their old and honourable house.

In 1880, during the formation of a new street on the ground north of Merchiston, a coffin formed of rough stone slabs was discovered, within a few feet of the surface. It contained the remains of a full-grown human being.

Eastward of the castle, and within the park where for ages the old dovecot stood, is now built Christ's Church, belonging to the Scottish Episcopalians. It was built in 1876-7, at a cost of about £10,500, and opened in 1878. It is a beautifully detailed cruci-

form edifice, designed by Mr. Hippolyte J. Blanc, in the early French-Gothic style, with a very elegant spire, 140 feet high. From the west gable to the chancel the nave measures eighty-two feet long and forty broad; each transept measures twenty feet by thirty wide. The height of the church from the floor to the eaves is twenty feet; to the ridge of the roof fifty-three feet. The construction of the latter is of open timber work, with moulded arched ribs resting on "hammer beams," which, in their turn, are supported upon red freestone shafts, with white freestone capitals and bases, boldly and beautifully moulded.

The chancel presents the novel feature of a circumambient aisle, and was built at the sole expense of Miss Falconer of Falcon Hall, at a cost of upwards of £3,000.

Opposite, within the lands of Greenhill, stands the Morningside Athenæum, which was originally erected, in 1863, as a United Presbyterian church, the congregation of which afterwards removed to a new church in the Chamberlain Road.

North of the old villa of Grange Bank, and on the west side of the Burghmuir-head road, stands the Free Church, which was rebuilt in 1874, and is in the Early Pointed style, with a fine steeple, 140 feet high. The Established Church of the *quoad sacra* parish, disjoined from St. Cuthbert's since 1835, stands at the south-west corner of the Grange Loan (then called in the maps, Church Lane), and was built about 1836, from designs by the late John Henderson, and is a neat little edifice, with a plain pointed spire.

The old site of the famous Bore Stone was midway between this spot and the street now called Church Hill. In a house—No. 1—here, the great and good Dr. Chalmers breathed his last.

CHAPTER IV.

DISTRICT OF THE BURGHMUIR (*concluded*).

Morningside and Tipperlin—Provost Coulter's Funeral—Asylum for the Insane—Sultana of the Crimea—Old Thorn Tree—The Braids of that ilk—The Fairleys of Braid—The Plew Lands—Craiglockhart Hall and House—The Kincaids and other Proprietors—John Hill Burton—The Old Tower—Meggathand and Redhall—White House Loan—The White House—St. Margaret's Convent—Bruntfield House—The Warrenders—Greenhill and the Fairholmes—Memorials of the Chapel of St. Roque—St. Giles's Grange—The Dicks and Lauders—Grange Cemetery—Memorial Churches.

SOUTHWARD of the quarter we have been describing, stretches, nearly to the foot of the hills of Braid and Blackford, Morningside, once a secluded village, consisting of little more than a row of thatched cottages, a line of trees, and a blacksmith's forge, from which it gradually grew to be-

come an agreeable environ and summer resort of the citizens, with the fame of being the "Montpellier" of the east of Scotland, alluring invalids to its precincts for the benefit of its mild salubrious air.

All around what was the old village, now man-

sions and villas seem to crowd and jostle each other, till it has become an integral part of Edinburgh; but the adjacent hamlet of Tipperlinn, the abode chiefly of weavers, and once also a summer resort, has all disappeared, and nothing of it now remains but an old draw-well. The origin of its name is evidently Celtic.

Falcon Hall, eastward of the old village, is an elegant modern villa, erected early in the present century by a wealthy Indian civilian, named Falconer; but, save old Morningside House, or Lodge, before that time no other mansion of importance stood here.

In the latter—which stands a little way back from the road on the west side—there died, in the year 1758, William Lockhart, Esq., of Carstairs, who had been thrown from his chaise at the Burghmuir-head, and was so severely injured that he expired two days after. Here also resided, and died in 1810, William Coulter, a wealthy hosier, who was then in office as Lord Provost of the city, which gave him a magnificent civic and military funeral, which was long remembered for its grandeur and solemnity.

On this occasion long streamers of crape floated from Nelson's monument; the bells were tolled. Mr. Claud Thompson acted as chief mourner—in lieu of the Provost's only son, Lieutenant Coulter, then serving with the army in Portugal—and the city arms were borne by a man seven feet high before the coffin, whereon lay a sword, robe, and chain of office.

Three volleys were fired over it by the Edinburgh Volunteers, of which he was colonel. A portrait of him in uniform appears in one of Kay's sketches.

In 1807 Dr. Andrew Duncan (already noticed in the account of Adam Square) proposed the erection of a lunatic asylum, the want of which had long been felt in the city. Subscriptions came in slowly, but at last sufficient was collected, a royal charter was obtained, and on the 8th of June, 1809, the foundation stone of the now famous and philanthropic edifice at Morningside was laid by the Lord Provost Coulter, within an enclosure, four acres in extent, south of old Morningside House. Towards the erection a sum of £1,100 came from Scotsmen in Madras.

The object of this institution is to afford every possible advantage in the treatment of insanity. The unfortunate patients may be put under the care of any medical practitioner in Edinburgh (says the *Scots Magazine* for that year) whom the relations may choose to employ, while the poor will be attended gratis by physicians and surgeons

appointed by the managers. In every respect, it is one of the most efficient institutions of the kind in Scotland. It is called the Royal Edinburgh Asylum, and has as its patron the reigning sovereign, a governor, four deputies, a board of managers, and another of medical men.

The original building was afterwards more than doubled in extent by the addition of another, the main entrance to which is from the old road that led to Tipperlinn. This is called the west department, where the average number of inmates is above 500. It is filled with patients of the humbler order, whose friends or parishes pay for them £15 per annum.

The east department, which was built in 1809, is for patients who pay not less than £56 per annum as an ordinary charge, though separate sitting-rooms entail an additional expense. On the other hand, when patients are in straitened circumstances a yearly deduction of ten, or even twenty pounds, is made from the ordinary rate.

In the former is kept the museum of plaster casts from the heads of patients, a collection continually being added to; and no one, even without a knowledge of phrenology, can behold these lifeless images without feeling that the originals had been afflicted by disease of the mind, for even the cold, white, motionless plaster appears expressive of ghastly insanity.

In the west department the patients who are capable of doing so ply their trades as tailors, shoemakers, and so forth; and one of the most interesting features of the institution is the printing-office, whence, to quote *Chambers's Journal*, "is issued the *Morningside Mirror*, a monthly sheet, whose literary contents are supplied wholly by the inmates, and contain playful hits and puns which would not disgrace the habitual writers of facetious articles."

From the list of occupations that appear in the annual report, it would seem that nearly every useful trade and industry is followed within the walls, and that the Morningside Asylum supplies most of its own wants, being a little world complete in itself.

Occupation and amusement here take the place of irksome bondage, with results that have been very beneficial, and among the most extraordinary of these are the weekly balls, in which the patients figure in reels and in country dances, and sing songs.

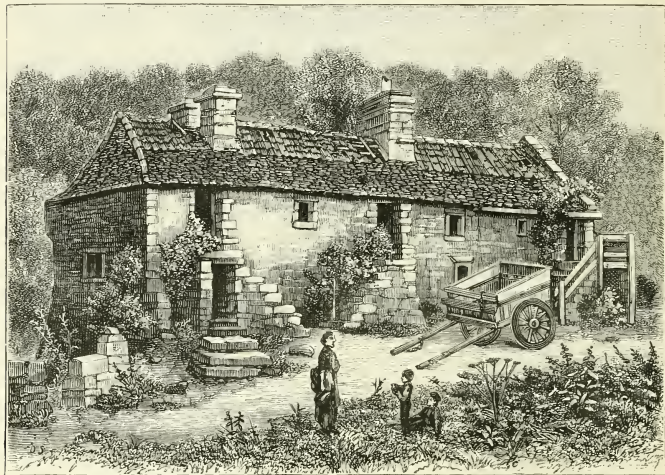
At the foot of Morningside the Powburn takes the singular name of the Jordan as it flows through a farm named Egypt, and other Scriptural names abound close by, such as Hebron Bank, Canaan

Lodge, and Canaan Lane. By some, the origin of these names has been attributed to Puritan times; by others to gipsies, when the southern side of the Muir was open and unenclosed.

In the secluded house of Millbank, westward of Canaan Lane, there occurred, on the 26th of September, 1820, a marriage which made some noise at the time—that of “Alexander Ivanovitch, Sultan Katte Ghery Krim Gery, to Anne, fourth daughter of James Neilson, Esq., of Millbank,” as

for education. There he married. Dr. Lyall visited him in 1822, and describes him and his sultana as living in the greatest happiness. According to Mr. Spencer, he had not succeeded in 1836 in making a single convert.”

He was dead before 1855, when his mother was living near the field of Alma. He had a son in the Russian army, and a daughter who became lady-in-waiting to the wife of the Grand Duke Constantine. Mrs. Neilson was alive in 1826, as her



BRAID COTTAGES, 1850. (From a Drawing by William Channing, in the possession of Dr. J. A. Siley.)

it is announced in the Edinburgh papers for that year.

According to a writer in “Notes and Queries,” in 1855, this personage—the Sultan of the Crimea—had fled from his own country in consequence of his religion, and was being educated in Edinburgh, at the expense of the Emperor Alexander of Russia, with a view to his returning as a Christian missionary, “and his wife was hardly ever known by any other appellation than that of Sultana.”

A portion of this story is further corroborated by “Clarke’s Travels.” “It is here (Simpheropol) that Katti Gheri Krim Gheri resides. Having become acquainted with the Scotch missionaries at Carass, in the Caucasus, he was sent to Edinburgh

name occurs in the Directory for that year as resident at “Millbank, Canaan,” Morningside.

An aged thorn-tree, that overhung the road leading to Braid, was long a feature in the view south of Morningside. At this tree, on the 25th of January, 1815, two Irish criminals, named Kelly and O’Neil (who had been convicted of different acts of robbery, under circumstances of great brutality), were hanged before a great multitude. They were brought hither from the Tolbooth to the limits of the City jurisdiction by the high constable, and handed over to the sheriff clerk for execution. They are said to have been buried by the wayside, near the old thorn-tree.

The range of pastoral hills named Braid bound

the city on the south, and directly overlook Morningside. Their greatest altitude is 700 feet. According to one traditional legend, these hills were the scene of "Johnnie o' Braidislee's" woeful hunting, as related in the old ballad.

According to Rotuli Scotiæ, Edward I. of England halted on the hills of Braid on the 11th July, 1298, and again on the 19th of August; and it is supposed that it was on that day he was harangued by the ambassadors of the King of France, upon the subject of including the Scottish people in the Peace, a demand which he combated.

A "Henry of Brade" was sheriff of Edinburgh in 1165-1200, and again in 1214. A Henry of Braid's name occurs again in a charter, dated 1338, witnessed by John II., Abbot of Holyrood; and in the Rolls of David II. there is a charter of confirmation by Henrie Braid of that ilk to Henrie Multra of the adjacent lands of Greenhill.

In the sixteenth century Braid belonged to a family named Fairley, and in 1571 the laird was

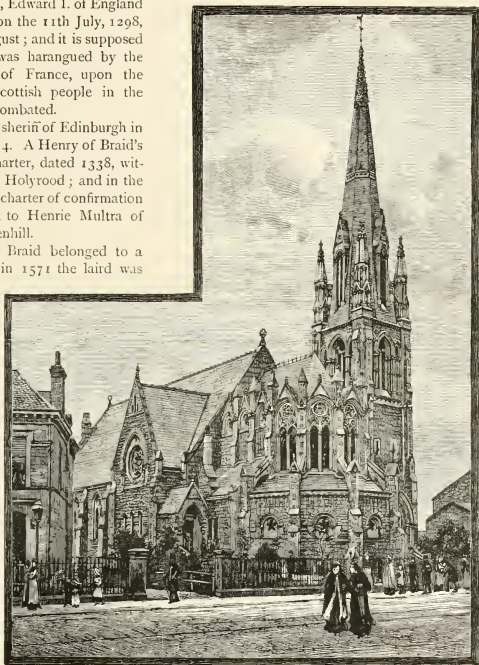
exposed to more than one military visitation from the garrison in Edinburgh Castle. Knox's secretary records that on the 25th May twelve soldiers came to Braid, when the laird was at supper, and rifled the house of the miller. Braid appeared, but was treated with contempt, and was told that they would burn the house about his ears if he did not surrender to Captain Melville, who was one of the eight sons of Sir James Melville of Raith, and his lady Helen Napier of Merchiston. Though called "a quiet man," the wrath of the laird was roused, and he rushed forth at the head of his domestics, armed with an enormous two-handed sword, and cut down one of the soldiers, who fired their hackbuts without effect, and were eventually put to flight.

In the early part of the eighteenth century Braid belonged to a family named Brown, and a great portion of it in the present century had passed into the possession of Gordon of Cluny.

In a romantic, sequestered, and woody dell, between the Braid Hills and Blackford, stands the beautiful retreat called the Hermitage of Braid, on

the north bank of the latter stream, which meanders close to it, and which takes its rise in the bosom of the Pentlands, near the Roman camp above Bonally.

It is a two-storeyed villa, with a pavilion roof



CHRIST CHURCH, MORNINGSIDe.

and little corner turrets, in that grotesque style of castellated architecture adopted at Gillespie's Hospital, and is evidently designed by the same architect, though built about the year 1780. It was the property of Charles Gordon of Cluny, father of the ill-fated Countess of Stair, the once beautiful "Jacky Gordon," whose marriage was annulled in 1804, after which it frequently formed her solitary residence. It afterwards became the property of the widow of the late John Gordon of

Cluny (who died recently in London), Lady Gordon-Cathcart of Killochan Castle, who has since sold it out of the family.

On the hill above it, to the south, is the farmhouse of Braid, in which died, of consumption, in 1790, Miss Burnet of Monboddo, so celebrated for her beauty, which woke the muse of Burns, as his verses show.

Southward of Morningside lie the Plewlands, ascending the slope towards beautiful Craiglockhart Hill, now being fast covered with semi-detached villas, fenced by the Scottish Heritages Company, surrounding a new cemetery, and intersected by the suburban line of railway. Here was built lately a great hydropathic establishment. The new city poor-house, erected at a cost of £50,000, occupies, with the ground for cultivation, an area of thirty-six acres, has accommodation for more than 2,000 inmates, and is fitted up with every modern improvement conducive to health and comfort.

This quarter of Edinburgh is bounded by Craiglockhart Hill—the name of which is said to have been *Craig-loch-ard*, with some reference to the great sheet of water once known as Cortorphin Loch. It is 546 feet in height, and richly wooded, and amid its rocks there breed the kestrel-hawk, the brown owl, the ring-ousel, and the water-hen.

Among the missing charters of David II. is one to James Sandiland, “in compensation of the lands of Craiglokart and Stonypath, Edinburgh,” and another to “James Sandoks (?) of the same lands.” On a plateau of the hill, embosomed among venerable trees, we find the ancient Craig House, a weird-looking mansion, alleged to be ghost-haunted, lofty, massive, and full of stately rooms, when in old times dances were stately things, “in which every lady walked as if she were a goddess, and every man as if he were a great lord.”

It is four storeys in height, including the dormer windows; the staircase tower rises a storey higher, and has crowstepped gables. On the lintel of the moulded entrance door are the initials S. C. P., and the date 1565.

During the reign of James VI. we find it the abode of a family named Kincaid, cadets of the Kincaids of that ilk in Stirlingshire, as were all the Kincaids of Warriston and Coates. From Pitcairn’s “Criminal Trials,” it would seem that on the 17th December, 1600, John Kincaid of the Craig House, attended by a party of friends and followers, “bodin in feir of weir,” i.e., clad in armour, with swords, pistols, and other weapons, came to the village of the Water of Leith, and attacked

the house of Bailie John Johnston, wherein Isabel Hutcheon, a widow, “was in sober, quiet, and peaceable manner for the time, dreading nae evil, harm, or injury, but living under God’s peace and our sovereign lord’s.”

Kincaid burst in the doors, and laying hands on the said Isabel, carried her off forcibly to the Craig House, at the very time when the king was riding in the fields close by, with the Earl of Mar, Sir John Ramsay, and others. James, on hearing of the circumstance, sent Mar, Ramsay, and other of his attendants, to Craig House, which they threatened to set on fire if the woman was not instantly released. For this outrage Kincaid was tried on the 13th January, 1601, and was fined 2,500 marks, payable to the Treasurer, and he was also ordered to deliver to the king “his brown horse.”

In 1604, Thomas, heir of Robert Kincaid, got an annual rent of £20 of land at Craiglockhart; and two years after, John Kincaid, the hero of the brawl, succeeded his father, James Kincaid of that ilk, knight, in the lands of Craiglockhart. In 1609 he also succeeded to some lands at “Tow-cros” (Toll cross), outside the West Port of Edinburgh.

By a dispute reported by Lord Fountainhall, Craiglockhart seems to have been the property of George Porteous, herald painter, in 1711. The house would seem then to have been repaired, and the north wing probably added, and the whole was let for a yearly rent of £100 Scots.

In 1726 Craig House was the property of Sir John Elphinstone, and in the early part of the present century it belonged to Gordon of Cluny. Prior to that, it had been for a time the property of a family named Lockhart, and there, on the 5th November, 1770, when it was the residence of Alexander Lockhart, Esq., Major-General John Scott of Balcomie and Bellevue was married to Lady Mary Hay, eldest daughter of the Earl of Errol; and their daughter and heiress, Henrietta, became the wife of the Duke of Portland, who added to his own name and arms those of the Scotts of Balcomie.

For some years prior to 1878, the Craig House was the residence of John Hill Burton, LL.D. and F.R.S.E., a distinguished historian and biographer, who was born at Aberdeen in 1809, the son of an officer of the old Scots Brigade, and who died in 1881 at Morton House. We are told that his widowed mother, though the daughter of an Aberdeenshire laird, was left with slender resources, yet made successful exertions to give her children a good education. After taking the degree of M.A.

at Marischal College, Mr. Burton was apprenticed to a legal practitioner in the Granite City, after which he became, in 1831, an advocate at the Scottish Bar. Among the young men who crowd the Parliament House from year to year he found little or no practice, and he began to devote his time to the study of law, history, and political economy, on all of which subjects he wrote several papers in the *Edinburgh Review* and also in the *Westminster Review*. He was author of the "Lives" of David Hume, Lord Lovat, and Duncan Forbes of Culloden, "Narratives of the Criminal Law of Scotland," a "History of Scotland from Agricola to the Revolution of 1688," and another history from that period to the extinction of the last Jacobite insurrection. "The Scot Abroad" he published in 1864, and "The Book Hunter." In 1854 he was appointed secretary to the Scottish Prison Board, and on its abolition, in 1860, he was continued as manager and secretary in connection with the Home Office. Soon after the publication of the first four volumes of his early "History of Scotland," the old office in the Queen's Scottish Household, Historiographer Royal, being vacant, it was conferred upon him.

At the quaint old Craig House, which is said to be haunted by the spectre known as "The Green Lady," he frequently had small gatherings of literary visitors to the Scottish capital, which dwell pleasantly in the memory of those who took part in them. He was hospitably inclined, kind of heart, and full of anecdote. "His library was a source of never-failing delight," says a writer in the *Scotsman* in 1881; "but his library did not mean a particular room. At Craig House the principal rooms are *en suite*, and they were all filled or covered with books. The shelves were put up by Mr. Burton's own hands, and the books were arranged by himself, so that he knew where to find any one, even in the dark; and one of the greatest griefs of his life was the necessity, some time ago, to disperse this library, which he had spent his life in collecting. In politics Mr. Burton was a strong Liberal. He took an active part in the repeal of the Corn Laws, and was brought into close friendship with Richard Cobden."

The work by which his name will be chiefly remembered is, no doubt, his "History of Scotland," though its literary style has not many charms; but it is very truthful, if destitute of the brilliant word-painting peculiar to Macaulay. "It is something for a man," says the writer above quoted, "to have identified himself with such a piece of work as the history of his native country, and that has been done as completely by John Hill Burton in con-

nection with the 'History of Scotland' as by any historian of any country."

Immediately under the brow of Craiglockhart, on its western side, there are—half hidden among trees and the buildings of a farm-stead—two the curious remains of a very ancient little fortalice, which seems to be totally without a history, as no notice of it has appeared in any statistical account, nor does it seem to be referred to in the "Retours."

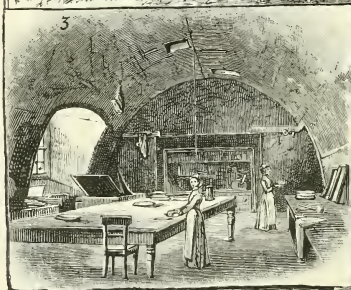
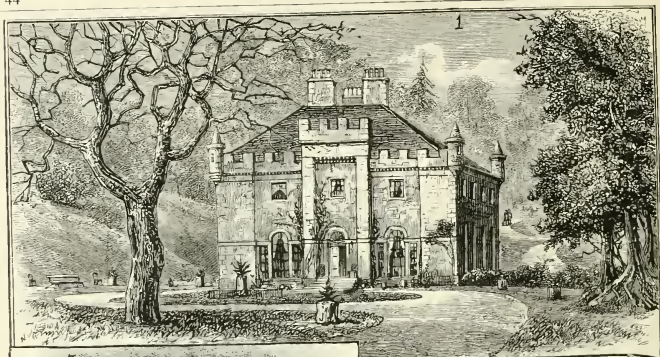
It is a tower, nearly square, measuring twenty-eight feet six inches by twenty-four feet eight inches externally, with walls six feet three inches thick, built massively, as the Scots built of old, for eternity rather than for time, to all appearance. A narrow arched doorway, three feet wide, gives access to the arched entrance of the lower vault and a little stair in the wall that ascended to the upper storey. Though without a history, this sturdy little fortlet must have existed probably centuries before a stone of the old Craig House was built.

A little way northward of this tower, on what must have been the western skirt of the Burghmuir, stood the ancient mansion of Meggetland, of which not a vestige now remains but a solitary gate-pillar, standing in a field near the canal. In the early part of the eighteenth century it was occupied by a family named Sievwright; and Robert Gordon, a well-known goldsmith in Edinburgh, died there in 1767.

A little way westward of Craiglockhart is the old manor-house of Redhall, which was the property of Sir Adam Otterburn, Lord Advocate in the time of James V.; but the name is older than that age, as Edward I. of England is said to have been at Redhall in the August of 1298.

In the records of the Coldstream Guards it is mentioned that in August 18th and 24th, before the battle of Dunbar, in 1650, ten companies of that regiment, then known as General Monk's, were engaged at the siege of Redhall, which was carried by storm. This was after Cromwell had been foiled in his attempt to break the Scottish lines before Edinburgh, and had marched westward from his camp near the Braid Hills to cut off the supplies of Leslie from the westward, but was foiled again, and had to fall back on Dunbar, intending to retreat to England.

A pathway that strikes off across the Links of Bruntfield, in a south-easterly direction, leads to the old and tree-bordered White House Loan, which takes its name from the mansion on the east side thereof, to which a curious classical interest attaches, and which seems to have existed before the Revolution, as in 1671, James Chrystie, of



THE HERMITAGE, BRAID; 2, CRAIG HOUSE; 3, KITCHEN, CRAIG HOUSE;
4, DINING ROOM, CRAIG HOUSE.

White House, was returned as heir to his father, James Chrystie, of that place, in the parish of St. Cuthbert's. But in the early part of the last century it had passed to a family named Davidson, as shown by the Valuation Roll in 1726. In 1767 it was the residence of MacLeod of MacLeod, when his daughter was married to Colonel Pringle of Stitchell, M.P.; and in this mansion it has been said Principal Robertson wrote his "History of Charles the Fifth." Here also,

sermon was preached by Bishop Murdoch, of Glasgow. In the vaults lie the remains of many nuns and ecclesiastics: among the latter, those of Bishop Gillis, who died at Greenhill Cottage close by, a house left to him, with most of his fortune, by J. Menzies of Pitfoddels, the last of a very old Catholic family. In the refectory are many rare and valuable portraits, including some of the Stuart family, and one of Cardinal Beaton, on the back of which is painted, "*Le bienheureux David*"



THE GRANGE CEMETERY.

according to the *Edinburgh Weekly Journal* for April, 1820, John Home wrote his "Douglas," and Dr. Blair his "Lectures." "We give this interesting information," says the editor, "on the authority of a very near relation of Dr. Blair, to whom these particulars were often related by the Doctor with great interest."

On this edifice was engrafted, in 1835, one of the first Catholic convents erected in Scotland since the Reformation—a house of Ursulines of Jesus, and dedicated to St. Margaret, Queen of Scots, having a very fine Saxon chapel, the *chef d'œuvre* of Gillespie Graham. It was opened in June that year, according to the *Edinburgh Observer*, a now extinct journal, and the inaugural

de Bethune, Archevesque de St. André, Chancelier et Regent du Royaume d'Ecosse, Cardinal et Legat a latere, fut massacré pour la foy en 1546." It is believed to be a copy by Chambers from the original at St. Mary's College, Blairs. The most of the nuns were at first French, under a Madame St. Hilaire.

On the same side of the Loan are the gates to the old mansion of the Warrenders of Lochend, called Bruntfield or Warrender House, the ancestral seat of a family which got it as a free gift from the magistrates, and which has been long connected with the civil history and municipal affairs of the city—a massive, ancient, and dark edifice, with small windows and crowstepped

gables, covered with masses of luxuriant ivy, surrounded by fine old timber, and near which lies an interesting memorial of the statutes first made in 1567, the days of the plague, of the bailies of the muir—the tomb of some pest-stricken creature,* forbidden the rites of sepulture with his kindred. “Here,” says Wilson, “amid the pasturage of the meadow, and within sight of the busy capital, a large flat tombstone may be seen, time-worn and grey with the moss of age; it bears on it a skull, surmounted by a winged sandglass and a scroll, inscribed *mors pace . . . hora celi*, and below this is a shield bearing a saltier, with the initials M. I. R., and the date of the fatal year, 1645.* The M. surmounts the shield, and in all probability indicates that the deceased had taken his degree of Master of Arts. A scholar, perhaps, and one of noble birth, has won the sad pre-eminence of slumbering in unconsecrated ground, and apart from the dust of his fathers, to tell the terrors of the plague to other generations.”

In that year the muir must have been open and desolate, so the house of Brunsfield must have been built at a later date.

Bailie George Warrender of Lochend, an eminent merchant in Edinburgh, having filled the office of Lord Provost of that city in the reigns of King William, Queen Anne, and George I., was by the latter created a baronet of Great Britain in 1715, from which period he represented the city in Parliament till his death; but it is during the reign of William that his name first comes prominently before us, as connected with a judicial sale of some property in the Parliament Close in 1698, when he was one of the bailies, and George Home (afterwards Sir George) was Lord Provost.

In 1703 Lord Fountainhall reports a case: James Fairholme against Bailie Warrender. The former and other managers of “the manufactory at Edinburgh” had acquainted the latter that some prohibited goods were hidden in two houses in the

* As will be seen from the engraving, Wilson would seem not to have deciphered the tombstone correctly. These lines are inscribed on the tomb:—

THIS SAINT WHOS CORPS LYES DU
KIOE HEIR
LET ALL POSTERITIE ADMIREIR
FOR VPRIGHT LIF IN GODLY FEIR
WHEIR JUDGMENTS DID THIS LAND
SURROUND
HE WITH GOD WAS WALKING FOUND
FOR WHICH FROM MIDST OF FEIRS (?)
HE'S CROWN
HEIR TO BE INTERD BOTH HE
AND FRIENDS BY PROVIDENCE AGREE
NO AGE SHAL LOS HIS MEMOIRE
HIS AGE 53 DIED
1645.

city, and sought permission to search for and seize the same. The bailie delayed till night, when every man's house ought to be his sanctuary; and for this a fine was urged of 500 marks, for which the lords—accepting his excuses—“assoilized the bailie.” In another case, reported by the same lord in 1710, he appears as Dean of Guild in a case against certain burgesses of Leith, that savours of the old oppression that the magistrates and deans of guild of Edinburgh could then exercise over the indwellers in Leith, as part of the royalty of the city.

Sir John Warrender, the bailie's successor, was also a merchant and magistrate of Edinburgh; and his



OLD TOMB AT WARRENDER PARK.

great-grandson, Sir Patrick, was a cavalry officer of rank at the famous battle of Minden, and died in 1799, when King's Remembrancer in the Scottish Court of Exchequer.

Within the last few years the parks around old Brunsfield House have—save a small space in its immediate vicinity—been intersected, east, west, north, and south, by stately streets and lines of villas, among the chief of which are Warrender Park Crescent, with its noble line of ancient trees; Warrender Park Road, running from the links to Carlung Place; Spottiswood and Thirlstane Roads; and Alvanley Street, so called from the sister of Lord Alvanley, the wife, in 1838, of Captain John Warrender of the Foot Guards.

The old mansion is still the Edinburgh residence of Sir George Warrender, Bart.

Eastward of the White House Loan, and lying between it and the Burghmuir, is the estate of

Greenhill, whereon stood an old gable-ended and gabled manor-house, on the site of which is now the great square modern mansion which bears its name. In a street here, called Greenhill Gardens, there stands a remarkable parterre, or open burial-place, wherein lie the remains of more than one proprietor of the estate. A tomb bears the initials J. L. and E. R., being those of "John Livingstone and Elizabeth Rig, his spouse," who acquired the lands of Greenhill in 1636; and the adjacent thoroughfare, named Chamberlain Road, is so called from an official of the city, named Fairholme, who is also buried there.

A dispute—Temple and Halliday with Adam Cairns of Greenhill—is reported before the lords in 1706, concerning a tenement in the Lawnmarket, which would seem to have been "spoiled and deteriorated" in the fire of 1701. (Fountainhall.)

In 1741 Mr. Thomas Fairholme, merchant in Edinburgh, married Miss Warrender, daughter of Sir George Warrender of Bruntfield, and his death at Greenhill is reported in the *Scots Magazine* for 1771. There was a tenement called Fairholme Land in the High Street, immediately adjoining the Royal Exchange on the east, as appears from the *Scots Magazine* of 1754, probably erected by Bailie Fairholme, a magistrate in the time of Charles II.

Kay gives us a portrait of George Fairholme of Greenhill (and of Green-know, Berwickshire), who, with his younger brother, William of Chapel, had long resided in Holland, where they became wealthy bankers, and where the former cultivated a natural taste for the fine arts, and in after life became celebrated as a judicious collector of pictures, and of etchings by Rembrandt, all of which became the property of his nephew, Adam Fairholme of Chapel, Berwickshire. He died in his seventieth year, in 1800, and was interred in the family burying-place at Greenhill.

In a disposition of the lands of the latter estate by George Fairholme, in favour of Thomas Wright, dated 16th, and recorded 18th February, 1790, in the sheriffs' books at Edinburgh, the preservation of the old family tomb, which forms so singular a feature in a modern street, is thus provided for:—

"Reserving nevertheless to me the liberty and privilege of burying the dead of my own family, and such of my relations to whom I, during my own lifetime, shall communicate such privilege, in the burial-place built upon the said lands, and reserving likewise access to me and my heirs to repair the said burial-place from time to time, as we shall think proper."

Greenhill became latterly the property of the Stuart-Forbeses of Pitsligo, baronets.

After passing the old mansion named East Morningside House, the White House Loan joins at right angles the ancient thoroughfare named the Grange Loan, which led of old from the Linton Road to St. Giles's Grange, and latterly the Causeway-side.

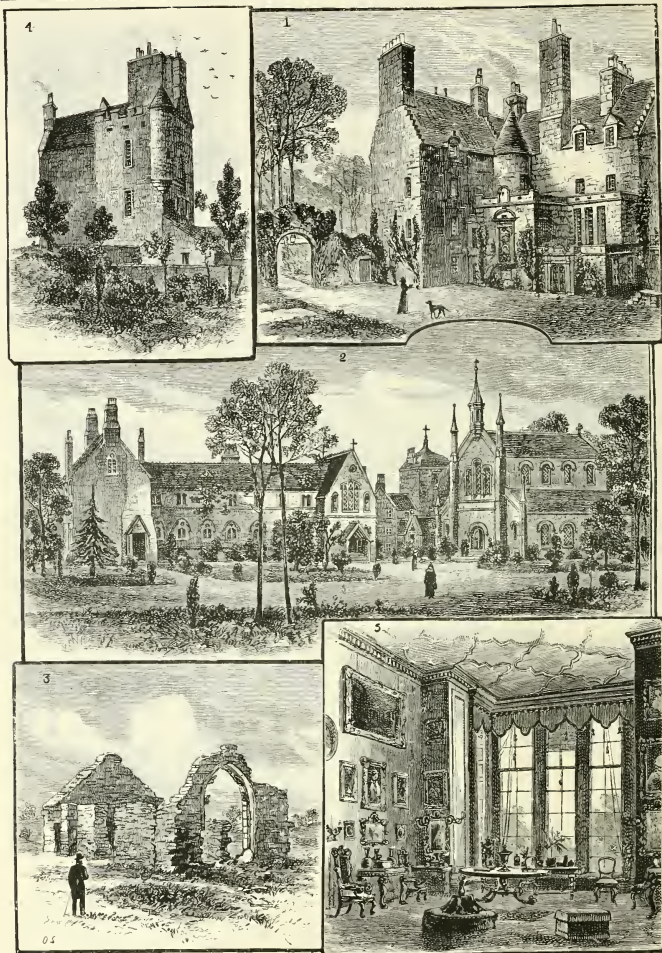
On the south side of it a modern villa takes its name of St. Roque from an ancient chapel which stood there, and the ruins of which were extant within the memory of many of the last generation. The chapels of St. Roque and St. John, on the Burghmuir, were both dependencies of St. Cuthbert's Church. The historian of the latter absurdly conceives it to have been named from a French ambassador, Lecroc, who was in Scotland in 1567. The date of its foundation is involved in obscurity; but entries occur in the Treasurer's Accounts for 1507, when on St. Roque's Day (15th August) James IV. made an offering of thirteen shillings. "That this refers to the chapel on the Burghmuir is proved," says Wilson, "by the evidence of two charters signed by the king at Edinburgh on the same day."

Arnot gives a view of the chapel from the north-east, showing the remains of a large pointed window, that had once been filled in with Gothic tracery; and states that it is owing "to the superstitious awe of the people that one stone of this chapel has been left upon another—a superstition which, had it been more constant in its operations, might have checked the tearing zeal of reformation. About thirty years ago the proprietor of the ground employed masons to pull down the walls of the chapel; the scaffolding gave way; the tradesmen were killed. The accident was looked upon as a judgment against those who were demolishing the house of God. No entreaties nor bribes by the proprietor could prevail upon tradesmen to accomplish its demolition."

It was a belief of old that St. Roque's intercession could protect all from pestilence, as he was distinguished for his piety and labours during a plague in Italy in 1348. Thus Sir David Lindsay says of—

"—Superstitious pilgrimages
To monie divers imagis;
Sum to Sanct Roche with diligence,
To saif them from the pestilence."

Thus it is, in accordance with the attributes ascribed in Church legends to St. Roque, that we find his chapel constantly resorted to by the victims of the plague encamped on the Burghmuir, during the prevalence of that scourge in the sixteenth century.



1 WARRENDER HOUSE; 2, ST. MARGARET'S CONVENT; 3, RUINS OF ST. ROQUE'S CHAPEL (after an Engraving in Arnol's "History"); 4, GRANGE HOUSE, 1820 (after Storer); 5, DRAWING-ROOM IN GRANGE HOUSE, 1882.

"The chapel of St. Roque," says Wilson, "has not escaped the notice of the Lord Lyon King's eulogist, among the varied features of the landscape that fill up the magnificent picture as Marmion rides under the escort of Sir David Lindesay to the top of Blackford Hill, in his approach to the Scottish camp, and looks down on the martial array of the kingdom, covering the wooded Links of the Burghmuir. James IV. is there represented as occasionally wending his way to attend mass at the neighbouring chapels of St. Katharine or St. Roque; nor is it unlikely that the latter may have been the scene of the monarch's latest acts of devotion, ere he led forth that gallant array to perish around him on the field of Flodden."

In the "Burgh Records," 15th December, 1530, we find that James Barbour, master and governor of "the foul folk on the mure" (*i.e.*, the pest-stricken), had made away with the goods and clothes of many that were lying in the chapel of St. Roque; and that all who had any claims to make should bring them forward on a given day; but if the clothes proved of small value, they were to be burned or given to the poor.

In 1532 the provost and bailies, "moved by devotion, have, for the honour of God and his Blissit Mother, Virgen Marie, and the holy confessor Sanct Rok," for prayers to be said for the souls of those that lie in the said kirk and kirk-yard, granted to Sir John Young, the chaplain thereof, three acres of the Burghmuir, with another acre to build houses upon; for which he and his successors were bound to keep the chapel in repair, and its slates and "glaswyndois" watertight.

These acres are described in the "Records" as lying between the land of James Makgill on the west, and of William Henderson on the east, Braid's Burn on the south, and the common passage of the Muir (*i.e.*, the Grange Loan) on the north.

Early in the present century, by a new proprietor, "the whole of this interesting and venerable ruin was swept away as an unsightly encumbrance to the estate of a retired tradesman."

Close by, a tombstone from its burying-ground long remained at the corner of a thatched cottage in the Loan. It bore the date 1600. Others were to be found in the adjacent boundary walls.

Now villas are springing up fast between the Loan and Blackford Hill, which in altitude is 698 feet above the level of the sea, and of which Scott says, in "Marmion":—

"Blackford! on whose uncultured breast,
Among the broom, and thorn, and whin,
A truant boy, I sought the nest,
Or listed as I lay at rest;
While rose on breezes thin
The murmur of the city crowd:
And, from his steeple, jingling loud,
St. Giles's mingling din."

The tiends and tithes of the Burghmuir belonged of old to the abbey of Holyrood, but this did not prevent the acquisition of its fertile acres by private proprietors, or their transference to different ecclesiastical foundations.

The great parish church of the city had at the earliest period of its existence as chief clergyman an official styled the Vicar of St. Giles's, who possessed an interest in a farmhouse called St. Giles's Grange, which has given the name of The Grange to all the pleasant suburb around where once it stood.

In 1679, William Dick of Grange succeeded Janet McMath, his mother, relict of William Dick of Grange, in the lands of St. Giles's Grange, and eighteen arable acres of the Sciennes.

Before the Grange House was enlarged by the late Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, it presented, in the early part of the present century, as shown by Storer, the appearance of a plain little castellated house, with only three chimneys and one circular turret.

Of old it was the patrimony of the Dicks, from whom it went to the Lauders; and in the Register of Entails for 1757, we find Mrs. Isabel Dick of Grange, and Sir Andrew Lauder of Fountainhall, her husband, entailing the lands and estate of Grange. They were cousins. He was the fifth baronet of the old and honourable line of Lauder, and she was the only child and heiress of William Dick of Grange, whose arms, *argent a fesse wavy, azure*, between three mullets gules, were thenceforward quartered with the rampant griffin of the Lauders. She died in the old Grange House in 1758; and there also died her mother, in 1764, "Anne Seton, relict of William Dick of Grange, and eldest daughter of Sir Alexander Seton of Pitmedden, some time senator of the College of Justice." (*Edinburgh Advertiser*, Vol. I.) Her sister Jean died in the same house four years after.

Dr. William Robertson, the historian and preacher, resided in the old Grange House in the later years of his life, and there his death occurred, on the 11th June, 1793.

It was after the succession of Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, a well-known *littérateur* in Edinburgh society, who, early in life, was an officer of the Cameron Highlanders, that the Grange House was enlarged,

and made the ornate edifice we find it now, with oriel windows and clustering turrets. He was author of "The Wolf of Badenoch," "The History of the Morayshire Floods," a "Journal of the Queen's Visit to Scotland in 1842," &c. He was the lineal representative of the Lauders of Lauder Tower and the Bass, and of the Dicks of Braid and Grange, and died in 1848.

Near the Grange House is the spacious and ornamental cemetery of the same name, bordered on the east by a narrow path, once lined by dense hedge-rows, which led from the Grange House to the Meadows, and was long known as the Lovers' Loan. This celebrated burying-ground contains the ashes of Ors. Chalmers, Lee, and Guthrie; Sir Andrew Agnew of Lochnew, Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, Sir Hope Grant of Kilgraston, the well-known Indian general and cavalry officer; Hugh Miller, Scotland's most eminent geologist; the second Lord Dunfermline, and a host of other distinguished Scotsmen.

In the Grange Road is the Chalmers Memorial Free Church, built in 1866, after designs by Patrick Wilson at a cost of £6,000. It is a cruciform edifice, in the geometric Gothic style. In Kilgraston Road is the Robertson Memorial Established Church, built in 1871, after designs by Robert Morham, at a cost of more than £6,000. It is also a handsome cruciform edifice in the Gothic style, with a spire 156 feet high.

In every direction around these spots spread miles of handsome villas in every style of architecture, with plate glass oriels, and ornate railings, surrounded by clustering trees, extensive gardens and lawns, beautiful shrubberies—in summer, rich with fruit and lovely flowers—the long lines of road intersected by tramway rails and crowded by omnibuses.

Such is now the Burghmuir of James III.—the Drumshough Forest of David I. and of remoter times.

CHAPTER V.

THE DISTRICT OF NEWINGTON.

The Causewayside—Summerhall—Clerk Street Chapel and other Churches—Literary Institute—Mayfield Loan—Old House—Free Church—The Powburn—Female Blind Asylum—Chapel of St. John the Baptist—Dominican Convent at the Sciennes—Sciennes Hill House—Scott and Burns' meet—New Trades Maiden Hospital—Hospital for Incurables—Prestonfield House—The Hamiltons and Dick-Cunninghams—Cemetery at Echo Bank—The Lands of Cameron—Craigmillar—Description of the Castle—James V., Queen Mary, and Darnley, resident there—Queen Mary's Tree—The Prestons and Gilmours—Peffer Mill House.

"WHEN the population of Edinburgh," says Sir Walter Scott, "appeared first disposed to burst from the walls within which it had been so long confined, it seemed natural to suppose that the tide would have extended to the south side of Edinburgh, and that the New Town would have occupied the extensive plain on the south side of the College." The natural advantage pointed out so early by Sir Walter has been eventually embraced, and the results are the populous suburban districts we have been describing, covered with streets and villas, and Newington, which now extends from the Sciennes and Preston Street nearly to the hill crowned by the ancient castle of Craigmillar.

In the Valuation Roll for 1814 the district is described as the "Lands of Newington, part of the Old and New Burrowmuir."

The year 1800 saw the whole locality open and arable fields, save where stood the old houses of Mayfield at the Mayfield Loan, a few cottages at Echo Bank, and others at the Powburn. In those

days the London mails proceeded from the town by the East Cross Causeway; but as time went on, Newington House was erected, then a villa or two: among the latter, one still extant near the corner of West Preston Street, was the residence of William Blackwood the publisher, and founder of the firm and magazine.

In the Causewayside, which leads direct from the Sciennes to the Powburn, were many old and massive mansions (the residences of wealthy citizens), that stood back from the roadway, within double gates and avenues of trees. Some of these edifices yet remain, but they are of no note, and are now the abodes of the poor.

Broadstairs House, in the Causewayside, a massive, picturesque building, demolished to make room for Mr. T. C. Jack's printing and publishing establishment, was built by the doctor of James IV. or V., and remained in possession of the family till the end of last century. One half of the edifice was known as Broadstairs House, and the other half as Wormwood Hall. Mr. Jack bought the

former, but he could not take it down without purchasing the latter also. The garden is supposed to have extended as far back as the Dalkeith Road before Minto Street was made.

Summerhall, in the Sciennes quarter, has long been noted for its brewery. In the dreadful storm of wind which visited Edinburgh in 1739, we are told in the *Scots Magazine* for that year, that the ashes from several chimneys set some houses on fire, among others that of Mr. Bryson, the brewer at Summerhall, and destroyed it, with 200 bolls of grain. Summerhall is a brewery still.

Clerk Street Chapel was among the many new churches that have sprung up in this district, where we now find quite a cluster of them.

The foundation-stone of the former was laid in 1823; it was to be a chapel of ease for St. Cuthbert's parish, to contain 1,700 persons, and be named "Hope Park Chapel." The steeple is about 116 feet in height. Newington Free Church, on the east side of the street, about one hundred and twenty yards farther south, is a spacious building, erected in 1843, and enlarged afterwards with a neat Gothic front. Hope Park United Presbyterian Church is one hundred and fifty yards south-west of the latter, and was erected in 1867, in lieu of a relinquished church in the Potterrow; and Hope Park Congregational Church was erected in 1876, at a cost of £6,300, in the French Romanesque style. St. Peter's Episcopal Church, with a lofty square spire, stands in Luton Place, about one hundred and forty yards south-east of Newington Free Church.

In No. 26 South Clerk Street is the Edinburgh Literary Institute, built in 1870, and improved five years subsequently. It contains a large hall for lectures and concerts, and has a reading-room, library, and several class-rooms. It is managed by a president and twenty-four directors, with finance, lecture, and library committees. The library contains considerably over 20,000 volumes, and in the news and reading rooms are to be found the whole serial literature of the day.

The Mayfield Loan, a continuation of the Grange Loan, intersects Newington from east to west. During the last century there were but two small manor-houses here, known respectively as East and West Mayfield Houses. The latter was only swept away a few years ago, after being long a wayside inn, when Mayfield Street was formed. In the West Loan we find Mayfield Free Church and Hall, in the early Gothic style, opened about the end of 1876, and designed to become a large cruciform edifice, with a steeple 150 feet high.

A little way south of this was the hamlet of the

Powburn, once a favourite summer residence for citizens. It gave the title of baronet to a Sir James Keith in 1663; the title is now extinct. But a hundred years afterwards we find advertised as to let "The Powburn House, pleasantly situated a little from the Grange-gate Toll Bar, with coach-house and four-stalled stable," &c. (*Edinburgh Advertiser*, Vol. I.)

Here has now been erected on rising ground the West Craigmillar Asylum for Blind Females, one of the many noble charities which do such honour to Edinburgh. It stands amid an ornamental plot of four acres; was founded in April, 1874, and completed three years afterwards, at a cost of £13,000. It consists of a main body and wings in a light French style of architecture. The front elevation is 160 feet long; the main block is three storeys high, with a porticoed entrance, and is surmounted by a clock-tower 80 feet in height. Each wing has a French roof, designed in a manner to enhance the appearance of this tower.

The reception-hall is circular, with a diameter of 111 feet; there are two work-rooms, each 72 feet by 20; a dining-hall, 115 feet long, with a roof about 24 feet high of open timber work. This noble edifice has superseded both the asylum for blind female adults in Nicolson Street, and that for blind female children in Gayfield Square, and accommodates 150 inmates.

Newington consists almost entirely of lines of handsome villas, bordering spacious thoroughfares, and contains the houses in which the Rev. Dr. Thomas McCrie, the Rev. Dr. John Brown, and the Rev. Dr. William Cunningham, lived and died. House property, principally in villas, throughout the southern suburbs eastward of the Burghmuir-head, was erected in the few years ending 1877, to the value of £1,358,550.

Mayfield Established Church was at first only a temporary iron erection, facing Craigmillar Park, but in 1877 was superseded by a stone structure which cost about £5,000.

The most ancient edifices that stood in the Newington district of Edinburgh were the Chapel of St. John the Baptist, on the eastern verge of the Burghmuir, and the Convent of St. Katharine of Scienna, which gave its name to the suburb now named the Sciennes.

The former was long a solitary chaplaincy, founded and endowed, towards the close of the reign of James IV., by Sir John Crawford, a canon of St. Giles's Church; "and portions of the ruins," says Wilson, "are believed still to form part of the garden wall of a house on the west side of Newington, called Sciennes Hall." There a species

of hermit, or chaplain, resided; and the charter of foundation mentions that he was to be clothed "in a white garment, having on his breast a portraiture of St. John the Baptist."

In the "Inventory of Pious Donations," under date 2nd of March, 1512, there is found a "charter of confirmation of a mortification by Sir John Crawford, one of the prebends of St. Giles's Kirk, to a kirk built by him at St. Giellie Grange, mortifying thereunto 18 acres of land, with the Quarry Land

Soon after the erection of this chapel the convent of St. Katharine was founded near it, by Janet Lady Seton, whose husband George, third Lord Seton, was slain at the battle of Flodden, where also fell his brother Adam, second Earl of Bothwell, grandfather of James, fourth Earl of Bothwell, and Duke of Orkney.

After that fatal day she remained a widow for forty-five years, says the "History of the House of Seytoun"—for nearly half a century, according



BROADSTAIRS HOUSE, CAUSEWAYSIDE, 1880. (From a Painting by G. M. Aikman.)

given to him in charity by the said Burgh, with an acre and a quarter of a particate of land in his three acres and a half of the said Muir pertaining to him, lying at the east side of the common muir, betwixt the lands of John Cant on the west, and the common muir on the east and south parts, and the Mureburgh now built on the north."

This solitary little chapel was intended to be a charity for the benefit of the souls of the founder, his kindred, the reigning sovereign, the magistrates of Edinburgh, "and such others as it was usual to include in the services for the faithful departed in similar foundations." The chaplain was required to be of the founder's name and family, and after his death the patronage rested with the Town Council.

to the "Eglinton Peerage"—and was celebrated for her "exalted and matronly conduct, which drew around her, at her well-known residence at the Sciennes, all the female branches of the nobility."

In 1516 a notarial instrument on behalf of the sisters and Josina Henrison at their head, referring to the foundation and mortification of St. John's Kirk, on the Burgh Muir, is preserved among the "Burgh Records."

The convent was founded for Dominicans, and amid the gross corruption that prevailed at the Reformation, so blameless and innocent were the lives of these ladies that they were excepted from the general denunciation by the great satirist of the time, Sir David Lindsay, who, in his satire of the

"Papingo," makes Chastity flee for refuge to the sisters of the Sciennes.

The convent was erected under a Bull of Pope Leo X., and also by a charter of James V. This Bull informs us that the convent was created through the influence of the families of Seton,

Lord Seton, refusing all offers of marriage, became a nun at the Sciennes, and dying in her seventy-eighth year, was buried there, according to the history of her house.

The chapel of St. John the Baptist became that of the new convent, which, up to the middle



MR. DUNCAN MCLAREN. (From a Photograph by J. G. Tunny.)

Douglas of Glenbervie, and Lauder of the Bass, the land being given by the venerable Sir John Crawford. The first prioress was the widowed Lady Seton; "ane nobill and wyse Ladye," says Sir Richard Maitland, "sche gydit hir sonnys leving quhill he was cumit to age, and thereafter she passit and remainit at the place of Senis, on the Borrow Mure." There she died in 1558, and was buried in the choir of Seton church, beside her husband, whose body had been brought from Flodden.

Katharine, second daughter of George, fourth

of the sixteenth century, received various augmentations—among others, a tenement in the Cowgate. The nuns made annual processions to the altar of St. Katharine in St. Margaret's Chapel at Liberton; and it was remarked, says the editor of *Archæologia Scotica*, that the man who demolished the latter never prospered after.

In 1541 the magistrates took in feu from the nuns their arable land, lying outside the Greyfriars' Port, and, curious to say, it is on a portion of this that the new Convent of St. Katharine was founded, about 1860. Within the grounds on the north side

of the latter is a grand old thorn, which has always borne the name of "St. Katharine's Thorn."

In 1544 the convent at the Sciennes was destroyed by the English; and by the year 1567 its whole possessions had passed into the hands of laymen, and the helpless sisters were driven forth from their cloisters in utter penury; nor would the

who also raised a cairn of stones from the venerable building in his grounds at St. Bennet's, Greenhill. When St. Katharine's Place, near it, was built, a large number of skulls and human bones was found, only eighteen inches below the surface; and thirty-six feet eastward, a circular stone well, four feet in diameter and ten feet deep, was discovered in 1864. The sisters are said to have frequented a well within the grounds of Oakbank, at the extremity of Lauder Road, still called the "Ladies' Well," and in the centre of Sciennes Court is another well, supposed to have belonged to the convent. ("Convent of St. Katharine," by G. Seton, Esq.; privately printed.)

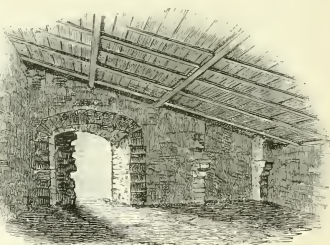
The road that now runs westward from this point to Bruntsfield Links was of old bordered by hedgerows, and known as the Sciennes Loan.

In Pitcairn's "Criminal Trials" we read that in 1624 "Harie Liston, indweller at the back of the Pleasance, callit the Bak Row, was delatit" for assault and hamesucken on Robert Young, "in his pease lands," beside the Sciennes, stabbing him, cutting his clothes, and drawing him by the heels "to ane brick vault in St. Geillies Grange," where he died, and was secretly buried; yet Liston was declared innocent by

magistrates, until compelled by Queen Mary, says Arnot, "allow them a subsistence out of those very funds with which their own predecessors had endowed the convent." The "Burgh Records" corroborate this, as in 1563 the Prioress Christian, Beatrix Blacater, and other sisters, received payment of certain feu-duties for their sustenance out of the proceeds of the suppressed house. At that time its revenues were only £219 6s. sterling, with eighty-six bolls of wheat and barley, and one barrel of salmon. (Maitland's Hist.) Its seal is preserved among Laing's Collection, No. 1136.

Dame Christian Ballenden, prioress after the dispersion of the nuns (an event referred to by Scott in his "Abbot"), feued the lands in 1567 to Henry, second son of Henry Kincaid of Warriston, by his first wife, Margaret Ballenden, supposed to be a sister or relation. How long the Kincaids possessed the lands is unknown, but about the middle of the sixteenth century they seem to have passed to Janet McMath, wife of William Dick of Grange, and consequently, ancestress of the Lauders of Fountainhall and Grange, as shown in a preceding chapter.

A small fragment of the convent, twelve feet high, measuring twenty-seven feet by twenty-four, having a corbelled fire-place six feet six inches wide, served—till within the last few years—as a sheep-fold for the flocks that pastured in the surrounding meadow, and views of that fragment are still preserved. The site of the convent was commemorated by a tablet, erected in 1872, by George Seton, Esq., representative of the Setons of Cariston,



INTERIOR OF THE RUINS OF THE CONVENT OF ST. KATHARINE, SCIENNES, 1854. (After a Drawing by the Author.)

the Court, and "acquitt of the slaughter and murther."

In the *Courant* for 1761 "the whole of the houses and gardens at Sciennes, and the houses at Goodspeed of Sciennes, near Edinburgh, at the east end of Hope Park," belonging to Sir James Johnston (of Westerhall), were advertised for sale.

The entrance-door of Old Sciennes House, entering from the meadows, and removed in 1867, had

three plain shields under a moulding, with the date 1741.

Though disputed by some, Sciennes Hill House, once the residence of Professor Adam Fergusson, author of the "History of the Roman Republic," is said to have been the place where Sir Walter Scott was introduced to Robert Burns in 1786, when that interesting incident occurred which is related by Sir Walter himself in the following letter, which occurs in Lockhart's Life of him:—"As for Burns, I may truly say, *Virgilium vidi tantum*. I was a lad of fifteen in 1786-7, when he first came to Edinburgh, but had sense and feeling enough to be much interested in his poetry, and would have given the world to know him; but I had very little acquaintance with any literary people, and less with the gentry of the West County, the two sets he most frequented. I saw him one day at the venerable Professor Fergusson's, where there were several gentlemen of literary reputation, among whom I remember the celebrated Dugald Stewart.

"Of course, we youngsters sat silent, and listened. The only thing I remember which was remarkable in Burns's manner was the effect produced upon him by a print of Bunbury's, representing a soldier lying dead on the snow, his dog sitting in misery on one side; on the other his widow, with a child in her arms. These lines were written underneath:—

" 'Cold on Canadian hills, or Minden's plain,
Perhaps that parent wept her soldier slain—
Bent o'er her babe, her eyes dissolved in dew,
The big drops mingling with the drops he drew,
Gave the sad presage of his future years,
The child of misery baptised in tears.'

"Burns seemed much affected by the print, or rather, the ideas which it suggested to his mind. He actually shed tears. He asked whose the lines were, and it chanced that nobody but myself remembered that they occur in a half-forgotten poem of Langhorne's, called by the unpromising title of 'The Justice of the Peace.' I whispered my information to a friend present, who mentioned it to Burns, who rewarded me with a look and a word, which, though of mere civility, I then received, and still recollect, with very great pleasure."

Westward of Sciennes Hill is the new Trades Maiden Hospital, in the midst of a fine grassy park, called Rillbank. The history of this charitable foundation, till its transference here, we have already given elsewhere fully. Within its walls is preserved the ancient "Blue Blanket," or banner of the city, of which there will be found an engraving on page 36 of Volume I.

In Salisbury Road, which opens eastward off

Minto Street, is the Edinburgh Hospital for Incurables, founded in 1874; and through the charity of the late Mr. J. A. Longmore, in voting a grant of £10,000 for that purpose, provided the institution "should supply accommodation for incurable patients of all classes, and at the same time commemorate Mr. Longmore's munificent bequest for the relief of such sufferers," the directors were enabled, in 1877, to secure Nos. 9 and 10 in this thoroughfare. The building has a frontage of 160 feet by 180 feet deep. It consists of a central block and two wings, the former three storeys high, and the latter two. The wards for female patients measure about 34 feet by 25 feet, affording accommodation for about ten beds.

Fronting the entrance door to the corridors are



SEAL OF THE CONVENT OF ST. KATHARINE.

(After H. Laing.)

separate staircases, one leading to the female department, the other to the male. On each floor the bath, nurses' rooms, &c., are arranged similarly. In the central block are rooms for "paying patients." The wards are heated with Manchester open fireplaces, while the corridors are fitted up with hot water-pipes. The wards afford about 1,100 cubic feet of space for each patient.

Externally the edifice is treated in the Classic style. In rear of it a considerable area of ground has been acquired, and suitably laid out. The site cost £4,000, and the hospital £10,000. Since it was opened there have been on an average one hundred patients in it, forty of whom were natives of Edinburgh, and some twenty or so from England and Ireland. The funds contributed for its support are raised entirely in the city. It was formally opened in December, 1880.

A little way south from this edifice, in South

Blacket Place, is Newington House, the residence of Duncan McLaren, Esq., long one of the city members, and who, beyond all other Scottish representatives, has been a champion for Scottish interests. He was born in 1800, and was Lord Provost of Edinburgh from 1851 to 1854, and is the father of John McLaren, who was made a Lord of Session in 1881. It is the largest and principal mansion in this part of the town.

Opposite the west end of the Mayfield Loan is

land, a man of rare spirit and a very valiant souldiour, departed this lyffe at Priestfield, neire Edinburgh, 26th November, 1649." He had served with distinction under Gustavus Adolphus, and was familiarly known among the soldiers as "dear Sandy," and as the constructor of certain field-pieces for the Covenanters, who stigmatised them as "stoups."

It was for an alleged intrigue with Anne Hepburn, the lady of Sir James Hamilton of Preston-



PRESTONFIELD HOUSE.

the gate of the avenue that leads to the tall old manor-house of Prestonfield, the seat of the Dick-Cunninghams, baronets of 1677, according to Burke. Prior to coming into possession of the present family, the estate belonged of old to the Hamiltons, one of whom, Thomas, fell at Flodden in 1513.

In 1607 Thomas Hamilton of Prestonfield became a Lord of Session, and on assuming his seat, took an oath "that neither directly nor indirectly he had procured the place by gold or silver."

The property seems to have been sometimes called Priestfield. Thus Balfour records that "Sir Alexander Hamilton, brother to Thomas, first Earle of Haddington, Generall of the Artillerie of Scot-

field, in November, 1633, that Robert Monteith "of Salmonet," as he called himself, minister of Duddingston, had to fly to Paris, where he became chaplain to Cardinal de Retz; and in after years it passed into possession of the present family, when "James Dick, a merchant of great eminence and wealth, having purchased the lands of Priestfield, or Prestonfield," was created a baronet of Nova Scotia, 2nd March, 1677.

Four years afterwards, on the morning of the 11th January, his house, "under the south front of Arthur's Seat," was burnt down. Political circumstances, according to Chambers, gave importance to this, which would otherwise have been a trivial matter. Sir James was a friend of the Duke of

Albany and York, and his having adopted energetic measures with some of the students of the college, for their Popery riot in 1680, was supposed to have excited a spirit of retaliation in their companions ; hence a suspicion arose that the fire was designed and executed by them. The Privy Council were so far convinced of this being the case, that they closed the university, and banished the students till they could find caution for their good behaviour.

Sir James's house was rebuilt by the Scottish

Corstorphine, in 1699, to the second and younger sons of his only daughter, Janet, who was married to Sir William Cunningham, Bart., of Caprington, by whom he was succeeded at his decease, in 1728.

His son, Sir Alexander Dick (paternally Cunningham), had attained under the latter name a high repute in medicine, and became President of the Royal College at Edinburgh ; and he it was who entertained Dr. Johnson and Boswell for



OLD HOUSES, ECHO BANK.

Treasury as it now exists. When he was coming from London in 1682 with the duke, in the *Gloucester* man-of-war, she was cast away upon a sandbank, twelve leagues from Yarmouth, and then went to pieces. Sir James relates in a letter that the crew were crowding into a boat set apart for the royal duke, on which, the Earl of Winton and Sir George Gordon of Haddo had to drive them back with drawn swords. Sir James, with the Earls of Middleton and Perth, and the Laird of Touch, escaped in another boat ; but the Earl of Roxburgh, the Laird of Hopetoun, and 200 men, were drowned.

As Sir James Dick died without male issue, he made an entail of his estates of Prestonfield and

several days at Prestonfield, where he died, in his eighty-second year, in 1785.

The Mayfield Estate, which belongs to Mr. Duncan McLaren, was laid out for feuing by the late Mr. David Cousin ; and more recently the adjacent lands of Craigmillar, the property of Mr. Little Gilmour, and all are now being rapidly covered with houses.

Proceeding along the old Dalkeith Road, near Echo Bank, a gate and handsome lodge lead to Newington Cemetery, with a terrace and line of vaults. This was the second that was opened after that of Warriston, and was ready for interments in 1846. It was laid out by Mr. David Cousin ; but as the designs were open to public

competition, the first prize for the chapel, &c., was awarded to James Grant, Hope Park End.

Skirting the cemetery on the west, the Powburn here turns south, and running under Cameron Bridge, after a bend, turns acutely north, and flows through the grounds of Prestonfield towards Duddingston Loch.

Out of his lands of Cameron, Sir Simon Preston of Craigmillar, in 1474, gave an annual rent of ten marks to a chaplain in the church of Musselburgh.

Craigmillar Park and Craigmillar Road take their name from the adjacent ruined castle; and at Bridge-end, at the base of the slope on which it stands, James V. had a hunting-lodge and chapel, some traces of which still exist in the form of a stable.

On the summit of an eminence, visible from the whole surrounding country—the *craig-moil-ard* of antiquity (the high bare rock, no doubt, it once was)—stands the venerable Castle of Craigmillar, with a history nearly as long as that of Holyrood, and which is inseparably connected with that of Edinburgh, having its silent records of royalty and rank—its imperishable memories of much that has perished for ever.

The hill on which it stands, in view of the encroaching city—which bids fair some day to surround it—is richly planted with young wood; but in the immediate vicinity of the ruin some of the old ancestral trees remain, where they have braved the storms of centuries. Craigmillar is remarkable as being the only family mansion in Scotland systematically built on the principles of fortification in use during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the centre tower, the square donjon keep is of the earliest age of baronial architecture, built we know not when, or by whom, and surrounded now by an external wall, high and strong, enclosing a considerable area, with round flanking towers about sixty feet apart in front, to protect the curtains between—all raised in those ages of strife and bloodshed when our Scottish nobles—

“Carved at the meal with gloves of steel,
And drank their wine through the helmet barred.”

Its lofty and stately vaulted hall measures thirty-six feet long by twenty-two feet in breadth, with a noble fireplace eleven feet wide, and on the lower portions of it some remnants of old paintings may be traced, and on the stone slab of one of the windows a diagram for playing an old knightly game called “Troy.” There are below it several gloomy dungeons, in one of which John Pinkerton, Advocate, and Mr. Irvine, W.S., discovered in 1813 a human skeleton, built into the wall upright.

What dark secrets the old walls of this castle could tell, had their stony tongues! for an old, old house it is, full of thrilling historical and warlike memories. Besides the keep and the older towers, there is within the walls a structure of more modern appearance, built in the seventeenth century. This is towards the west, where a line of six handsome gabled dormer windows on each side of a projecting chimney has almost entirely disappeared; one bore the date MDC. Here a stair led to the castle gardens, in which can be traced a large pond in the form of a P, the initial letter of the old proprietor's name. Here, says Balfour, in 1509, “there were two scorpions found, one dead, the other alive.”

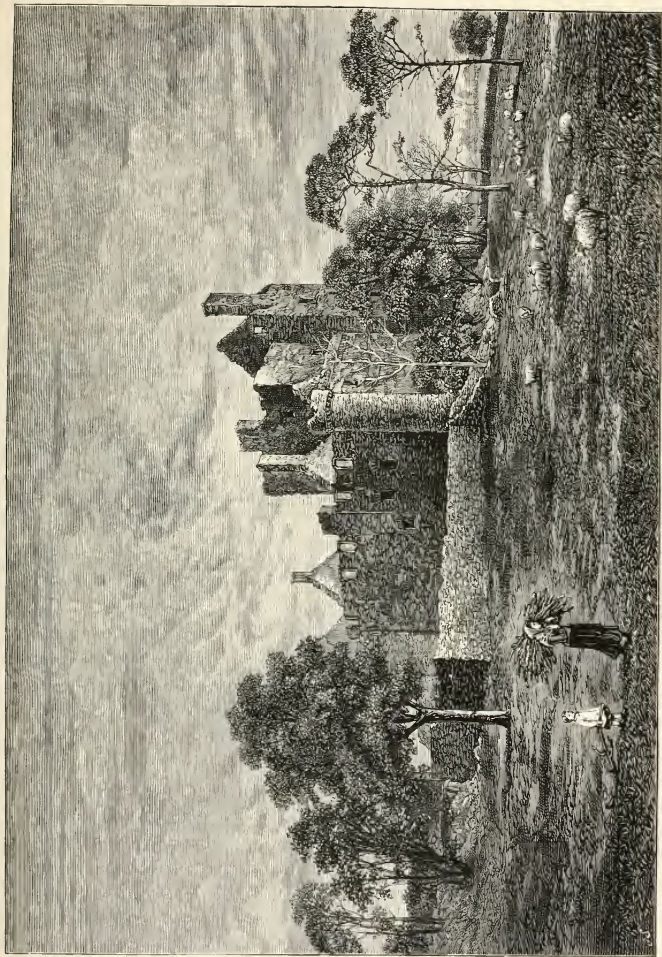
There are the dilapidated remains of a chapel, measuring thirty feet by twenty feet, with a large square and handsomely-mullioned window, and a mutilated font. It was built by Sir John Gilmour, who had influence enough to obtain a special “indulgence” therefor from King James VII. It is a stable now.

“On the boundary wall,” says Sir Walter Scott, “may be seen the arms of Cockburn of Ormiston, Congalton of Congalton, Mowbray of Barnbougle, and Otterburn of Redford, allies of the Prestons of Craigmillar. In one corner of the court, over a portal arch, are the arms of the family: three unicorns' heads coupéd, with a cheese-press and barrel, or tun—a wretched rebus, to express their name of Preston.”

This sculptured fragment bears the date 1510. The Prestons of Craigmillar carried their shield above the gate, in the fashion called by the Italians *scudo pendente*, which is deemed more honourable than those carried square, according to Rosehaugh's “Science of Heraldry.”

On the south the castle is built on a perpendicular rock. Round the exterior walls was a deep moat, and one of the advanced round towers—the Dovecot—has loopholes for arrows or musketry.

The earliest possessor of whom we have record is “Henry de Craigmillar,” or William Fitz-Henry, of whom there is extant a charter of gift of a certain toft of land in Craigmillar, near the church of Liberton, to the monastery of Dunfermline, in 1212, during the reign of King Alexander II. The nearer we come to the epoch of the long and glorious War of Independence, the more generally do we find the lands in the south of Scotland in the hands of Scoto-Norman settlers. John de Capella was Lord of Craigmillar, from whose family the estate passed into the hands of Simon Preston, in 1374, he receiving a charter, under



CRAIGMULLAR CASTLE.



Robert II., "of the lands of Craigmillar, in Vic du Edinburgh, whilk William de Capella resigned, sustennand an archer in the king's army." (Robertson's "Index.")

Under the same monarch, some time after, another charter was granted, confirming "John de Capella, keeper of the king's chapel, in the lands of Erolly (*sic*), whilk Simon de Prestoun resigned; he, John, performing the same service in the king's chapel that his predecessors used to perform for the third part of Craigmillar."

The date 1474 above the principal gate probably refers to some repairs. Four years afterwards, William, a successor of Sir Simon Preston, was a member of the parliament which met at Edinburgh June 1, 1478. He had the title of Domine de Craigmillar, the residence of his race for nearly three hundred years.

In 1479 this castle became connected with a dark and mysterious State tragedy. The Duke of Albany was accused of conspiring treasonably with the English against the life of his brother, James III., but made his escape from Edinburgh Castle, as related in Volume I. Their younger brother John, Earl of Mar, was placed a prisoner in Craigmillar on the same charges. James III. did not possess, it was alleged, the true characteristics of a king in those days. He loved music, architecture, poetry, and study. "He was a man that loved solitude," says Pitscottie, "and desired never to hear of warre"—a desire that the Scottish noblemen never cared to patronise.

Mar, a handsome and gay fellow, "knew nothing but nobility." He was a keen hunter, a sportsman, and breeder of horses for warlike purposes. Whether Mar was guilty or not of the treasons which were alleged against him will never be known, but certain it is that he never left his captivity alive. Old annalists say that he chose his own mode of death, and had his veins opened in a warm bath; but Drummond, in his "History of the Jameses," says he was seized by fever and delirium in Craigmillar, and was removed to the Canongate, where he died in the hands of the king's physician, either from a too profuse use of phlebotomy, or from his having, in a fit of frenzy, torn off the bandages.

In 1517 Balfour records that the young king James V. was removed from Edinburgh to Craigmillar, and the queen-mother was not permitted to see him, in consequence of the pestilence then raging. But he resided here frequently. In 1544, it is stated in the "Diurnal of Occurents" that the fortress was too hastily surrendered to the English invaders, who sacked and burned it.

By far the most interesting associations of Craig-

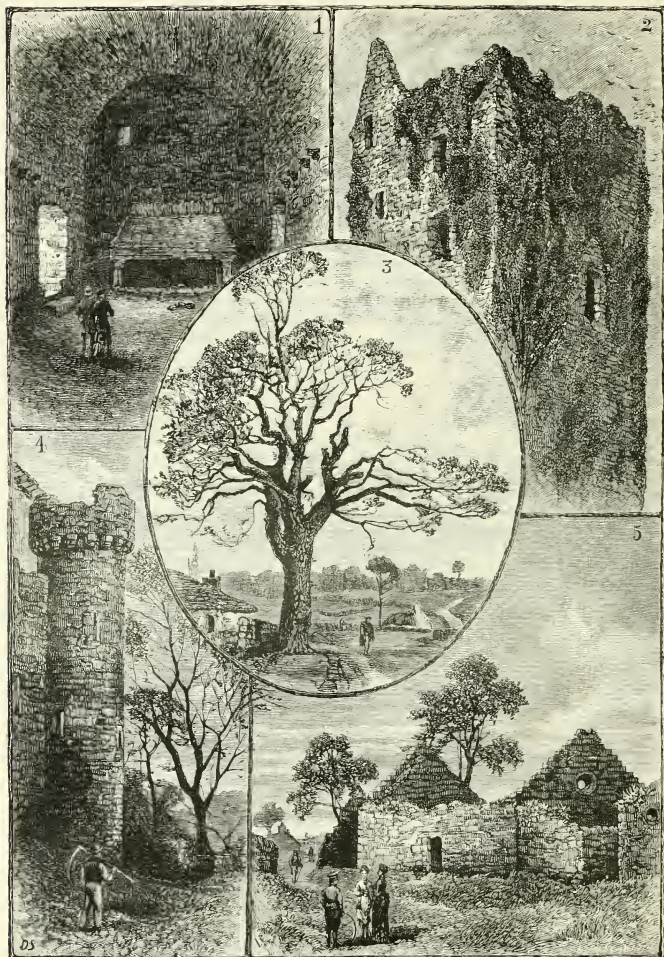
millar, like so many other castles in the south of Scotland, are those in which Queen Mary bears a part, as she made it a favourite country retreat. Within its walls was drawn up by Sir James Balfour, with unique legal solemnity, the bond of Darnley's murder, and there signed by so many nobles of the first rank, who pledged themselves to stand by Bothwell with life and limb, in weal or woe, after its perpetration, which bond of blood the wily lawyer afterwards destroyed.

Some months after the murder of Rizzio, and while the grasping and avaricious statesmen of the day were watching the estrangement of Mary and her husband, on the 2nd December, 1560, Le Croc, the French Ambassador, wrote thus to the Archbishop of Glasgow:—"The Queen is for the present at Craigmillar, about a league distant from this city. She is in the hands of the physicians, and I do assure you is not at all well, and do believe the principal part of her disease to consist in deep grief and sorrow. Nor does it seem possible to make her forget the same. Still she repeats these words—'*I could wish to be dead!*'"

Craigmillar narrowly escaped being stained with the blood of the dissolute Darnley. It would appear that when he returned from Glasgow, early in 1567, instead of lodging him in the fatal Kirk-o'-Field, the first idea of the conspirators was to bring him hither, when it was suggested that his recovery from his odious disease might be aided by the sanitary use of a bath—"an ominous proposal to a prince, who might remember what tradition stated to have happened ninety years earlier within the same walls."

The vicinity abounds with traditions of the hapless Mary. Her bed closet is still pointed out; and on the east side of the road, at Little France, a hamlet below the castle walls, wherein some of her French retinue was quartered, a gigantic plane—the largest in the Lothians—is to this day called "Queen Mary's Tree," from the unauthenticated tradition that her own hands planted it, and as such it has been visited by generations. In recent storms it was likely to suffer; and Mr. Gil-mour of Craigmillar, in September, 1881, after consulting the best authorities, had a portion of the upper branches sawn off to preserve the rest.

In "the Douglas wars," subsequent to the time when Mary was a captive and exile, Craigmillar bore its part, especially as a prison; and terrible times these were, when towns, villages, and castles were stormed and pillaged, as if the opposite factions were inspired by the demon of destruction—when torture and death were added to military execution, and the hapless prisoners were hurried



CRAIGMILLAR CASTLE.

1, The Hall; 2, The Keep; 3, Queen Mary's Tree; 4, South-west Tower; 5, The Chapel.

to the gibbet by forty and fifty at a time in the sight of Edinburgh and Leith.

In 1573 the Loyalists, says Crawford of Drumsoy, sent a strong body of horse and foot, in hope to capture the Regent Morton at Dalkeith in the night; but found him ready to receive them on Sheriff-hall Muir, from whence he drove them in as far as the Burghmuir, and only lost the Laird of Kirkmichael and some fifty men. Few were killed, recent rains having wetted the gun-matches; but

the case of the Laird of Craigmillar, who was suing for a divorce against his wife, the Earl of Bothwell forcibly carried off one of the most important witnesses to his Castle of Crichton, threatening him with the gallows, "as if there had been no king in Israel."

It was not until after the beginning of the present century that the castle was permitted to fall into ruin and decay, which it did rapidly. It was in perfect preservation, no doubt, when, with "all



PEFFER MILL-HOUSE.

when descending Craigmillar Hill, a queen's soldier, who had a loose match in his hand, exploded the powder-barrels, and mortally injured Captain Melville, the kinsman of Sir William Kirkcaldy. The latter interred him with military honours in a vault of Edinburgh Castle, where, doubtless, his remains still rest.

In 1589 there was granted a charter under the great seal to John Ross of the lands of Limpitstoun, which was witnessed in Craigmillar by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, John Lord Hamilton, the Commendator of Arbroath, Maitland of Thirlstane, Walter, Prior of Blantyre, and others.

Calderwood relates, that in January, 1590, when James VI. was sitting in the Tolbooth, hearing

its office houses and grass," it was advertised to be let in the *Edinburgh Courant* for 11th March, 1761. In that year Sir Alexander Gilmour of Craigmillar was elected M.P. for the county.

We cannot dismiss the subject of Craigmillar without a brief glance at some of those who occupied it.

Sir Simon Preston, who obtained it from John de Capella, traced his descent up to Leolph de Preston, who lived in the reign of William the Lion; and, according to Douglas, his father was Sir John Preston, who was taken at the battle of Durham in 1346, and remained in the Tower of London until ransomed.

In 1434 Sir Henry Preston of Craigmillar (whose

name does not appear in the Baronage) was Sheriff and Provost of Edinburgh ("Burgh Records"). After him come five barons of his surname, before the famous Sir Simon Preston, also Provost of the city, into whose mansion, the Black Turnpike, Mary was thrust by the confederate lords. A son or nephew of his appears to have distinguished himself in the Low Countries. He is mentioned by Cardinal Bentivoglio, in his "History," as "Colonel Preston, a Scotsman," who cut his way through the German lines in 1578.

Sir Richard Preston of Craigmillar, Gentleman of the Bedchamber to James VI., K.B., and Constable of Dingwall Castle, raised to the peerage of Scotland as Lord Dingwall, was the last of this old line. He married Lady Elizabeth Butler, only daughter of Thomas, Earl of Ormond, and widow of Viscount Theophilus, and was created Earl of Desmond, in the peerage of Ireland, 1614. He was drowned on his passage from Ireland to Scotland in 1628, and was succeeded in the Scottish honours of Dingwall by his only daughter, Elizabeth, who became Duchess of Ormond.

The castle and lands of Craigmillar were acquired in 1661 by Sir John Gilmour, son of John Gilmour, W.S. He passed as Advocate on the 12th December, 1628, and on the 13th February, 1666, became Lord President of the Court of Session, which, after a lapse of nearly eleven years, resumed its sittings on the 11th June. The bold stand which he made for the luckless Marquis of Argyre was long remembered in Scotland, to his honour. His pension was only £500 per annum. He became a Baron of Exchequer, and obtained a clause in the Militia Act that the realm of Scotland should not maintain any force levied by the king without the consent of the Estates. He belonged latterly to the Lauderdale party, and aided in pro-

curing the downfall of the Earl of Middleton. He resigned his chair in 1670, and died soon after.

He was succeeded by his son, Sir Alexander of Craigmillar, who was created a baronet in 1668, in which year he had a plea before the Lords against Captain Stratton, for 2,000 marks lost at cards. The Lords found that only thirty-one guineas of it fell due under an Act of 1621, and ordered the captain to pay it to *them* for the use of the poor, "except £5 sterling, which he may retain."

Sir Charles, the third baronet, was M.P. for Edinburgh in 1737, and died at Montpellier in 1750.

The fourth baronet, Sir Alexander Gilmour of Craigmillar, was an ensign in the Scots Foot Guards, and was one of those thirty-nine officers who, with 800 of their men, perished so miserably in the affair of St. Cas in 1758.

In 1792 Sir Alexander Gilmour, Bart., who in 1765 had been Clerk of the Green Cloth, and M.P. for Midlothian, 1761—1771, died at Boulogne in 1792, when the title became extinct, and Craigmillar devolved upon Charles Little of Liberton (grandson of Helen, eldest daughter of the second baronet), who assumed the surname of Gilmour, and whose son, Lieutenant-General Sir Dugald Little Gilmour of Craigmillar, was Major of the Rifle Brigade, or old 95th Regiment, in the Peninsular War.

Nearly midway between Craigmillar and the house of Prestonfield, in a flat grassy plain, stands the quaint-looking old mansion named Peffer Mill, three storeys high, with crowstepped gables, gabled dormer windows, and a great circular staircase tower with a conical roof. It has no particular history; but Peffer Mill is said to mean in old Scoto-Saxon the mill on the dark muddy stream. Braid's Burn flows past it, at the distance of a few yards.

CHAPTER VI.

THE VALLEY OF THE WATER OF LEITH.

Lady Sinclair of Dunbeath—Bell's Mills—Water of Leith Village—Mill at the Dean—Tolbooth there—Old Houses—The Dean and Poultry—Lands thereof—The Nisbet Family—A Legend—The Dean Village—Belgrave Crescent—The Parish Church—Stewart's Hospital—Orphan Hospital—John Watson's Hospital—The Dean Cemetery—Notable Interments there.

IN No. 16, Rothesay Place, one of the new and handsome streets which crown the lofty southern bank of the valley of the Water of Leith, and overlooks one of the most picturesque parts of it, at the Dean, there died in 1879 a venerable lady—a genuine Scottish matron of "the old school,"

a notice of whom it would be impossible to omit in a work like this.

Dame Margaret Sinclair of Dunbeath belonged to a class now rapidly vanishing—the clear-headed, gifted, stout-hearted, yet reverent and gentle old Scottish ladies whom Lord Cockburn loved to

portray. She was born Margaret Learmouth, at 16, St. John Street, in the Canongate, in January, 1794, while that street and much of the neighbourhood around it were still the centre of the literary and fashionable society of the then secluded capital of Scotland.

Thus she was old enough to have seen and known many who were "out with the Prince" in 1745, and reminiscences of these people and of their days were ever a favourite theme with her when she had a sympathetic listener. "Old maiden ladies," she was wont to say, with a sort of sad pitifulness in her tone, "were the last leal Jacobites in Edinburgh; spinsterhood in its loneliness remained then ever true to Prince Charlie and the vanished dreams of youth." Lady Sinclair used to relate how in the old Episcopal Chapel in the Cowgate, now St. Patrick's Church, the last solitary representative of these Jacobite ladies never failed to close her prayer-book and stand erect, in silent protest, when the prayer for King George III. "and the reigning family" was read in the Church Service. Early in her girlhood her family removed from St. John Street to Picardy Place, and the following adventure, which she used to relate, curiously evinces the difference between the social customs of the early years of this century and those of the present day.

"Once, when she was returning from a ball, the bearers of her sedan-chair had their bonnets carried off by the wind, while the street oil-lamps were blown out, and the 'Donalds' departed in pursuit of their head-gear. It was customary in those times for gentlemen to escort the sedan-chairs that held their fair partners of the evening, and the two gentlemen who were with her—the Duke of Argyll and Sir John Clerk of Penicuik—seized hold of the spokes and carried her home. 'Gentlemen were gentlemen in those days,' she was wont to add, 'and Edinburgh was the proper residence of the Scottish aristocracy—not an inn or a half-way house between London and the Highland muirs.'"

In 1821 she was married to Mr. Sinclair, afterwards Sir John Sinclair, Bart., of Dunbeath, and for fifty years afterwards her home was at the House of Barock, in Caithness, where her influence among the poor was ever felt and gratefully acknowledged. She was a staunch and amusingly active Liberal, and, with faculties clear and unimpaired in the last week of her long life, noted and commented on Mr. Gladstone's famous "Midlothian speeches," and rejoiced over his success. She was always scrupulously dressed, and in the drawing-room down to the day of

her death. She saw all her children die before her, in early or middle life; her eldest, Colonel Sinclair, dying in India in his forty-fifth year. After Sir John's death she settled in Edinburgh.

"I am the last leaf on the outmost bough," she was wont to say, "and want to fall where I was born." And so she passed away.

When she was interred within the Chapel Royal at Holyrood, it was supposed that she would be one of the last to whom that privilege would be accorded. It was not so; for the remains of James, Earl of Caithness, who died in America, were laid there in April, 1881.

The Dean, or Den, seems to have been the old general name for the rocky hollow now spanned by the stately bridge of Telford.

Bell's Mills, a hamlet deep down in a grassy glen, with an old bridge, over which for ages lay the only road to the Queensferry, and now overshadowed by fashionable terraces and crescents, is described by Kincaid in 1787 as a village, "one and three-quarter miles north-west of Edinburgh, on the north bank of the Water of Leith, and a quarter of a mile west of West Leith village." It received its name from an old proprietor of the flour-mills, which are still grinding there, and have been long in existence. "On Thursday night last," says the *Edinburgh Advertiser* of 3rd January, 1764, "the high wall at Bells Brae, near the Water of Leith Bridge, fell down, by which accident the footpath and part of the turnpike road are carried away, which makes it hazardous for carriages. This notice may be of use to those who have occasion to pass that road."

At the head of the road here, near the Dean Bridge, is a Free Church, built soon after the Disruption—a little edifice in the Saxon style, with a square tower; and a quaint little ancient crowstepped building, once a toll-house, has built into it some of the old sculpture from the Dean House. At the foot of the road, adjoining Bell's Mills Bridge, are old Sunbury distillery and house, in a delta formed by the Leith, which sweeps under a steep and well-wooded bank which is the boundary of the Dean Cemetery.

The Water of Leith village, which bears marks of great antiquity, is fast disappearing amid the encroachments of modern streets, and yet all that remains of it, deep down in the rocky hollow, where the stream, flowing under its quaint old bridge, between ancient mills, pours in a foaming sheet over a high, broad weir, is wonderfully striking and picturesque. Dates, inscriptions, crowstepped gables, and other features of the seventeenth century, abound here in profusion.

A mill or mills must have stood here before a stone of Holyrood was laid, as David I., in his charter of foundation to that abbey, grants to the monks "one of my mills of Dene, a tithe of the mill of Libertun and of Dene, and of the new mill of Edinburgh," A.D. 1143-7.

In 1592, "the landis of Dene, w^t the mylnes and mure thereof, and their pertinents, lyand within the Sherifdom of Edinburgh," were given by James VI. to James Lord Lindsay, of the Byres.

village were wont to incarcerate culprits. It is six storeys in height, including the dormer windows, has six crowstepped gables, two of which surmount the square projecting staircases, in the westmost of which is a handsomely moulded doorway, surmounted by a frieze, entablature, and coat of arms within a square panel. On the frieze is the legend, in large Roman letters—

GOD . BLESS . THE . BAXTERS . OF . EDIN .
BRUGH . WHO . BUILT . THIS . HOUSE . 1675.



BELL'S MILLS BRIDGE. (From an Oil Painting in the possession of Dr. J. A. Sidey.)

Among the old houses here may be mentioned a mill, or granary, immediately at the south-east end of the bridge, which has sculptured over its door, within a panel, two baker's peels, crossed with the date 1645, and the almost inevitable legend—"Bleisit be God for al His giftis." Another quaint old crowstepped double house, with flights of outside stairs, has a gablet, surmounted by a well-carved mullet, and the date 1670. It stands on the west side of the steep path that winds upward to the Dean, and has evidently been the abode of some well-to-do millers in the days of old.

On the steep slope, where a flight of steps ascends to the old Ferry Road, stands the ancient Tolbooth, wherein the bailies of this once sequestered

On the panel are carved a wheatshaf between two cherubs' heads, the bakers' arms within a wreath of oak-leaves, and the motto, "God's Providence is ovr Inheritance—1677."

In 1729 a number of Dutch bleachers from Haarlem commenced a bleach-field somewhere near the Water of Leith, and soon exhibited to the gaze and to the imitation of Scotland, the printing and stamping of all colours on linen fabrics.

Some thirty years after, we find the *Courant* for December, 1761, announcing to the public "that Isabel Brodie, spouse to William Rankin, in the Water of Leith, about a mile from Edinburgh, cures the *Emerods*" (i.e., Hæmorrhoids) and various other illnesses; for quacks seem to have existed then, as now.

From the Water of Leith village a steep path that winds up the southern slope of the river's bank on its west side, leads to the high ground where for ages there stood the old manor-house of Dean, and on the east the older village of the same name.

During the reign of James IV., on the 15th June, 1513, the Dean is mentioned in the "Burgh Records" as one of the places where the pest existed; and no man or woman dwelling therein was

and armorial bearings, it was literally a history in stone of the proud but now extinct race to which it belonged.

Henry Nisbet, descended from the Nisbets of Dalzell (cadets of the Nisbets of that ilk), who for many years was a Commissioner to the Parliament for Edinburgh, died some time before 1608, leaving three sons: James, who became Nisbet of Craigintinnie, near Restalrig; Sir William of Dean, whose grandson, Alexander, exchanged the lands



THE DEAN HOUSE, 1832. (After a Drawing by Robert Gibb.)

permitted to enter the city, under pain, if a woman, of being branded on the cheek, and if a man, of such punishment as might be deemed expedient.

In 1532 James Wilson and David Walter were committed prisoners to the Castle of Edinburgh, for hamesucken and oppression done to David Kincaid in the village of Deanhaugh.

In 1545 the Poultry Lands near Dean were held *cum officio Pultrie Regine*, as Innes tells us in his Scottish "Legal Antiquities."

Embosomed among venerable trees, the old house of a baronial family, the Nisbets of Dean, stood here, one of the chief features in the locality, and one of the finest houses in the neighbourhood of old Edinburgh. Covered with dates, inscriptions,

of Dean with his cousin, Sir Patrick Nisbet, the first baronet; and Sir Patrick of Eastbank, a Lord of Session.

The Nisbets of Dean came to be the head of the house, as Alexander Nisbet records in his "System of Heraldry," published in 1722; soon after which, he died, by the failure of the Nisbets of that ilk in his own person—a contingency which led him to lay aside the chevron, the mark of fidelity, "a mark of cadency, used formerly by the house of Dean, in regard that the family of Dean is the only family of that name in Scotland that has right, by consent, to represent the original family of the name of Nisbet, since the only lineal male representative," as he pathetically remarks, "the author of this

'System,' is like to go soon off the world, being an old man, without issue, male or female."

Over the eastern doorway of the mansion was the date 1614. Among the sculptured stones of the old house, built, after its demolition, into a wall of the present Dean Cemetery, we may enumerate the arms of Sir William Nisbet of Dean, with his helmet crested by the triple castle, as he was provost of Edinburgh in 1616, and again in 1622. He was knighted by James VI., on his visit to the city in 1617.

There too are two pieces of sculpture in *basso relievo*, which surmounted two of the windows on the south front. On one of these a judge is represented throned, with a lamb in his arms; in his left hand he holds a pair of scales; his right grasps a sword; two rampant lions stand near, as if contending for the lamb, one of them placing a fore-paw on the sword, the other placing a paw on the scales; beneath is a coat armorial—a shield charged with a chevron and three besants, with the initials A. M., for Anna Myrton of Gogar, wife of Sir John Nisbet of Dean, Bart.

On the other pediment is a man armed with a thick pole, with a hook at the end, by which he grasps it; a goat is running towards him, as if in the act of butting, while a bear seizes it by the waist with his teeth, and another is lying dead beyond. Each of these sculptures is four feet six inches long.

The former, which Wilson rather fancifully supposes to be "the curious scene of the judge determining the plea between the lions and the lamb, may refer to family alliance with the great Lord Advocate (Hope), though the key to the ingenious allegory has perished with the last of their race." By others it has been very probably supposed to represent the following passage in the First Book of Samuel:—

"And David said unto Saul, Thy servant kept his father's sheep, and there came a lion, and a bear, and took a lamb out of the flock: and I went out after him, and smote him, and delivered it out of his mouth: and when he arose against me, I caught him by his beard, and smote him, and slew him" (1 Sam. xvii. 34, 35).

Here also are the arms of Sir Patrick Nisbet of Eastbank, called of Dean by Crookshank, who records that he was fined £300 for speaking disrespectfully of the Government. An elaborately carved fragment of a fireplace bears the motto, *Beet otia Dator*, with the monogram of Nisbet; and various other fragments are here.

The house had a large gallery, with an arched ceiling, painted in the same style as the one that

was found in Blythe's Close—sacred subjects treated in distemper, boldly and pleasingly done.

The office of Hereditary Poulterer to the king, together with the Poultry Lands of Dean, were first acquired by the Nisbets in 1610, when they bought them for the sum of 1,700 marks from John Napier of Merchiston; and the office is now hereditary in their successors, the Learmonthes. In 1638 William Nisbet of Dean, as heir male of Sir William of Dean, succeeded to the lands thereof, and the Poultry Lands "adjacent to the village of Dean."

In the year of the plague, 1645, the latter proprietor, "Sir William Nisbet of Dean," as the Minutes of Session of St. Cuthbert's show, "desyred the heritors and sessioners to grant him ane place to burie his deid, to the effect that he might build the same, seeing his predecessors had no buriell place within the church yeard; his demand was thocht reasonable, and they grantit him ane place, at the north church door eistward, five elns of length, and three elns of bredth."

Of all the old burial vaults of St. Cuthbert's Church, this one alone remains. Above the entrance are the family arms boldly cut, and a Latin inscription, which Maitland translates thus:—

"Henry Nisbet of Dean, preferring fame to riches, and virtue to fame, despising earthly things and aspiring after heavenly enjoyment, being mindful of death, and waiting for the resurrection—in his own life and at his own sight caused build this sepulchral monument for him and his, in the year of our Lord 1692."

Four doggerel lines follow; but from this inscription it would appear that, though Sir William got a grant of the burial-ground, it was a subsequent proprietor who built the vault.

Sir William was succeeded by Alexander, his heir male, in 1664. A hundred years later, we find Lady Nisbet of Dean resident in Gosford's Close, "in the fourth storey, within the turnpike of the stone tenement of land," at the head of the Close, as it is described in the advertisement of sale in the "Advertiser," Vol. I.; and in the *Scots Magazine* for 1768, her death is recorded at Edinburgh, as relic of Sir John Nisbet of Dean, Bart. She was the daughter of Sir Andrew Myrtoun of Gogar.

A son of the family is said to have fallen in the war with the revolted American colonists; and a tradition long lingered in the village of Dean that one morning early, as an aged groom was taking out his horse for exercise by a gate that, until recently, opened northward of the house into the Back Dean Road, he was startled to see the apparition of his young master standing there, in his regimentals,

with sword and sash, wig and cocked hat, queue and ruffles. After looking at him steadily, but sadly, the figure melted away; and, as usual with such spectral appearances, it is alleged young Nisbet was shot at the same moment, in an encounter with the colonists.

In 1784 the Dean House was the residence of Thomas Miller, Lord Barskimming, and Lord Justice Clerk. In 1845 it was pulled down, when the ground whereon it had stood so long was acquired by a cemetery company, and now—save the sculptured stones we have described—no relic remains of the old Nisbets of Dean but their burial place at the West Church—a gloomy chamber of the dead, choked up with rank nettles and hemlock.

By 1881 the old village of Dean was entirely cleared away. Near its centre stood the blacksmith's forge of Robert Orrock, who was indicted for manufacturing pikes for the Friends of the People in 1792. He and his friend, Arthur McEwan, publican in Dean Side, Water of Leith village, were legally examined at the time, and it is supposed that many of the pikes were thrown into the World's End Pool, below the waterfall at the Damhead. South of the smithy was the village school, long taught by "auld Dominie Fergusson." North of it stood the old farmhouse and steading of the Dean Farm, all swept away like the quaint old village, which was wont to be a bustling place when the commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland tenanted the Dean, and mounted orderlies came galloping up the steep brae, and often reined up their horses at the "Speed the Plough" alehouse, before the stately gate.

Somewhere in the immediate vicinity of this old village a meeting-house was erected in 1687 for the Rev. David Williamson, of St. Cuthbert's, who was denounced as a rebel, and intercommuned in 1674 for holding conventicles, but was sheltered secretly in the Dean House by Sir Patrick Nisbet. In 1689 he was restored to his charge at the West Church, and was one of the commissioners sent to congratulate King William on his accession to the throne.

Now all the site of the village and farms, and the land between them and the Dean Bridge, is covered by noble streets, such as Buckingham Terrace and Belgrave Crescent, the position of which is truly grand. In 1876 a movement was set on foot by the proprietors of this crescent, led by Sir James Falshaw, Bart., then Lord Provost, which resulted in the purchase of the ground between it and the Dean village, at a cost of about £5,000. In that year it was nearly all covered by kitchen gardens, ruinous buildings, and broken-

down fences. These and the irregularities of the place have been removed, while the natural undulations, which add such beauty to the modern gardens, have been preserved, and the plantations and walks are laid out with artistic effect.

The new parish church—which was built in 1836, in the Gothic style, for accommodation of the inhabitants of the Water of Leith village, and those of the village of Dean—stands on the western side of the old Dean Path.

Farther westward is Stewart's Hospital, built in 1849-53, after designs by David Rhind, at a cost of about £30,000, in a mixture of the latest domestic Gothic, with something of the old castelated Scottish style. It comprises a quadrangle, about 230 feet in length by 100 feet in minimum breadth, and has two main towers, each 120 feet high, with several turrets.

Mr. Daniel Stewart, of the Scottish Exchequer, who died in 1814, left the residue of his property, amounting (after the erection and endowment of a free school in his native parish of Logierait) to about £13,000, with some property in the old town, to accumulate for the purpose of founding a hospital for the maintenance of boys, the children of honest and industrious parents, whose circumstances do not enable them suitably to support and educate their children at other schools. Poor boys of the name of Stewart and Macfarlane, resident within Edinburgh and the suburbs, were always to have a preference. The age for admission was to be from seven to ten, and that for leaving at fourteen.

The Merchant Company, as governors, taking advantage of the powers given them by the provisional order obtained in 1870, opened the hospital as a day school in the September of that year. The education provided is of a very superior order, qualifying the pupils for commercial or professional life, and for the universities. The course of study includes English, Latin, Greek, French, German, and all the usual branches, including drill, fencing, and gymnastics.

The Orphan Hospital at the Dean was erected in 1833, after elegant designs by Thomas Hamilton, at a cost of £16,000, in succession to the older foundation, which we have already described as standing eastward of the North Bridge, on the site of the railway terminus. It comprises a large central block, with two projecting wings, a portico of Tuscan columns, and two light, elegant quadrangular towers with arches, and has within its clock-turret on the summit of its front the ancient clock of the Nether Bow Port.

Its white façade stands boldly and pleasingly

up against the dark green of the stately trees around and behind it. In this institution above ninety boys and girls are maintained, and its benefits are not confined to any district of Scotland. When admitted, they must be of the age of seven, and not above ten years. They are taught reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography. The hospital has been maintained almost solely from the charity of the public.

pleasure-grounds of the old Dean House, and was formed in 1845. It is principally disposed on the steep and finely-wooded bank of the Water of Leith, and underwent great extension and some new embellishment in 1872. It contains the ashes of many distinguished Scotsmen, including Lords Cockburn, Jeffrey, Murray, and Rutherford, Professor Wilson, and near him his son-in-law, William Edmonstoun Aytoun. Here are the graves of



WATSON'S, ORPHANS', AND STEWART'S HOSPITALS, FROM DRUMSHEUGH GROUNDS, 1859.
(After a Drawing by George Simson.)

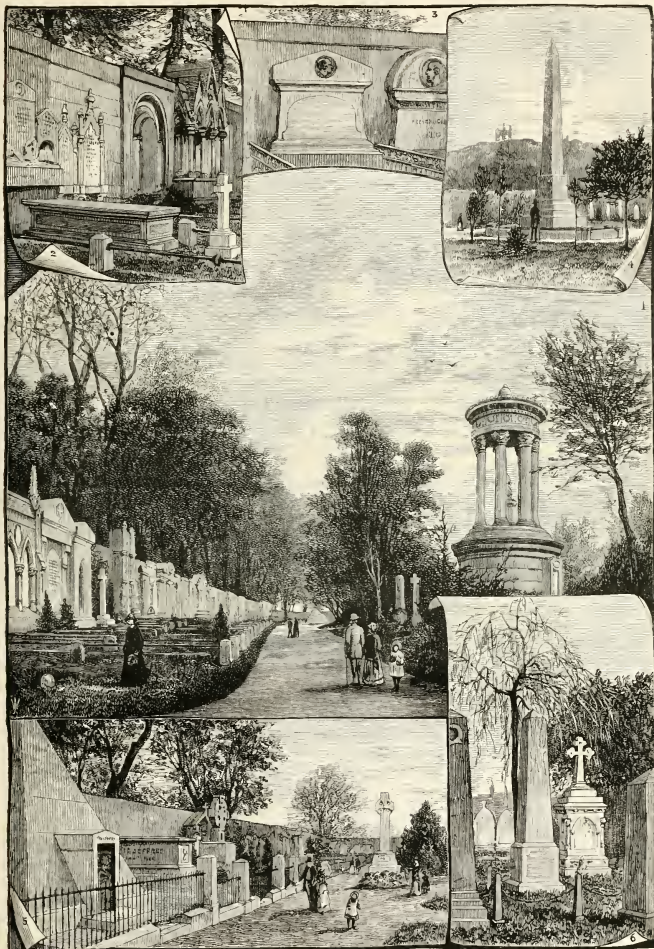
Near it, and north-westward of Bell's Mills, stands John Watson's Hospital, built in 1825-8, from a very plain design by William Burn. It is a spacious edifice, with a Doric portico, and maintains and educates about 120 children. This charity takes its rise from the funds of John Watson, W.S., who, in the year 1759, conveyed his whole property to trustees, Lord Milton and Mr. Mackenzie of Delvin, W.S., who managed their trust so well that, though in 1781 it only amounted to £4,721 5s. 6d., by 1823 it exceeded £90,000. It is built on ground which belonged of old to the estate of Dean.

The Dean Cemetery, the most beautiful of the cemeteries of Edinburgh, occupies the site and

Edward Forbes the naturalist, Goodsir the anatomist, Allan, Scott, and Sam Bough, the painters, Playfair the architect and the sculptor, and William Brodie, R.S.A.

In a corner near the east gate is buried George Combe, the eminent phrenologist, author of the "Constitution of Man," who died in Surrey in 1858; and under a stately memorial of red Peterhead granite, thirty-six feet in height, lies Alexander Russel, editor of *The Scotsman*.

In the centre of the ground stands a tall obelisk, erected to the memory of the soldiers of the Cameron Highlanders; and not far from it, a tomb, inscribed with all his battles, marks the grave of Major Thomas Canch, whose valour at the assault



VIEWS IN THE DEAN CEMETERY. (See foot-note, p. 70.)

of Badajoz is extolled by Napier, and who died fort major of Edinburgh Castle. On the opposite side of the path, a modest stone marks the spot where lies Captain John Grant, the last survivor of the old Peninsula Gordon Highlanders, who covered the retreat at Alba de Tormes, and was the last officer to quit the town.

Near it is the grave of Captain Charles Gray of the Royal Marines, the genial author of so many Scottish songs; and perhaps one of the most in-

teresting interments of recent years was that of Lieutenant John Irving, R.N. (son of John Irving, W.S., the schoolfellow and intimate friend of Sir Walter Scott), one of the officers of the ill-fated Franklin expedition, who died in 1848 or 1849, and whose remains were sent home by Lieutenant Schwatka, of the United States Navy, and laid in the Dean Cemetery in January, 1881, after a grand naval and military funeral, in accordance with his rank as Lieutenant of the Royal Navy.*

CHAPTER VII.

VALLEY OF THE WATER OF LEITH (*continued*).

The Dean Bridge—Landslips at Stockbridge—Stone Coffins—Floods in the Leith—Population in 1742—St. Bernard's Estate—Ross's Tower—"Christopher North" in Anne Street—De Quincey there—St. Bernard's Well—Cave at Randolph Cliff—Veitch's Square—Churches in the Locality—Sir Henry Raeburn—Old Deanhaugh House.

ABOUT a hundred yards west by north of Randolph Crescent this deep valley is spanned by a stately bridge, built in 1832, after designs by Telford. This bridge was erected almost solely at the expense of the Lord Provost Learmonth of Dean, to form a direct communication with his property, with a view to the future feuing of the latter. It was when an excavation was made for its northern pier that the Roman urn was found of which an engraving will be seen on page 10 of the first volume of this work. Over the bridge, the roadway passes at the great height of 106 feet above the rocky bed of the stream. The arches are four in number, and each is ninety-six feet in span. The total length is 447 feet, the breadth thirty-nine feet between the parapets, from which a noble view of the old Leith village, with its waterfall, is had to the westward, while on the east the eye travels along the valley to the distant spires of the seaport. That portion of it adjoining Stockbridge is still very beautiful and picturesque, but was far more so in other days, when, instead of the plain back views of Moray Place and Ainslie Place, the steep green bank was crowned by the stately trees of Drumsheugh Park, and tangled brakes of bramble and sweet-smelling hawthorn overhung the water of the stream, which was then pure, and in some places abounded with trout. Unconfined by stone walls, the long extent of the mill-lade here was then conveyed in great wooden ducts, raised upon posts. These ducts were generally leaky, and being patched and mended from time to time, and covered with emerald-green moss and garlands of creepers and water-plants, added to the rural aspect of the glen. Between the bridge and the

mineral well, a great saugh tree, shown in one of Ewbank's views, overhung the lade and footpath, imparting fresh beauty to the landscape.

"At Stockbridge," says the *Edinburgh Advertiser* for 1823, "we cannot but regret that the rage for building is fast destroying the delightful scenery between it and the neighbouring village of the Water of Leith, which had so long been a prominent ornament in the environs of our ancient city."

At the southern end of the bridge, where Randolph Cliff starts abruptly up, dangerous land-slips have more than once occurred; one notably so in March, 1881, when a mass of rock and earth fell down, and completely choked up the lade which drives the Greenland, Stockbridge, and Canonmills flour-mills.

At the north-western end of the bridge is the Trinity Episcopal Church, built in 1838, from a design by John Henderson, in the later English style, with nave, aisles, and a square tower. To the north-eastward an elegant suburb extends away down the slope until it joins Stockbridge, comprising crescents, terraces, and streets, built between 1850 and 1877.

* The following is a detailed explanation of the woodcut on the previous page (—1). View looking along the West Wall, showing, on the right, the monument to Buchanan, founder of the Buchanan Institute, Glasgow, and on the extreme left, the grave of Mr. Ritchie, of *The Scotsman* (the pyramid at further end of walk is Lord Rutherford's tomb, and Lord Cockburn's is near to it); 2, Sir Archibald Alison's grave (the larger of the Gothic mural tablets in white marble); 3, Grave of George Combe; 4, Monument to Alexander Russel, Editor of *The Scotsman*; 5, Tomb, on extreme left, of Lord Rutherford, next to it that of Lord Jeffrey, the Runie Cross in the path is erected to Lieut. Irving of the Franklin Expedition; 6, Grave of Prof. Wilson (obelisk under tree), and of Prof. Aytoun (marble pedestal with cross on top).



RANDOLPH CLIFF AND DEAN BRIDGE.

Here some stone coffins, or cists, were found by the workmen, when preparing the ground for the erection of Oxford Terrace, which faces the north, and has a most commanding site; and in October, 1866, at the foundations of Lennox Street, which runs southward from the terrace at an angle, four solitary ancient graves were discovered a little below the surface. "They lay north and south," says a local annalist, "and were lined with slabs of undressed stone. The length of these graves was about four feet, and the breadth little beyond two feet, so that the bodies must have been buried in a sitting posture, or compressed in some way. This must have been the case in the short cists or coffins made of slabs of stone, while in the great cists, which were about six feet long, the body lay at full length."

On both sides of the Water of Leith lies Stockbridge, some 280 yards east of the Dean Bridge. Once a spacious suburb, it is now included in the growing northern New Town, and displays a curious mixture of grandeur and romance, with something of classic beauty, and, in more than one quarter, houses of rather a mean and humble character. One of its finest features is the double crescent called St. Bernard's, suggested by Sir David Wilkie, constructed by Sir Henry Raeburn, and adorned with the grandest Grecian Doric pillars that are to be found in any other edifice not a public one.

Here the Water of Leith at times flows with considerable force and speed, especially in seasons of rain and flood. Nicoll refers to a visitation in 1659, when "the town of Edinburgh obtained an additional impost upon the ale sold in its bounds—it was now a full penny a pint, so that the liquor rose to the unheard of price of thirty-two pence Scots, for that quantity. Yet this imposition seemed not to thrive," he continues superstitiously, "for at the same instant, God frae the heavens declared His anger by sending thunder and unheard-of tempests, storms, and inundations of water, which destroyed their common mills, dams, and warks, to the town's great charges and expenses. Eleven mills belonging to Edinburgh, and five belonging to Heriot's Hospital, all upon the Water of Leith, were destroyed on this occasion, with their dams, water-gangs, timber and stone-warks, the hail wheels of their mills, timber-graith, and hail other warks."

In 1794-5 there was a "spate" in the river, when the water rose so high that access to certain houses in Haugh Street was entirely cut off, and a marriage party—said to be that of the parents of David Roberts, R.A.—was nearly swept away. In 1821 a coachman with his horse was carried down

the stream, and drowned near the gate of Inverleith; and in 1832 the stream flooded all the low-lying land about Stockbridge, and did very considerable damage.

This part of the town cannot boast of great antiquity, for we do not find it mentioned by Nicoll in the instance of the Divine wrath being excited by the impost on ale, or in the description of Edinburgh preserved in the Advocates' Library, and supposed to have been written between 1642 and 1651, and which refers to many houses and hamlets on the banks of the Water of Leith.

The steep old Kirk Loan, that led, between hedgerows, to St. Cuthbert's, is now designated Church Lane; where it passed the grounds of Drumsheugh it was bordered by a deep ditch. A village had begun to spring up here towards the end of the seventeenth century, and by the year 1742, says a pamphlet by Mr. C. Hill, the total population amounted to 574 persons. Before the city extended over the arable lands now occupied by the New Town, the village would be deemed as somewhat remote from the old city, and the road that led to it, down by where the Royal Circus stands now, was steep, bordered by hawthorn hedges, and known as "Stockbrig Brae."

It is extremely probable that the name originated in the circumstance of the first bridge having been built of wood, for which the old Saxon word was *stoke*; and a view that has been preserved of it, drawn in 1760, represents it as a structure of beams and pales, situated a little way above where the present bridge stands.

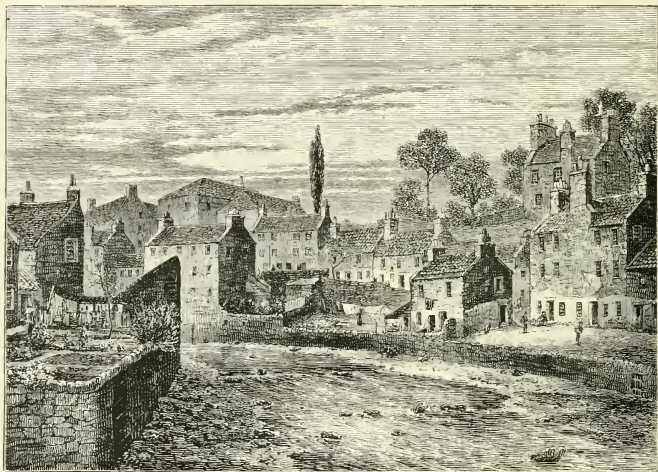
In former days, the latter—like that at Canon-mills—was steep and narrow, but by raising up the banks on both sides the steepness was removed, and it was widened to double its original breadth. The bridge farther up the stream, at Mackenzie Place, was built for the accommodation of the feuars of St. Bernard's grounds; and between these two a wooden foot-bridge at one time existed, for the convenience of the residents in Anne Street. The piers of it are still remaining.

St. Bernard's, originally a portion of the old Dean estate, was acquired by Mr. Walter Ross, W.S., whose house, a large, irregular, three-storeyed edifice, stood on the ground now occupied by the east side of Carlton Street; and this was the house afterwards obtained by Sir Henry Raeburn, and in which he died. Mr. Ross was a man of antiquarian taste, and this led him to collect many of the sculptured stones from old houses then in the process of demolition in the city, and some of these he built into the house. In front of one projection he built a fine Gothic window, and

beneath it "The Triumph of Bacchus," beautifully executed in white marble. Here, too, was the door-lintel of Alexander Clark, referred to in our account of Niddry's Wynd. The entrance to the house was latterly where Dean Terrace now begins, at the north end of the old bridge, and from that point up to the height now covered by Anne Street the grounds were tastefully laid out. The site of Danube Street was the orchard; the gardens and hot-houses were where St. Bernard's Crescent

"Oliver Cromwell," till November, 1788, when Mr. Ross had it removed, and erected, with no small difficulty, on the ground where Anne Street is now. "The block," says Wilson, "was about eight feet high, intended apparently for the upper half of the figure.

"The workmen of the quarry had prepared it for the chisel of the statuary, by giving it with the hammer the shape of a monstrous mummy. And there stood the Protector, like a giant in his



THE WATER OF LEITH VILLAGE.

now stands. On the lawn was the monument to a favourite dog, now removed, but preserved elsewhere. In the grounds was set up a curious stone, described in Campbell's "Journey from Edinburgh" as a huge freestone block, partly cut in the form of a man.

It would seem that it had been ordered by the magistrates of Edinburgh in 1659, to form a colossal statue of Oliver Cromwell, to be erected in the Parliament Close, but news came of the Protector's death just as it was landed at Leith, and the pliant provost and bailies, finding it wiser to forget their intentions, erected soon after the present statue of Charles II. The rejected block lay on the sands of Leith, under the cognomen of

shroud, frowning upon the city, until the death of Mr. Ross, when it was cast down, and lay neglected for many years. About 1825 it was again erected upon a pedestal, near the place where it formerly stood; but it was again cast down, and broken up for building purposes."

Close by the site of the house No. 10 Anne Street Mr. Ross built a square tower, about forty feet high by twenty feet, in the shape of a Border Peel which forthwith obtained the name of "Ross's Folly." Into the walls of this he built all the curious old stones that he could collect. Among them was a beautiful font from the Chapel of St. Ninian, near the Calton, and the four heads which adorned the cross of Edinburgh, and are

now at Abbotsford, where Sir Walter Scott took them in 1824. This tower was divided into two apartments, an upper and a lower; the entrance to the former was by an outside stair, and was used as a summer-house. On the roof was a well-painted subject from the heathen mythology, and the whole details of the apartment were very handsome.

On the 11th of March, 1789, Mr. Ross, who was Registrar of Distillery Licences in Scotland,

of St. Bernard's. The bower is on the spot where two lovers were killed by the falling of a sand-bank upon them."

For several years after his death the upper part of the tower was occupied by the person who acted as night-watchman in this quarter, while the lower was used as a stable. In 1818, with reference to future building operations, the remains of Mr. Ross were taken up, and re-interred in the West Church burying-ground. The extension of



THE WATER OF LEITH, 1825. (After Ewbank.)

and was a man distinguished for talent, humour, and suavity of manner, dropped down in a fit, and suddenly expired. He would seem to have had some prevision of such a fate, as by his particular request his body was kept eight days, and was interred near his tower with the coffin-lid open.

"Yesterday, at one o'clock," says the *Edinburgh Advertiser* for March 20th, 1789, "the remains of the late Mr. Walter Ross were, agreeable to his own desire, interred in a bower laid out by himself for that purpose, and encircled with myrtle, near the beautiful and romantic tower which he had been at so much trouble and expense in getting erected, on the most elevated part of his grounds

Anne Street, in 1825, caused the removal of his tower to be necessary. It was accordingly demolished, and most of the sculptures were carted away as rubbish.

In the "Traditions of Edinburgh," we are told that after he had finished his pleasure-grounds, Mr. Ross was much enraged by nightly trespassers. and advertised spring-guns and man-traps without avail. At last he conceived the idea of procuring a human leg from the Royal Infirmary, and dressing it up with a stocking, shoe, and buckle, sent it through the town, borne aloft by the crier, proclaiming that "it had been found last night in Mr. Walter Ross's policy at Stockbridge, and offering to restore it to the disconsolate owner."

After this, no one attempted to break into his grounds.

No. 29, Anne Street, was for years the residence of "Christopher North," before his removal to No. 6, Gloucester Place. "Towards the end of the winter of 1819," says Mrs. Gordon, in her memoir of him, "my father, with his wife and children, five in number, left his mother's house, 53, Queen Street, and set up his household gods in a small and somewhat inconvenient house in Anne Street. This little street, which forms the culminating point of the suburb of Stockbridge, was at that time quite *out of town*, and is still a secluded place, overshadowed by the tall houses of Eton Terrace and Clarendon Crescent. In withdrawing from the more fashionable part of Edinburgh, they did not, however, exclude themselves from the pleasures of social intercourse with the world. In Anne Street they found a pleasant little community, that made residence there far from distasteful. The seclusion of the locality made it then—as it still seems to be—rather a favourite quarter with literary men and artists."

While here, in the following year, her father was elected Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh; while here he wrote his pathetic "Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life," and many of his finest contributions to *Blackwood's Magazine*. Here it was that many a pleasant literary and artistic reunion took place under his hospitable roof, with such men as Sir William Hamilton; Captain Hamilton of the 29th Regiment, his brother, and author of "Cyril Thornton," &c.; Galt, Hogg, and J. G. Lockhart; Sir Henry Raeburn, the future Sir William Allan, R.A., and the future Sir John Watson Gordon, P.R.S.A., who resided successively in Nos. 17 and 27, Anne Street; De Quincey, and others. In 1829 the latter made a very protracted stay at Anne Street, and Mrs. Gordon thus describes the daily routine of the famous opium-eater there:—

"An ounce of laudanum per diem prostrated animal life in the early part of the day. It was no unfrequent sight to find him in his room lying upon the rug in front of the fire, his head resting upon a book, with his arms crossed over his breast, in profound slumber. For several hours he would lie in this state, till the torpor passed away. The time when he was most brilliant was generally towards the early morning hours; and then, more than once, in order to show him off, my father arranged his supper parties, so that, sitting till three or four in the morning, he brought Mr. De Quincey to that point at which, in charm and power of conversation, he was so truly wonderful."

His invariable diet was coffee, boiled rice, and milk, with a slice of mutton from the loin, and owing to his perpetual dyspepsia, he had a daily audience with the cook, who had a great awe of him. De Quincey died at Edinburgh on the 8th of December, 1859.

In No. 41, Anne Street, the house of his father (Captain Tulloch, of the 7th Royal Veteran Battalion), lived, all the earlier years of his life, Colonel Alexander Tulloch, that officer whose sagacity, energy, and decision of character, were so admirably evinced by the manner in which he instituted and prosecuted an inquiry into the blunders and commissariat disorders connected with our campaign in the Crimea.

No. 42, Anne Street was, in 1825, the property of Howiason Crawford, of Crawfordland and Braehead, who performed the feudal homage with the basin to George IV. in 1822, and concerning whose family the old "Statistical Accounts" in 1792 says:—"It is a singular circumstance in regard to the Crawfordland family that its present representative is the twenty-first lineally descended from the original stock, without the intervention of even a second brother."

Robert Chambers, LL.D., who, before he had risen to wealth and position, had lived at one time in No. 4, India Place (now No. 4, Albert Place), Stockbridge, dwelt for some years in the central block on the east side of Anne Street, from whence he removed to Doune Terrace.

James Ballantyne, Scott's printer, possessed a house in Anne Street, which he sold for £800 at the time of the famous bankruptcy.

One of the leading features in this locality is St. Bernard's Well, of which we find a notice in the *Edinburgh Advertiser* for April 27th, 1764, which states:—"As many people have got benefit from using of the water of St. Bernard's Well in the neighbourhood of this city, there has been such demand for lodgings this season that there is not so much as one room to be had either at the Water of Leith or its neighbourhood."

In the council-room of Heriot's Hospital there is an exquisitely carved mantelpiece, having a circular compartment, enclosing a painting, which represents a tradition of the hospital, that three of its boys, while playing on the bank of the Leith, discovered the mineral spring now bearing the name of St. Bernard's Well.

This was some time before the year 1760, as the *Scots Magazine* for that year speaks of the mineral well "lately discovered between the Water of Leith and Stockbridge, which is said to be equal in quality to any of the most famous in Britain."

To protect it, a stone covering of some kind was proposed, and in that year the foundation thereof was actually laid by "Alexander Drummond, brother of Provost Drummond, lately British Consul at Aleppo, and Provincial Grand Master of all the Lodges in Asia and Europe holding of the Grand Lodge, Scotland." The brethren in their insignia were present, the spring was named St. Bernard's Well, and the subject inspired the local muse of Claudero.

A silly legend tells how St. Bernard, being sent on a mission to the Scottish Court, was met with so cold a reception that, in chagrin, he came to this picturesque valley, and occupied a cave in the vicinity of the well, to which his attention was attracted by the number of birds that resorted to it, and ere long he announced its virtues to the people. There is undoubtedly a cave, and of no inconsiderable dimensions, in the cliffs to the westward, and it is now entirely hidden by the boundary-wall at the back of Randolph Cliff; but, unfortunately for the legend, in the Bollandists there are at least three St. Bernards, not one of whom ever was on British soil.

The present well—a handsome Doric temple, with a dome, designed by Nasmyth, after the Sybils' Temple at Tivoli—was really founded by Lord Gardenstone in May, 1789, after he had derived great benefit from drinking the waters. "The foundation stone was laid," says the *Advertiser* for that year, "in presence of several gentlemen of the neighbourhood." A metal plate was sunk into it with the following inscription:—

"Erected for the benefit of the Public, at the sole expense of Francis Garden, Esq., of Troupe, one of the senators of the College of Justice, A.D. 1789. Alexander Nasmyth, Architect; John Wilson, Builder."

A fine statue of Hygeia, by Coade of London, was placed within the pillars of the temple. For thirty years after its erection it was untouched by the hand of mischief, but now it is so battered by stones as to be a perfect wreck. Since the days of Lord Gardenstone the well has always been more or less frequented. A careful analysis of the water by Dr. Stevenson Macadam, showed that it resembled closely the Harrogate springs. The morning is the best time for drinking it. During some recent drainage operations the water entirely disappeared, and it was thought the public would lose the benefit of it for ever; but after a time it returned, with its medicinal virtues stronger than ever.

A plain little circular building was erected in 1810 over another spring that existed a little to the westward of St. Bernard's, by Mr. Macdonald

of Stockbridge, who named it St. George's Well. The water is said to be the same as that of the former, but if so, no use has been made of it for many years past. From its vicinity to the well, Upper Dean Terrace, when first built, was called Mineral Street. In those days India Place was called Athole Street; Leggat's Land was Braid's Row; and Veitch's Square (built by a reputable old baker of that name) was called Virgin's Square.

The removal of the greater part of the latter, which consisted of four rows of cottages, thirty in number, and all thatched with straw, alters one of the most quaint localities in old Stockbridge. Each consisted only of a "but and a ben"—i.e., two apartments—and in the centre was a spacious bleaching green, past which flowed the Leith, in those days pure and limpid. The cottages were chiefly, if not wholly, occupied by *blanchisseuses*, and hence its name.

The great playground of the village children was the open and flat piece of land in the Haugh, near Inverleith, known as the Whins, covered now by Hugh Miller Place and nine other streets of artisans' houses.

In past times flour-mills and tan-pits were the chief means of affording work for the people of Stockbridge. About 1814 a china manufactory was started on a small scale on the Dean Bank grounds, near where Saxe-Coburg Place stands now. It proved a failure, but some pieces of the "Stockbridge china" are still preserved in the Industrial Museum.

As population increased in this district new churches were required. Claremont Street Chapel, now called St. Bernard's Church, was built for those who were connected with the Establishment, at a cost of £4,000, and opened in November, 1823. Its first incumbent was the Rev. James Henderson of Berwick, afterwards of Free St. Enoch's, Glasgow.

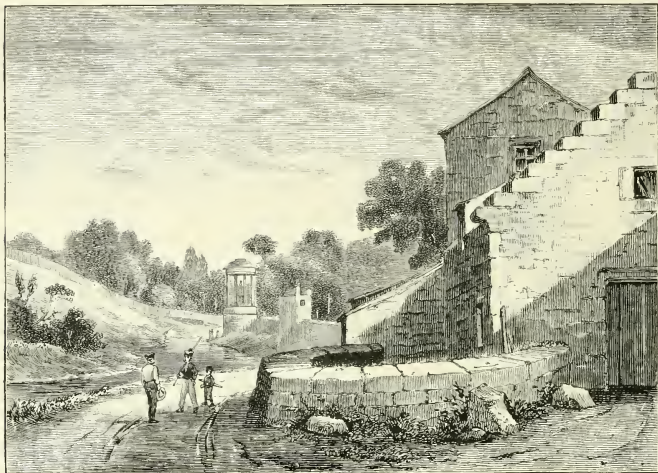
About the year 1826, persons connected with the Relief Church built Dean Street Church in the narrow street at the back of the great crescent, and named it St. Bernard's Chapel. It was afterwards sold to the United Secession body. In the year 1843, at the Disruption, the Rev. Alexander Brown, of St. Bernard's, with a great portion of his congregation, withdrew from the Church of Scotland, and formed Free St. Bernard's; and, more recently, additional accommodation has been provided for those of that persuasion by the re-erection in its own mass, at Deanhaugh Street, of St. George's Free Church, which was built in the Norman style of architecture, for the Rev. Dr. Candlish, at St. Cuthbert's Lane.

Mrs. Gordon is correct in stating that Stockbridge

was a favourite residence for those connected with art and literature; for, in addition to her father, the professor, and Robert Chambers, many others had their dwellings here at different times.

The chief of these was Sir Henry Raeburn, who was born on the 4th of March, 1756, in a little slated cottage that stood by the side of the mill-lade, where the western part of Horn Lane now stands. It was within a garden, and pleasantly situated, though immediately adjoining the premises of his

“Raeburn married Ann Edgar, daughter of Peter Edgar, Esq., of Bridglands, Peebles-shire, and widow of James Leslie, Count of Deanhaugh, St. Bernard’s. Ann Leslie had by her first husband one son, who was drowned, and two daughters—Jacobina, who married Daniel Vere, Sheriff-substitute; and Ann, who married James Philip Inglis, who died in Calcutta, and left two sons—Henry Raeburn Inglis, deaf and dumb, and Charles James Leslie Inglis, late of Deanhaugh



ST. BERNARD'S WELL, 1825. (After Ewbank.)

father, Robert Raeburn, who was a yarn-boiler. Northward of it was a fruit orchard, where Saunders Street now stands. Southward and west lay the base of the beautiful grounds of Drumsheugh, where now India and Mackenzie Places are built.

In his sixth year Henry Raeburn lost both his parents, and he was admitted into Heriot's Hospital in 1765, and in 1772 he left it, to be apprenticed to a goldsmith, Mr. James Gilliland, in the Parliament Close, to whom he soon gave proofs of his ingenuity and artistic taste. We have already referred to Raeburn in our account of the Scottish Academy, and need add little here concerning his artistic progress and future fame.

“At the age of twenty-two,” says a writer,

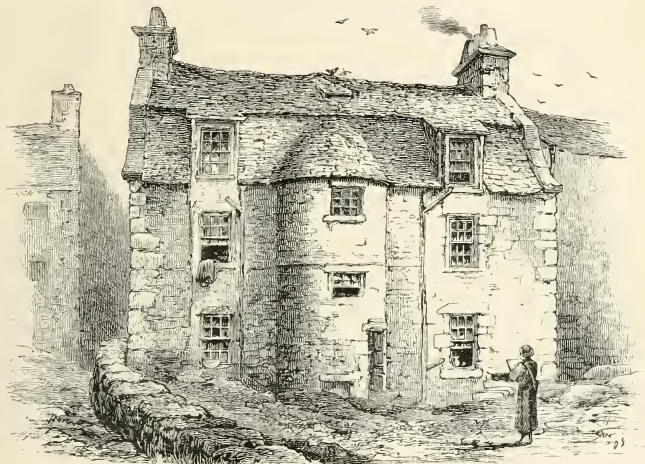
Raeburn painted a portrait of his much cared-for half grandson, Henry, holding a rabbit, as his diploma picture, now in the private diploma room of the Royal Academy, London.”

He received a handsome fortune with Mr. Edgar's daughter, with whom he had fallen in love while painting her portrait; and after travelling in Italy to improve himself in art, he established himself in 1787 in George Street, where he rapidly rose to the head of his profession in Scotland—an eminence which he maintained during a life the history of which is limited to his artistic pursuits. His style was free and bold; his drawing critically correct; his colouring rich, deep, and harmonious; his accessories always appropriate. He was a member

of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, of the Imperial Academy of Florence, of the Royal Academy of London, and other Societies. The number of portraits he painted is immense, and he was still hale and vigorous, spending his time between his studio, his gardens, and the pleasures of domestic society, when George IV. came to Edinburgh in the year 1822, and knighted him at Hopetoun House. The sword used by the king was that of Sir Alexander Hope. In the following May he was

left the bulk of his fortune, consisting of ground-rents on his property at St. Bernard's, which, in his later years, had occupied much of his leisure time by planning it out in streets and villas.

Old Deanhaugh House, which was pulled down in 1880, to make room for the extension of Leslie Place, was the most venerable mansion in the locality, standing back a little way from the Water of Leith; a short avenue branching off from that of St. Bernard's led to it. About the middle of this



THE HOUSE WHERE DAVID ROBERTS WAS BORN.

(After the Original Drawing by E. W. Cooke, R.A., in the possession of Mr. James Ballantine, Edinburgh.)

appointed Linmer for Scotland. He always resided in the old house at St. Bernard's. The last pictures on which he was engaged were two portraits of Sir Walter Scott, one for himself and the other for Lord Montague. He died, after a short illness, from a general decay of the system, on the 8th of July, 1823, at St. Bernard's, little more than a stone's throw from where he was born. His loss, said Sir Thomas Lawrence, had left a blank in the Royal Academy, as well as Scotland, which could not be filled up. By his wife, who survived him ten years, he had two sons: Peter, who died in his nineteenth year; and Henry, who, with his wife and family, lived under the same roof with his father, and to whose children the latter

century it was occupied by Count Leslie. Mrs. Ann Inglis, Sir Henry Raeburn's step-daughter, continued to occupy the house, together with her sons. In this house was born, it is said, Admiral Deans Dundas, commander of the British fleet in the Black Sea during the Crimean war. Latterly it was the residence of working people, every room being occupied by a separate family.

In Dean Street there long stood a little cottage known as the *Hole i' the Wa'*, a great resort of school-boys for apples, pears, and gooseberries, retailed there by old "Lucky Hazlewood," who lived to be ninety years of age. It was overshadowed by birch-trees of great size and beauty.

CHAPTER VIII.

VALLEY OF THE WATER OF LEITH (*concluded*).

Eminent Men connected with Stockbridge—David Roberts, R.A.—K. Macleay, R.S.A.—James Browne, LL.D.—James Hogg—Sir J. Y. Simpson, Bart.—Leitch Ritchie—General Mitchell—G. R. Luke—Comely Bank—Fettes College—Craigleith Quarry—Groat Hall—Silver-Mills—St. Stephen's Church—The Brothers Lauder—James Drummond, R.S.A.—Deaf and Dumb Institution—Dean Bank Institution—The Edinburgh Academy.

IN Duncan's Land, in the old Kirk Loan—a pile built of rubble, removed during the construction of Bank Street, and having an old lintel brought from that quarter, with the legend, *I FEAR GOD ONLY*, 1605—was born, on the 24th October, 1796, David Roberts, son of a shoemaker. In the jamb of the kitchen fireplace there remains to this day an indentation made by the old man when sharpening his awl. In his boyhood David Roberts gave indications of his taste for drawing, and made free use of his mother's whitewashed walls, his materials, we are told, "being the ends of burnt *spunks* (matches) and pieces of red keel."

He was apprenticed to Gavin Beugo, a house-painter in West Register Street, whose residence was a house within a garden, where the north-west corner of Clarence Street stands. His fellow-apprentice was David Ramsay Hay, afterwards House Painter to the Queen, and well known for his treatises on decorative art. On the expiry of his apprenticeship, Roberts took to scene-painting, his first essay being for a circus in North College Street; and after travelling about in Scotland and England, working alternately as a house and scene painter, he returned to his parents' house in Edinburgh in 1818, and was employed by Jeffrey to decorate with his brush the library at Craighcroft.

About this time he was scene-painting for Mr. W. H. Murray, of the Theatre Royal, and began his life-long acquaintance with Clarkson Stanfield. He now took to landscape painting, and his first works—Scottish subjects—appeared in the Edinburgh Exhibition in 1822, when, to his delight and astonishment he found that they had been well hung, and bought at the private view; two were sold for £2 10s. each, and one for £5 to a picture-dealer who never paid for it. After scene-painting at Drury Lane theatre, he became an exhibitor in the Royal Academy of London, and ere long won such fame that he was admitted to the full honours of Academician in 1841, and his pictures were quickly bought at great prices. His most splendid work is that entitled "The Holy Land, Syria, Idumea, Arabia, Egypt, and Nubia," published in four large volumes in 1842.

Though resident in London, he was not forgotten in the city of his birth, where, in the latter

year, he was entertained at a public banquet in the Hopetoun Rooms, when Lord Cockburn presided; and in 1858 he was fêted by the Royal Scottish Academy, Sir John Watson Gordon in the chair; Clarkson Stanfield and Professors J. Y. Simpson and Aytoun were present.

David Roberts died suddenly, when engaged on his last work, "St. Paul's from Ludgate Hill." He had left home in perfect health on the 25th of November, 1864, to walk, but was seized with apoplexy in Berners Street, and died that evening. He was buried at Norwood. His attachment to Edinburgh was strong and deep, and when he returned there he was never weary of wandering among the scenes of his boyhood. Thus Stockbridge and St. Bernard's Well received many a visit.

James Ballantine, in his "Life of Roberts," quotes a letter of the artist, dated September, 1858, in which he writes of himself and Clarkson Stanfield, who accompanied him:—"Yesterday we went to see a fine young fellow, a member of the R.S.A. His studio is at Canonmills, *near to my dear old Stockbridge*, and we strolled along the old road, and crossed the burn I had so often paddled in; after which, in passing through the village, I pointed out to Stanny an early effort of mine in sign—not scene—painting, done when I was an apprentice boy. We had a long look at the old house where some of my happiest days were spent."

His parents lived to see him in the zenith of his fame. He buried them in the Calton; and there is something grand and pathetic in the simplicity with which he records their rank in life on the stone designed by his own hand to cover their remains:—

"Sacred to the memory of John Roberts, shoemaker in Stockbridge, who died 27th April, 1840, aged 86 years; as also his wife, Christian Richie, who died 1st July, 1845, aged 86 years. . . . This stone is erected to their memory by their only surviving son, David Roberts, Member of the Royal Academy of Arts, London."

In No. 5 Mary Place dwelt David Scott, R.S.A., whose most important work, "Vasco de Gama Doubling the Cape of Good Hope," is now in the Trinity House, and who died in Dalry House in

1849. Horatio Macculloch, R.S.A., a most distinguished landscape painter, lived for many years in No. 7, Danube Street, where the best of his works were executed. With Sir Daniel Macnee, P.R.S.A., he first obtained employment from Lizars, the engraver, as colourists of Selby's "Ornithology." In 1829 he first exhibited; and from thence onwards, to his death in 1867, he contributed to the yearly exhibitions, and won himself much fame in Scotland.

In No. 16, Carlton Street, adjoining, lived for many years his chief friend, Kenneth Macleay, R.S.A., who was born at Oban in 1802, and after being educated at the Trustees' School, was one of the thirteen founders of the Royal Scottish Academy, and at his death was the last survivor of them. He was chiefly famous for his beautiful miniatures on ivory, and latterly was well known for his occasional sketches and delineations of Highland life, many of which were painted at the express desire of Her Majesty. He died at No. 3, Malta Terrace, in 1878, in his seventy-sixth year. He was an enthusiastic Celt, and fond of wearing the Highland dress on Academy receptions, and on every possible occasion.

Among others connected with art who made Stockbridge their residence was George Kemp, the luckless architect of Sir Walter Scott's monument, who had a humble flat in No. 28, Bedford Street; James Stewart, the well-known engraver of Sir William Allan's finest works, who lived in No. 4 of that gloomy little street called Hermitage Place; and Comely Bank, close by, was not without its famous people too, for there, for some years after his marriage, dwelt Thomas Carlyle, and, in No. 11, James Browne, LL.D., author of the "History of the Highland Clans," and editor of the *Caledonian Mercury* and of *The Edinburgh Weekly Journal*, and Macvey Napier's collaborateur in the "Encyclopædia Britannica." Some differences having arisen between him and Mr. Charles Maclaren, the editor of the *Scotsman*, regarding a fine-art criticism, the altercation ran so high that a hostile meeting took place at seven o'clock in the morning of the 12th of November, 1829, somewhere near Ravelston, but, fortunately, without any calamitous sequel. He took a great lead in Liberal politics, and in No. 11 entertained Daniel O'Connell more than once. He died at Woodbine Cottage, Trinity, on the 8th of April, 1841, aged fifty years. John Ewbank, R.S.A., the marine and landscape painter, lived at No. 5, Comely Bank; while No. 13 was the residence of Mrs. Johnstone, who while there wrote many of her best novels—among them, "Clan Albyn: a National Tale"—and contributed many

able articles to *Johnstone's Magazine*, a now forgotten monthly.

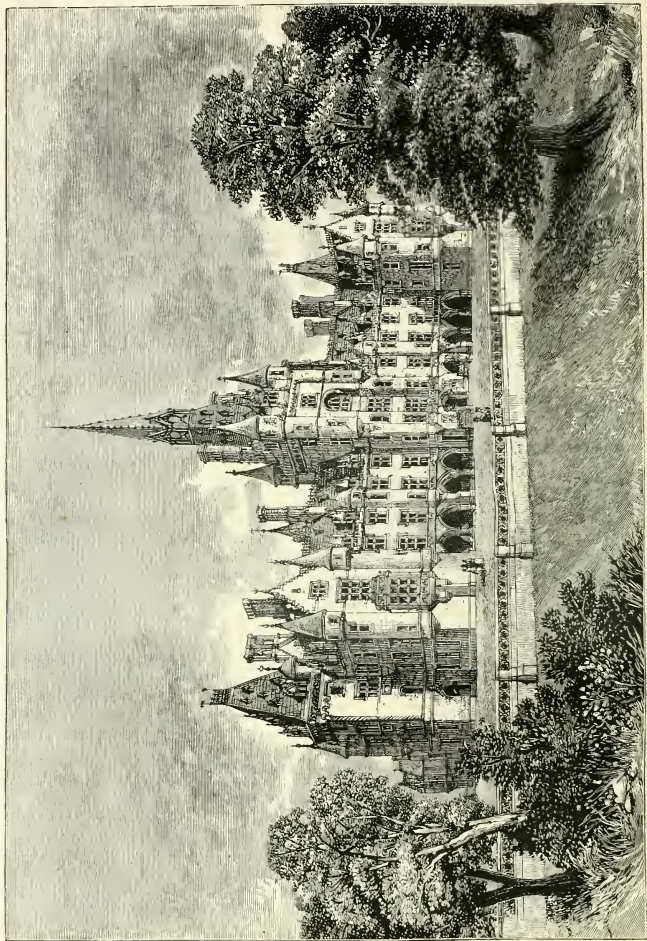
From a passage in a memoir of himself prefixed to "The Mountain Bard," we find that the Ettrick Shepherd, about 1813, was living in Deanhaugh Street while at work on the "Queen's Wake," which he produced in that year; and that, in his lodgings there, he was wont to read passages of his poems to Mr. Gray, of the High School, whose criticisms would seem to have led to a quarrel between them.

Sir James Young Simpson, Bart., in his boyhood and as a student lived with his brother, David Simpson, a respectable master baker, in the shop, No. 1, Raeburn Place, at the corner of Dean Street. When he first began to practise as a physician, it was in a first flat of No. 2, Deanhaugh Street; and as his fame began to spread, and he was elected Professor of Midwifery in the University in 1840, in succession to Dr. Hamilton, he was living in No. 1, Dean Terrace.

In St. Bernard's Crescent, for many years while in the employment of the Messrs. Chambers, lived Leitch Ritchie, author of "Schinderhannes, the Robber of the Rhine," a famous romance in its day; also of "Travelling Sketches on the Rhine, in Belgium, and Holland," and many other works. He was born in 1801, and died on the 16th of January, 1865.

His neighbour and friend here was Andrew Crichton, LL.D., author of a "History of Scandinavia" and other works, and twenty-one years editor of the *Edinburgh Advertiser*.

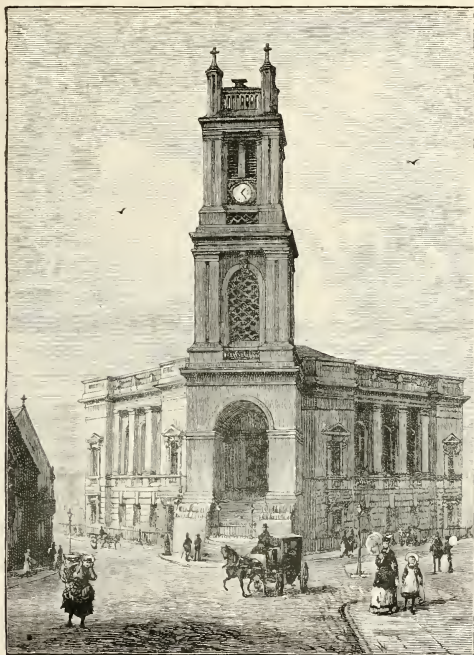
In the same quarter there spent many years of his life Major-General John Mitchell, a gallant old Peninsular officer, who was an able writer on military matters and biography. In 1803 he began life as an ensign in the 57th Foot, and served in all the campaigns in Spain and Portugal, France and Flanders. Under the *nom de plume* of "Sabretache," he wrote some very smart things, his earliest productions appearing in *Fraser's Magazine* and the *United Service Journal*. He was the author of a "Life of Wallenstein" (London, 1837), which, like his "Fall of Napoleon," was well received by the public; and Sir Robert Peel acknowledged the importance of the information he derived from the latter work, after the appearance of which, Augustus, King of Hanover, presented the author with a diamond brooch. He was the author of many other works, including "Biographies of Eminent Soldiers." He was a handsome man, with great buoyancy of spirit and conversational powers; thus "Old Sabretache," as he was often called, was welcome everywhere. A



FETTES COLLEGE, FROM THE SOUTHWEST.

memoir of him was prefixed by Dr. Leonhard Schmitz to his last work, which was published six years after his death, which occurred in his seventy-fourth year, at No. 21, St. Bernard's Crescent, on the 9th of July, 1859.

Academy, everywhere bearing off more prizes than any of his contemporaries. Leaving the last in 1853, he went to the University of Glasgow, and at the close of the first session, when in his seventeenth year, he carried off the two gold medals



ST. STEPHEN'S CHURCH.

Our list of Stockbridge notabilities would be incomplete were we to omit the name of one whose fame, had he been spared, might have been very glorious: young George Rankine Luke, a Snell Exhibitioner at Baliol College, and one of the most brilliant students at Oxford. Born in Brunswick Street, in March, 1836, the son of Mr. James Luke, a master baker, he passed speedily through the ranks of the Hamilton Place Academy, the Circus Place School, and the Edinburgh

for the senior Latin and Greek, three prizes for Greek and Latin composition, the prize for the Latin Blackstone, and the Muirhead prize. The close of the second year saw him win the medal for the Greek Blackstone, the highest classical honour the University offers, Professor Lushington's final Greek prize, another for Logic, and for Composition four others.

In 1855, as a Snell Exhibitioner at Oxford, he rapidly gained the Gaisford prizes for Greek prose

and verse, the Ireland Scholarship, and a studentship at Christ Church; but in the midst of his youth and fame he was suddenly taken away, in a manner that was a source of deep regret in Scotland and England alike. He perished by drowning, when a boat was upset on the Isis, on the 3rd of March, 1862, when he was in his twenty-sixth year.

"Oxford has lost one of her most promising students," said the *London Review*, with reference to this calamity. "A career of such almost uniform brilliance has seldom been equalled, and never been surpassed, by any one among the many distinguished young men who have gone from Scotland to an English university. Indeed, we only do him justice when we say that Mr. Luke was one of the most remarkable students that ever went to Oxford. Many leading boys have gone up from the great English public schools, where they have been trained with untiring attention, under the careful eye of the ablest and most experienced teachers of the day, and they have more than fully rewarded their masters for the care bestowed upon them; but no one has shone out so conspicuously above his compeers as Mr. Luke has done among those who have been educated in the comparative obscurity of a Scotch school and university, where, owing to the system pursued at these seminaries, a boy is left almost entirely to himself, and to his own spontaneous exertions." This young man, whose brief career shed such honour on his family and his native place, was as distinguished for kindness of heart, probity, and every moral worth, as for his swift classical attainments.

There are several painters of note now living, famous alike in the annals of Scottish and British art, who have made Stockbridge their home and the scene of their labours. There some of them have spent their youth, and received the rudiments of their education, whose names we can but give—viz., Norman Macbeth, R.S.A.; Robert Henderson, R.S.A.; James Faed, the painter and engraver; Thomas Faed, R.A.; Robert Macbeth; Alexander Leggett; John Proctor, the cartoonist; and W. L. Richardson, A.R.A.

Comely Bank estate, which lies north of Stockbridge, was the property of Sir William Fettes, Bart., Lord Provost of the city, of whom we have given a memoir, with an account of his trust disposition, in the chapter on Charlotte Square. On the gentle slope of Comely Bank, the Fettes College forms a conspicuous object from almost every point, but chiefly from the Dean Bridge Road. This grand edifice was planned and executed by David Bryce, R.S.A., at the cost of about £150,000, and is re-

markable for the almost endless diversity and elegance of its details. The greatest wealth of these is to be found in the centre, a prevailing idea (worked out into numerous forms, in corbels, gurgils, and mouldings) being that of griffins contending. Its towers are massive, lofty, and ornate, the whole style of architecture being the most florid example of the old Scottish Baronial. The chapel, which occupies the centre of the structure, is a most beautiful building, with its due accompaniment of pinnacles and buttresses, ornamented with statues on corbels or in canopied niches. A finely-carved stone rail encloses the terrace, which is surrounded by spacious shrubberies.

The building was founded in June, 1863, and formally opened in October, 1870. The number of boys to be admitted on the foundation, and maintained and educated in the college at the expense of the endowment, was not at any time to exceed fifty—a number absurdly small to occupy so vast a palace, for such it is. For the accommodation of non-foundations, spacious boarding-houses have been erected in the grounds, and in connection with the college, under the superintendence of the teachers.

Craigleith adjoins Comely Bank on the westward, and was an old estate, in which Morrison the Younger, of Prestongrange, was entailed in 1731. Here we find the great quarry, from which the greatest portion of the New Town has been built, covering an area of twelve acres, which is more than 200 feet deep, and has been worked for many years. When first opened, it was rented for about £50 per annum; but between 1820 and 1826 it yielded about £5,510 per annum.

Here, in 1823, there was excavated a stone of such dimensions and weight, says the *Edinburgh Weekly Journal* for November of that year, as to be without parallel in ancient or modern times. In length it was upwards of 136 feet, averaging twenty feet in breadth, and its computed weight was 15,000 tons. It was a longitudinal cut from a stratum of very fine lime rock. The greater part of it was conveyed to the Calton Hill, where it now forms the architrave of the National Monument, and the rest was sent by sea to Buckingham Palace.

Three large fossil coniferous trees have been found here, deep down in the heart of the freestone rock. One of these, discovered about 1830, excited much the attention of geologists as to whether it was not standing with root uppermost; but after a time it was found to be in its natural position.

A little to the north of the quarry stands the

massive little mansion of Groat Hall, with a thatched roof, whilom the property of Sir John Smith, Provost of the city in 1643, whose daughter figured as the heroine of the strange story connected with the legend of the Morocco Land in the Canongate, and whose sister (Giles Smith) was wife of Sir William Gray of Pittendrum.

St. Cuthbert's Poorhouse, a great quadrangular edifice, stands in the eastern vicinity of Craigleith Quarry. It was built in 1866-7, at a cost of £40,000, and has amenities of situation and elegance of structure very rarely associated with a residence for the poor.

Eastward of Stockbridge, and almost forming an integral part of it, lies the now nearly absorbed and half extinct, but ancient, village of Silvermills, a secluded hamlet once, clustering by the ancient mill-lade, and which of old lay within the Parony of Broughton. It was chiefly occupied by tanners, whose branch of trade is still carried on there by the lade, which runs under Clarence Street, through the village, and passes on to Canonmills. Some of the houses still show designs of thistles and roses on gables, with the crowsteps of the sixteenth century.

A little to the west of St. Stephen's Church, a narrow lane leads downward to the village, passing through what was apparently the main street, and emerges at Henderson Row, so called from the Lord Provost of that name. According to Chambers, a walk on a summer day from the old city to the village, a hundred years ago, was considered a very delightful one, and much adopted by idlers, the roads being then through corn-fields and pleasant nursery-grounds.

No notice, says Chambers, has ever been taken of Silvermills in any of the books regarding Edinburgh, nor has any attempt ever been made to account for its somewhat piquant name. "I shall endeavour to do so," he adds. "In 1607 silver was found in considerable abundance at Hilderstone, in Linlithgowshire, on the property of the gentleman who figures as Tam o' the Cowgate. Thirty-eight barrels of ore were sent to the mint in the Tower of London to be tried, and were found to give twenty-four ounces of silver for every hundredweight. Expert persons were placed upon the mine, and mills were erected upon the Water of Leith for the melting and fining the ore. The sagacious owner gave the mine the name of *God's Blessing*. By-and-bye the king heard of it, and, thinking it improper that any such fountain of wealth should belong to a private person, purchased 'God's Blessing' for £5,000, that it might be worked upon a larger scale for the benefit of

the public. But somehow, from the time it left the hands of the original owner, 'God's Blessing' ceased to be anything like so fertile as it had been, and in time the king withdrew from the enterprise, a great loser. The Silvermills I conceive to have been a part of the abandoned plant."

This derivation seems extremely probable, but Wilson thinks the name may have originated in some of the alchemical projects of James IV., or his son, James V.

"From Silvermills, a little northward of this city," says the *Edinburgh Weekly Magazine* for January, 1774, "we are informed of a very singular accident. On the nights of the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th inst., the Canonmills dam, by reason of the intenseness of the frost, was so gorged with ice and snow, that at last the water, finding no vent, stagnated to such a degree that it overflowed the lower floors of the houses in Silvermills, which obliged many of the inhabitants to remove to the rising grounds adjacent. One family in particular, not perceiving their danger till they observed the cradle with a child in it afloat, and all the furniture swimming, found it necessary to make their escape out of the back windows, and were carried on horseback to dry land."

St. Stephen's Established Church, at the foot of St. Vincent Street, towers in a huge mass over Silvermills, and was built in 1826-8, after designs by W. H. Playfair. It is a massive octagonal structure in mixed Roman style, with a grand, yet simple, entrance porch, and a square tower 165 feet high. It contains above 1,600 sittings. The parish was disjoined from the conterminous parishes in 1828 by the Presbytery of Edinburgh and the Teind Court. It was opened on Sunday, the 20th December, 1828, when the well-known Dr. Brunton preached to the Lord Provost and magistrates in their official robes, and the Rev. Henry Grey officiated in the afternoon.

In an old mansion, immediately behind where this church now stands, were born Robert Scott Lauder, R.S.A., and his brother, James Eckford Lauder, R.S.A., two artists of considerable note in their time. The former was born in 1803, and for some years, after attaining a name, resided in No. 7, Carlton Street. A love of art was early manifested by him, and acquaintance with his young neighbour, David Roberts, fostered it. The latter instructed him in the mode of mixing colours, and urged him to follow art as a profession; thus, in his youth he entered the Trustees' Academy, then under the care of Mr. Andrew Wilson.

After this he went to London, and worked with great assiduity in the British Museum. In 1826

he was again in his native city, when he re-entered the Academy, then under the charge of Sir William Allan, and won the friendship of that eminent landscape painter the Rev. John Thomson, minister of Duddingstone, whose daughter he married. After remaining five years on the Continent, studying the works of all the great masters in Venice, Bologna, Florence, and Rome, he settled in London in 1838, where his leading pictures began to attract considerable attention. Among them

brance," as the inscription records it, "of his unflinching sympathy as a friend, and able guidance as a master."

His brother, James Eckford Lauder, R.S.A., died in his fifty-seventh year, on the 29th of February, 1869—so little time intervened between their deaths.

In an old house, now removed, at the north end of Silvermills, there lived long an eminent collector of Scottish antiquities, also an artist—W. B. Johnstone, some of whose works are in the Scottish



THE EDINBURGH ACADEMY.

were the "Trial of Effie Deans" and the "Bride of Lammermuir," "Christ walking on the Waters," and "Christ teaching Humility," which now hangs in the Scottish National Gallery. His pictures are all characterised by careful drawing and harmonious colouring. He was made a member of the Royal Scottish Academy in 1830.

Returning to Edinburgh in 1850, he was appointed principal teacher in the Trustees' Academy, where he continued to exercise considerable influence on the rising school of Scottish art, till he was struck with paralysis, and died on the 21st April, 1869, at Wardie. A handsome monument was erected over his grave in Warriston Cemetery by his students of the School of Design, "in grateful remem-

Gallery, where also hangs a portrait of him, painted by John Phillip, R.A.

At the north-west corner of Clarence Street, in the common stair entering from Hamilton Place, near where stands a huge Board School, there long resided another eminent antiquary, who was also a member of the Scottish Academy—the well-known James Drummond, whose "Porteous Mob" and other works, evincing great clearness of drawing, brilliancy of colour, and studiously correct historical and artistic detail, hang in the National Gallery.

Immediately north of Silvermills, in what was formerly called Canonmills Park, stands the Edinburgh Deaf and Dumb Institution, a large square edifice, built a little way back from Hender-

son Row. This useful and charitable institution was established in 1810, but the present house was founded on the 22nd of May, 1823, the stone being laid by one of the senior pupils, in presence of his voiceless companions, "whose looks," says the *Edinburgh Advertiser*, "bespoke the feelings of their minds, and which would have been a sufficient recompense to the contributors for the building, had they been witnesses of the scene."

Children whose parents or guardians reside

county, the Dean of Guild, and certain councillors. The committee of management of this institution is entirely composed of ladies.

When digging the foundations of this edifice, in April, 1823, several rude earthen urns, containing human bones, were found at various depths under the surface. There were likewise discovered some vaults or cavities, formed of unhewn stone, which also contained human bones, but there were no inscriptions, carving, or accessory object, to indi-



CANONMILLS LOCH AND HOUSE, 1830. (From an Oil Painting by J. Kild.)

in Edinburgh or Leith are admissible as day scholars, and are taught the same branches of instruction as the other children, but on the payment of such fees as the directors may determine. The annual public examination of these deaf and dumb pupils takes place in summer, when visitors are invited to question them, by means of the manual alphabet, upon their knowledge of Scripture history and religion, English composition, geography, history, and arithmetic. There have also been Government examinations in drawing.

A little way westward of this edifice stands the Dean Bank Institution, for the religious, moral, and industrial training of young girls, under the directorship of the Lord Provost, the sheriff of the

county, the Dean of Guild, and certain councillors. The committee of management of this institution is entirely composed of ladies.

That great educational institution, the Edinburgh Academy, in Henderson Row, some two hundred and sixty yards north of St. Stephen's Church, was founded on the 30th June, 1823, in a park feued by the directors from the governors of Heriot's Hospital. In the stone were deposited a copper plate, with a long Latin inscription, and the names of the directors, with three bottles, containing a list of the contributors, maps of the city, and other objects.

It was designed by Mr. William Burn, and is a somewhat low and plain-looking edifice, in the Grecian style, with a pillared portico, and is constructed with reference more to internal accom-

modation than external display, and yet is not unsuited to the architecturally opulent district in its neighbourhood. The society which founded it had, by proprietary shares of £50 each, a capital of £12,900, capable of being augmented to £16,000.

Though similar in scope to the High School, it was at first more aristocratic in its plan or principles, which for a time rendered it less accessible to children of the middle classes, and has a longer period of study, and larger fees. There are a rector, masters for classics, French, and German, writing, mathematics, and English literature, and every other necessary branch. The Academy was incorporated by a royal charter from George IV., and is under the superintendence of a board of fifteen directors, three of whom are elected annually from the body of subscribers. The complete course of instruction given extends over seven years.

The institution, which possesses a handsome public hall, a library, spacious class-rooms, and a large enclosed play-ground, is divided into two schools—the classical, adapted for boys destined

for the learned professions, or who desire to possess a thorough classical training; and the modern, intended for such as mean to take civil or military service, or enter on mercantile pursuits. In addition to special professional subjects of study, the complete course embraces every branch of knowledge now recognised as necessary for a liberal education.

Though the Academy is little more than half a century old, yet so admirable has been the system pursued here, and so able have been the teachers in every department, that it has sent forth several of the most eminent men of the present day. Among them we may enumerate Dr. A. Campbell Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury; Bishop Anderson of Rupert's Land; Sir Colin Blackburn, Justice of the Queen's Bench; Professor Edmonstone Aytoun; the late Earl of Fife; the Right Hon. Mountstuart E. Grant-Duff, M.P. for Elgin, and afterwards Governor of Madras.

Among those who instituted this Academy in 1832 were Sir Walter Scott, Lord Cockburn, Skene of Rubislaw, Sir Robert Dundas, Bart., of Beechwood, and many other citizens of distinction.

CHAPTER IX.

CANONMILLS AND INVERLEITH.

Canonmills—The Loch—Riots of 1784—The Gymnasium—Tanfield Hall—German Church—Zoological Gardens—Powder Hall—Rosebank Cemetery—Red Braes—The Crawfords of Jordanhill—Bonnington—Bishop Keith—The Sugar Refinery—Pilrig—The Ealfour Family—Inverleith—Ancient Proprietors—The Touris—The Rocheids—Old Lady Inverleith—General Crocket—Royal Botanical Gardens—Mr. James MacNab.

THE ancient village of Canonmills lies within the old Barony of Broughton, and owes its origin to the same source as the Burgh of the Canongate, having been founded by the Augustine canons of Holyrood, no doubt for the use of their vassals in Broughton and adjacent possessions; but King David I. built for them, and the use of the inhabitants, a mill, the nucleus of the future village, which still retains marks of its very early origin, though rapidly being absorbed or surrounded by modern improvements. This mill is supposed to have been the massive and enormously buttressed edifice of which Wilson has preserved a view, at the foot of the brae, near Heriot's Hill.

It stood on the south side of the Water of Leith, being driven by a lade diverted from the former. By the agreement between the city and the directors of Heriot's Hospital, when the mills were partly disposed of to the former, the city was "bound not to prejudice the mills, but to allow those resident in the Barony to repair to them, and

grind thereat, according to use and wont, and to help them to ane thirlage, so far as they can, and the same remain in their possession."

The Incorporation of Bakers in the Canongate were "thirled" thither—that is, compelled to have their corn ground there, or pay a certain sum.

About the lower end of the hollow, overlooked by the Royal Crescent now, there lay for ages the Canonmills Loch, where the coot and water-hen built their nests in the sedges, as at the North Loch and Duddingston; it was a fair-sized sheet of water, the last portion of which was only drained recently, or shortly before the Gymnasium was formed.

In 1682 there was a case before the Privy Council, when Alexander Hunter, tacksman of the Canonmills, was pursued by Peter de Bruis for demolishing a paper-mill he had erected there for the manufacture of playing-cards, of which he had a gift from the Council on 20th December, 1681, "strictly prohibiting the importation of any such cards," and allowing him a most exorbitant power

to search for and seize them for his own use. Hunter also prosecuted him for throwing his wife into the mill-lade and using opprobrious language, for which he was fined £50 sterling, and obliged to find caution.

A hundred years later saw a more serious tumult in Canonmills.

In 1784 there was a great scarcity of food in Edinburgh, on account of the distilleries, which were said by some to consume enormous quantities of oatmeal and other grain unfermented, and to this the high prices were ascribed. A large mob proceeded from the town to Canonmills, and attacked the great distillery of the Messrs. Haig there; but meeting with an unexpected resistance from the workmen, who, as the attack had been expected, were fully supplied with arms, they retired, but not until some of their number had been killed, and the "Riot Act" read by the sheriff, Baron Cockburn, father of Lord Cockburn. Their next attempt was on the house of the latter; but on learning that troops had been sent for, they desisted. In these riots, the mob, which assembled by tuck of drum, was charged by the troops, and several of the former were severely wounded. These were the 9th, or East Norfolk Regiment, under the command of Colonel John Campbell of Blythwood, then stationed in the Castle.

During the height of the riot, says a little "History of Broughton," a private carriage passed through the village, and as it was said to contain one of the Haigs, it was stopped, amid threats and shouts. Some of the mob opened the door, as the blinds had been drawn, and on looking in, saw that the occupant was a lady; the carriage was therefore, without further interruption, allowed to proceed to its destination—Heriot's Hill.

On the 8th of September subsequently, two of the rioters, in pursuance of their sentence, were whipped through the streets of Edinburgh, and afterwards transported for fourteen years.

In the famous "Chaldee MS.," chapter iv., reference is made to "a lean man who hath his dwelling by the great pool to the north of the New City." This was Mr. Patrick Neill, a well-known citizen, whose house was near the Loch side.

In this quarter we now find the Patent Royal Gymnasium, one of the most remarkable and attractive places of amusement of its kind in Edinburgh, and few visitors leave the city without seeing it. At considerable expense it was constructed by Mr. Cox of Gorgie House, for the purpose of affording healthful and exhilarating recreation in the open air to great numbers at once, and in April, 1865, was publicly opened by the provosts, magistrates,

and councillors of Edinburgh and Leith, accompanied by all the leading inhabitants of the city and county.

Among the many remarkable contrivances here was a vast "rotary boat," 471 feet in circumference, seated for 600 rowers; a "giant see-saw," named "Chang," 100 feet long and seven feet broad, supported on an axle, and capable of containing 200 persons, alternately elevating them to a height of fifty feet, and then sinking almost to the ground; a "velocipede paddle merry-go-round," 160 feet in circumference, seated for 600 persons, who propel the machine by sitting astride on the rim, and push their feet against the ground; a "self-adjusting trapeze," in five series of three each, enabling gymnasts to swing by the hands 130 feet from one trapeze to the other; a "compound pendulum swing," capable of holding about 100 persons, and kept in motion by their own exertions.

Here, too, are a vast number of vaulting and climbing poles, rotary ladders, stilts, spring-boards, quoits, balls, bowls, and little boats and canoes on ponds, propelled by novel and amusing methods. In winter the ground is prepared for skaters on a few inches of frozen water, and when lighted up at night by hundreds of lights, the scene, with its musical accessories, is one of wonderful brightness, gaiety, colour, and incessant motion.

Here, also, is an athletic hall, with an instructor always in attendance, and velocipedes, with the largest training velocipede course in Scotland. The charges of admission are very moderate, so as to meet the wants of children as well as of adults.

A little eastward of this is a large and handsome school-house, built and maintained by the congregation of St. Mary's Church. A great Board School towers up close by. Here, too, was Scotland Street Railway Station, and the northern entrance of the long-since disused tunnel underground to what is now called the Waverley Station at Princes Street.

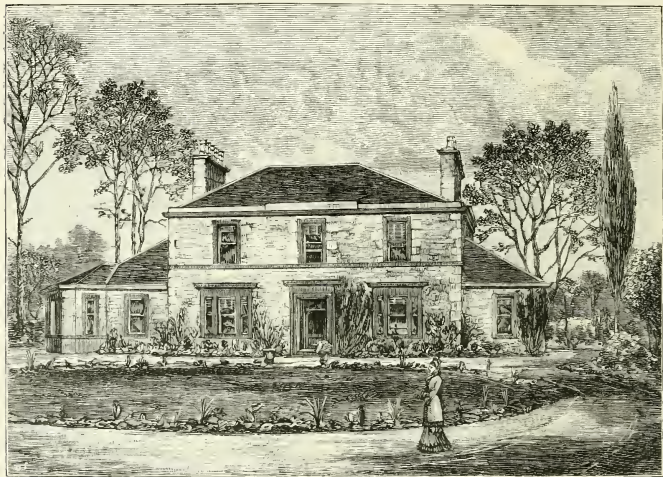
A little way northward of Canonmills, on the north bank of the Water of Leith, near a new bridge of three arches, which supercedes one of considerable antiquity, that had but one high arch, is the peculiar edifice known as Tanfield Hall. It is an extensive suite of buildings, designed, it has been said, to represent a Moorish fortress, but was erected in 1825 as oil gas-works, and speedily turned to other purposes. In 1835 it was the scene of a great banquet, given by his admirers to Daniel O'Connell; and in 1843 of the constituting of the first General Assembly of the Free Church, when the clergy first composing it quitted in a body the Establishment, as described in our account of George

Street; and till 1856 the annual sittings of the Free Assembly were held in it.

Here, too, in 1847, it witnessed the constituting of the Synods of the Secession and Relief Churches into the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland.

Old Canonmills House, which faced Fettes Row, has been removed, and on its site was erected, in 1880-1, a handsome United Presbyterian Church within a crescent.

between 1840 and 1867, the Zoological Gardens (a small imitation of the old Vauxhall Gardens in London), where the storming of Lucknow and other such scenes of the Indian mutiny used to be nightly represented, the combatants being parties of soldiers from the Castle, the fortifications and so forth being illuminated transparencies. Unfortunately or otherwise the gardens proved a failure. Among the last animals here were two magnificent tigers, sent from India by the then Governor-General, the



HERIOT'S HILL HOUSE.

In the month of October, 1879, there was laid at Bellevue Crescent, by the Lord Provost (Sir Thomas Boyd), in presence of a vast concourse of people, the foundation stone of a handsome German church—the first of its kind in Scotland—for the congregation of Herr Blumenreich, which for a number of years preceding had been wont to meet in the Queen Street Hall. The Provost was presented with a silver trowel wherewith to lay the stone. The cost was estimated at £2,600. The building was designed by Mr. Wemyss, architect, Leith, in the Pointed Gothic style, for 350 sitters.

Where now Claremont Terrace and Bellevue Street are erected in Broughton Park, there existed,

Marquis of Dalhousie, and afterwards, we believe, transmitted to the Zoological Gardens in London.

Here, too, was Wood's Victoria Hall, a large timber-built edifice for musical entertainments, which was open till about 1857.

Eastward of old Broughton Hall here, and bordering on the old Bonnington Road, are various little properties and quaint little mansion-houses, such as Powderhall, Redbraes, Stewartfield, Bonnington House, and Pilrig, some of them situated where the Leith winds under wooded banks and past little nooks that are almost sylvan still—and each of these has its own little history or traditions.

Powderhall, down in a dell, latterly the property of Colonel Macdonald, in 1761 was the residence

of the Mylnes of Powderhall. The house was advertised to be let in the *Courant* of 1761, and the public are informed that "it will be very convenient for any who wish to use the St. Leonard well (an old and now disused mineral spring) being a short distance from it." In this house Sir John Gordon of Earlston, Bart., Kirkcudbright, was married in 1775, to Anne Mylne, "youngest daughter of the deceased Thomas Mylne of Powderhall, Esq." (*Weekly Journal*). Burke states that the latter was a

1846. It contains many very handsome tombs; the grounds are kept in excellent order; its floral embellishments are carried to great perfection, and the average number of annual interments exceeds 700.

George Lord Reay was resident in the house of Rosebank in 1768.

Opposite the cemetery, on the opposite side of the road, is the old manor-house of Redbraes, with artificial ponds among its shrubberies and pretty walks beside the river. In Rose's "Obser-



TANFIELD HALL.

celebrated London engineer. In 1795 the place passed into the possession of the family of Daniel Seton, merchant, in Edinburgh (Scottish Register), and afterwards was the residence and property of Sir John Hunter Blair, Bart., of Robertland and Dunskey, who died there in 1800.

On the east side of the road lies the pretty cemetery of Rosebank, with its handsome Gothic entrance, porch, and lodge, facing Pilrig Street. It occupies a beautiful site, that seems to gather every ray of sunshine, and though equi-distant between Edinburgh and Leith, it may be considered as especially the cemetery of the latter. It was originated by a company of shareholders, and was first opened for interments on the 20th September,

in connection with the Historical Works of Mr. Fox," we read that Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth and Mr. Robert Baillie were intimate friends, and that about 1688, when the latter was first imprisoned, "Sir Patrick sent his daughter from Redbraes to Edinburgh, with instructions to endeavour to obtain admittance unsuspectingly into the prison, to deliver a letter to Mr. Baillie, and to bring back from him what intelligence she could. She succeeded in this difficult enterprise, and having at this time met with Mr. Baillie's son, the intimacy and friendship was formed which was afterwards completed by their marriage."

This was the famous Grizel Hume, so well known in Scottish story.

In April, 1747, the Countess of Hugh, third Earl of Marchmont (Anne Western of London), died in Redbraes House; and we may add that "Lord Polwarth of Redbraes" was one of the titles of Sir Patrick Hume when raised to the Scottish peerage as Earl of Marchmont.

We afterwards find Sir Hew Crawford, Bart. of Jordanhill, resident proprietor at Redbraes. Here, in 1775, his eldest daughter Mary was married to General Campbell of Boquhan (previously known as Fletcher of Saltoun), and here he would seem to have been still when another of his daughters found her way into the caricatures of Kay, a subject which made a great noise in its time as a local scandal.

In the Abbey Hill there then resided an ambitious little grocer named Mr. Alexander Thomson, locally known as "Ruffles," from the long loose appendages of lace he wore at his sleeves. With a view to his aggrandisement he hoped to connect himself with some aristocratic family, and cast his eyes on Miss Crawford, a lady rather fantastic in her dress and manners, but the daughter of a man of high and indomitable pride. She kept "Ruffles" at a proper distance, though he followed her like her shadow, and so they appeared in the same print of Kay.

The lady did not seem to be always so fastidious, as she formed what was deemed then a terrible *mésalliance* by marrying John Fortune, a surgeon, who went abroad. Fortune's brother, Matthew, kept the Tontine tavern in Princes Street, and his father a famous old inn in the High Street, the resort of all the higher ranks in Scotland about the close of the last century, as has already been seen in an earlier chapter of this work. Her brother, Captain Crawford, threatened to cudgel Kay, who in turn caricatured *him*. Sir Hew Crawford's family originally consisted of fifteen, most of whom died young. The baronetcy, which dated from 1701, is now supposed to be extinct.

In their day the grounds of Redbraes were deemed so beautiful, that mullioned openings were made in the boundary wall to permit passers-by to peep in.

In 1800 the Edinburgh papers announced proposals "for converting the beautiful villa of Redbraes into a Vauxhall, the entertainment to consist of a concert of vocal and instrumental music, to be conducted by Mr. Urbani—a band to play between the acts of the concert, at the entrance, &c. The gardens and grounds to be decorated with statues and transparencies; and a pavilion to be erected to serve as a temporary retreat in case of rain, and boxes and other conveniences to be erected for serving cold collations."

This scheme was never carried out. Latterly Redbraes became a nursery garden.

Below Redbraes lies Bonnington, a small and nearly absorbed village on the banks of the Water of Leith, which is there crossed by a narrow bridge. There are several mills and other works here, and in the vicinity an extensive distillery. The once arable estate of Hill-house Field, which adjoins it, is all now laid out in streets, and forms a suburb of North Leith. The river here attains some depth.

We read that about April, 1652, dissent began to take new and hitherto little known forms. There were Antitrinitarians, Antinomians, Familists (a small sect who held that families alone were a proper congregation), Brownists, as well as Independents, Seekers, and so forth; and where there were formerly no avowed Anabaptists, these abounded so much, that "thrice weekly," says Nicoll, in his Diary, "namely, on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, there were some dippit at Bonnington Mill, betwixt Leith and Edinburgh, both men and women of good rank. Some days there would be sundry hundred persons attending that action, and fifteen persons baptised in one day by the Anabaptists. Among the converts was Lady Craigie-Wallace, a lady in the west country."

In the middle of the last century there resided at his villa of Bonnyhaugh, in this quarter, Robert, called Bishop Keith, an eminent scholar and antiquary, the foster-brother of Robert Viscount Arbuthnot, and who came to Edinburgh in February, 1713, when he was invited by the small congregation of Scottish Episcopalians to become their pastor. His talents and learning had already attracted considerable attention, and procured him influence in that Church, of which he was a zealous supporter; yet he was extremely liberal, gentle, and tolerant in his religious sentiments. In January, 1727, he was raised to the Episcopate, and entrusted with the care of Caithness, Orkney, and the Isles, and in 1733 was preferred to that of Fife. For more than twenty years after that time he continued to exercise the duties of his office, filling a high and dignified place in Edinburgh, while busy with those many historical works which have given him no common place in Scottish literature.

It is now well known that, previous to the rising of 1745, he was in close correspondence with Prince Charles Edward, but chiefly on subjects relating to his depressed and suffering communion, and that the latter, "as the supposed head of a supposed Church, gave the *congé d'élire* necessary for the election of individuals to exercise the episcopal office."

His "History of the Church and State of Scotland," though coloured by High Church prejudices, is deemed a useful narration and very candid record of the most controverted part of our national annals, while the State documents used in its compilation have proved of the greatest value to every subsequent writer on the same subject. Very curious is the list of subscribers, as being, says Chambers, a complete muster-roll of the whole Jacobite nobility and gentry of the period, including among others the famous Rob Roy, the outlaw!

The bishop performed the marriage ceremony of that ill-starred pair, Sir George Stewart of Grandtully and Lady Jane Douglas, on the 4th of August, 1746. In 1755 he published his well-known "Catalogue of Scottish Bishops," a mine of valuable knowledge to future writers.

The latter years of his useful and blameless life, during which he was in frequent correspondence with the gallant Marshal Keith, were all spent at the secluded villa of Bonnyhaugh, which belonged to himself. There he died on the 27th of January, 1757, in his seventy-sixth year, and was borne, amid the tears of the Episcopal communion, to his last home in the Canongate churchyard. There he lies, a few feet from the western wall, where a plain stone bearing his name was only erected recently.

In 1766 Alexander Le Grand was entailed in the lands and estates of Bonnington.

In 1796 the bridge of Bonnington, which was of timber, having been swept away by a flood, a boat was substituted till 1798, when another wooden bridge was erected at the expense of £30.

Here in Breadalbane Street, northward of some steam mills and iron-works, stands the Bonnington Sugar-refining Company's premises, formed by a few merchants of Edinburgh and Leith about 1865, where they carry on an extensive and thriving business.

The property and manor house of Stewartfield in this quarter, is westward of Bonnington, a square edifice with one enormous chimney rising through a pavilion-shaped roof. We have referred to the entail of Alexander Le Grand, of Bonnington, in 1766. The *Scots Magazine* for 1770 records an alliance between the two proprietors here thus:—"At Edinburgh, Richard Le Grand, Esq., of Bonnington (son of the preceding?), to Miss May Stewart, daughter of James Stewart of Stewartfield, Esq."

On the north side of the Bonnington Road, and not far from Bonnington House, stands that of Pilrig, an old rough-cast and gable-ended mansion among aged trees, that no doubt occupies the site of a much older edifice, probably a fortalice.

In 1584 Henry Nisbett, burgess of Edinburgh, became caution before the Lords of the Privy

Council, for Patrick Monypenny of Pilrig, John Kincaid of Warriston, Clement Kincaid of the Coates, Stephen Kincaid, John Matheson, and James Crawford, feuars of a part of the Barony of Broughton, that they shall pay to Adam Bishop of Orkney, commendator of Holyrood House, "what they owe him for his relief of the last taxation of £20,000, over and above the sum of £15, already consigned in the hands of the collector of the said collection."

In 1601 we find the same Laird of Pilrig engaged in a brawl, "forming a specimen of the second class of outrages." He (Patrick Monypenny) stated to the Lords of Council that he had a wish to let a part of his lands of Pilrig, called the Round Haugh, to Harry Robertson and Andrew Alis, for his own utility and profit. But on a certain day, not satisfied, David Duff, a doughty indweller in Leith, came to these persons, and uttering ferocious menaces against them in the event of their occupying these lands, effectually prevented them from doing so.

Duff next, accompanied by two men named Matheson, on the 2nd of March, 1601, attacked the servants of the Laird of Pilrig, as they were at labour on the lands in question, with similar speeches, threatening them with death if they persisted in working there; and in the night they, or other persons instigated by them, had come and broken their plough, and cast it into the Water of Leith. "John Matheson," continues the indictment, "after breaking the complenar's plew, came to John Porteous's house, and bade him gang now betwix the plew stilts and see how she wald go till the morning," adding that he would have his head broken if he ever divulged who had broken the plough.

The furious Duff, not content with all this, trampled and destroyed the tilled land. In this case the accused were dismissed from the bar, but only, it would appear, through hard swearing in their own cause.

There died at Pilrig, according to the *Scots Magazine* for 1767, Margaret, daughter of the late Sir Johnstone Elphinstone of Logie, in the month of January; and in the subsequent June, Lady Elphinstone, his widow. The Elphinstones of Logie were baronets of 1701.

These ladies were probably visitors, as the then proprietor and occupant of the mansion was James Balfour of Pilrig, who was born in 1703, and became a member of the Faculty of Advocates on the 14th of November, 1730. Three years later on the death of Mr. Bayne, Professor of Scottish Law in the University of Edinburgh, he and Mr.

John Erskine of Carnock, were presented by the Faculty to the patrons of the vacant chair, who elected the latter, and he was afterwards well known as the author of the "Institutes of the Law of Scotland." John Balfour was subsequently appointed sheriff-substitute of the county of Edinburgh, and having a turn for philosophy, he became early adverse to the speculative reasoning of David Hume, and openly opposed them in two treatises; one was entitled "A Delineation of the Nature

In the spring of 1779 he resigned his professorship, and lived a retired life at Pilrig, where he died on the 6th of March, 1795, in his ninety-second year, and was succeeded by his son, John Balfour of Pilrig.

The estate is now becoming covered with streets. There is a body called the "Pilrig Model Buildings Association," formed in 1849, for erecting houses for the working-classes, and the success of this scheme has been such that there has scarcely been



PILRIG HOUSE.

and Obligation of Morality, with Reflections on Mr. Hume's Inquiry concerning the Principles of Morals." A second edition of this appeared in 1763. The other, "Philosophical Dissertations," appeared also at Edinburgh in 1782.

Hume was much pleased with these treatises, though opposed to his own theories, and on the appearance of the first, wrote the author a letter, requesting his friendship, as he was obliged by his politeness.

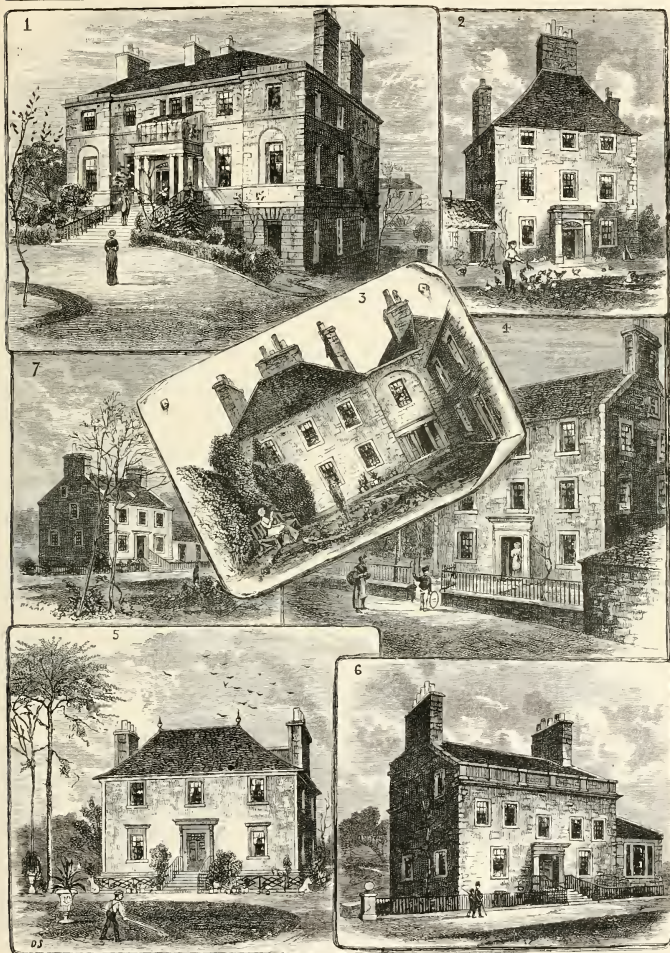
In August, 1754, Balfour was appointed to the chair of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, and ten years afterwards was transferred to the chair of Public Law. He published his "Philosophical Essays" a short time after.

an arrear of rent among its tenants since the year named.

This was the earliest of the many schemes started in Edinburgh for improving the dwellings of the labouring classes, and it has been followed up in many directions, though all its features have not been copied.

Inverleith, or Innerleith, as it was often called of old, was the only baronial estate of any extent that lay immediately north-east of Stockbridge.

The most influential heritor in the once vast parish of St. Cuthbert was Touris the Baron or Laird of Inverleith, whose possessions included, directly south-west from North Leith, the lands of Coates, Dalry, Pocketsleve, the High Riggs, or all



1, BONNINGTON HOUSE; 2, STEWARTFIELD; 3, REOBRAES; 4, SILVERMILLS HOUSE; 5, BROUGHTON HALL; 6, POWDER HALL;
7, CANONMILLS HOUSE.

the long hill on the south side of the West Port, from Cowfeeder Row to the Bristo Port, the easter and wester crofts of Bristo, nearly down to the lands of the abbey of Holyrood.

Of the old fortalice of this extinct race, and of their predecessors—which stood on the highest ground of Inverleith, a little way west of where we find the modern house now embosomed among luxuriant timber—not a vestige remains. Even its ancient dovecot—in defiance of the old Scottish superstition respecting the destruction of a dovecot—has been removed. “The beautiful and sequestered footpath bordered (once?) by hawthorn hedges, known by the name of Gabriel’s Road,” says a local writer, “is said to have been constructed for the convenience of the ancient lairds of Inverleith to enable them to attend worship in St. Giles’s.”

No relics remain of the ancient dwelling, unless we except the archery butts, 600 feet apart, standing nearly due south of Inverleith Mains, the old home farm of the mansion, and the two very quaint and ancient lions surmounting the pillars of the gate at the north end of St. Bernard’s Row, and which local tradition avers came from the Castle of Edinburgh.

Of the different families who have possessed this estate, and inhabited first the baronial tower, and latterly the manor-house there, but a few disjointed notices can alone be gleaned.

“The lands upon which I live at Inverleith,” says the late eminent antiquary, Cosmo Innes, in his “Scottish Legal Antiquities,” “which I can trace back by charters into the possession of the baker of William the Lion, paid, in the time of King Robert I., a hundred shillings of *sterlings*. (The coinage of the Easterlings.) Some fields beside me are still called the Baxter’s (*i.e.*, Baker’s) Lands.”

And this is after a lapse of seven hundred years.

Among the charters of Robert I. is one to William Fairly of the lands of Inverleith, in the county of Edinburgh. Among those of David II. is another charter of the same lands to William Ramsay; and another, by Robert II., of the same to David Ramsay.

The date of the latter charter is given in the “Douglas Peerage” as the 2nd of July, 1381, and the recipient as the second son of the gallant and patriotic Sir William Ramsay of Dalhousie, who drew the English into an ambuscade at the battle of Nisbetmuir in 1355, and caused their total rout.

In time to come Inverleith passed to the Touris.

In 1425 John of Touris (or Towers) appears as a baillie of Edinburgh, with Adam de Bonkill and John Fawside.

In 1487 William Touris of Innerleith (doubtless his son) granted an annuity of fourteen merks for the support of a chaplain to officiate at St. Anne’s altar, in St. Cuthbert’s Church. George Touris was a baillie of the city in 1488–92, and in the fatal year of Flodden, 1513, 19th August, he is designated “President” of the city, the provost of which—Sir Alexander Lauder—was killed in the battle; and Francis Touris (either a son or brother) was a baillie in the following year.

In the “Burgh Records,” under date 1521, when the Lairds of Restalrig and Craigmillar offered at a Town Council meeting to be in readiness to resist the king’s rebels, in obedience to his royal letters, for the safety of his person, castle, and town; hereupon, “Schir Alexander Touris of Innerleith protestit sik lik.”

In 1605, Sir George Touris of Garmilton, knight, succeeded his father John of Inverleith in the dominical lands thereof, the mill and craig of that name, the muir and fortalice of Wardie, and Bell’s land, *alias* the “Lady’s land of Inverleith.”

Sir John Touris of Inverleith married Lady Jean Wemyss, a daughter of the first Lord Wemyss of Elcho, afterwards Earl, who died in 1649. In 1648 this Sir John had succeeded his father, Sir Alexander Touris, knight in the lands of Inverleith, Wardie, Tolcroce, Highriggs, &c.

The epoch of the Commonwealth, in 1652, saw John Rocheid, heir to his father James, a merchant and burghess of Edinburgh, in “the Craig of Inverleith.” (“Retours.”) This would imply Craigleith, as from the “Retours” in 1665, Inverleith, in the parish of St. Cuthbert’s, went from James Halyburton, proprietor thereof, to Alexander, his father. And in “Dirleton’s Decisions,” under date 1678, Halyburton, “late of Inverleith,” is referred to as a prisoner for debt at Edinburgh. So from them the estate had passed to the Rocheids.

Sir James Rocheid of Inverleith, petitioned the Privy Council in 1682, for permission to “enclose and impark some ground,” under an Act of 1661; and in 1692 he entailed the estate. In 1704 he was made a baronet.

In the “Scottish Nation,” we are told that Rocheid of Inverleith, a name originating in a personal peculiarity, had as a crest a man’s head rough and hairy, the same borne by the Rocheids of Craigeleith. The title became extinct in the person of Sir James, the second baronet, whose daughter and co-heiress, Mary, married Sir Francis Kinloch, Bart., and her third son, on succeeding

to the estate of his maternal grandmother, took the name of Rocheid. His son, James Rocheid of Inverleith, was an eminent agriculturist, on whose property the villas of Inverleith Row were built.

He died in 1824 in the house of Inverleith. He was a man of inordinate vanity and family pride, and it used to be one of the sights of Stockbridge to see his portly figure, in a grand old family carriage covered with heraldic blazons, passing through, to or from the city; and a well-known anecdote of how his innate pomposity was humbled, is well known there still.

On one occasion, when riding in the vicinity, he took his horse along the footpath, and while doing so, met a plain-looking old gentleman, who firmly declined to make way for him; on this Rocheid ordered him imperiously to stand aside. The pedestrian declined, saying that the other had no right whatever to ride upon the footpath. "Do you know whom you are speaking to?" demanded the horseman in a high tone. "I do not," was the quiet response. "Then know that I am John Rocheid, Esquire of Inverleith, and a trustee upon this road! Who are you, fellow?"

"I am George, Duke of Montagu," replied the other, upon which the haughty Mr. Rocheid took to the main road, after making a very awkward apology to the duke, who was then on a visit to his daughter the Duchess of Buccleuch at Dalkeith.

He had a predilection for molesting pedestrians, and was in the custom of driving his carriage along a strictly private footpath that led from Broughton Toll towards Leith, to the great exasperation of those at whose expense it had been constructed.

It is of his mother that Lord Cockburn gives us such an amusing sketch in the "Memorials of his own Time,"—thus: "Lady Don and Mrs. Rocheid of Inverleith, two dames of high and aristocratic breed. They had both shone at first as hooped beauties in the minuets, and then as ladies of ceremonies at our stately assemblies; and each carried her peculiar qualities and air to the very edge of the grave, Lady Don's dignity softened by gentle sweetness, Mrs. Rocheid's made more formidable by cold and severe solemnity. Except Mrs. Siddons, in some of her displays of magnificent royalty, nobody could sit down like the Lady of Inverleith. She would sail like a ship from Tarshish, gorgeous in velvet or rustling silk, done up in all the accompaniment of fans, earrings, and finger-rings, falling-sleeves, scent-bottle, embroidered bag, hoop and train, all superb, yet all in purest taste; managing all this seemingly heavy rigging with as much ease as a full-blown swan

does its plumage. She would take possession of the centre of a large sofa, and at the same moment, without the slightest visible exertion, cover the whole of it with her bravery, the graceful folds seeming to lay themselves over it, like summer waves. The descent from her carriage too, where she sat like a nautilus in its shell, was a display which no one in these days could accomplish or even fancy. The mulberry-coloured coach, but apparently not too large for what it carried, though she alone was in it—the handsome, jolly coachman and his splendid hammer-cloth loaded with lace—the two respectful liveried footmen, one on each side of the richly carpeted step, these were lost sight of amidst the slow majesty with which the lady came down and touched the earth. She presided in this imperial style over her son's excellent dinners, with great sense and spirit to the very last day almost of a prolonged life."

This stateliness was not unmixed with a certain motherly kindness and racy homeliness, peculiar to great Scottish dames of the old school.

In Inverleith Terrace, one of the streets built on this property, Professor Edmonstone Aytoun was resident about 1850; and in No. 5 there resided, prior to his departure to London, in 1864, John Faed, the eminent artist, a native of Kirkcudbright, who, so early as his twelfth year, used to paint little miniatures, and after whose exhibition in Edinburgh, in 1841, his pictures began to find a ready sale.

In Warriston Crescent, adjoining, there lived for many years the witty and eccentric W. R. Jamieson, W.S., author of a luckless tragedy entitled "Timoleon," produced by Mr. and Mrs. Wyndham, at the old Theatre Royal, and two novels, almost forgotten now, "The Curse of Gold," and "Milverton, or the Surgeon's Daughter." He died in obscurity in London.

Inverleith Row, which extends north-westwards nearly three-quarters of a mile from Tanfield Hall, to a place called Golden Acre, is bordered by a row of handsome villas and other good residences.

In No. 52, here, there lived long, and died on 10th of November, 1874, a very interesting old officer, Lieutenant-General William Crockat, whose name was associated with the exile and death of Napoleon in St. Helena. "So long ago as 1807," said a London paper, with reference to this event, "William Crockat was gazetted as ensign in the 20th Regiment of Foot, and the first thought which suggests itself is, that from that date we are divided by a far wider interval than was Sir Walter Scott from the insurrection of Prince Charlie, when in 1814, he gave to his first novel the title of 'Waverley, or 'Tis Sixty Years Since.' There is

something at once strong and startling in the consciousness that His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief, during his recent official visit to Edinburgh, might have shaken hands with a veteran who landed with his regiment in Portugal about the middle of 1808, who took part in the battle of Vimiera, in the advance into Spain, in the disastrous retreat upon Corunna, and in the battle before that town in 1809. It is now (in 1879) seventy years to a day since Lieutenant-

hearts of half-a-dozen predecessors—their orders being that twice in every twenty-four hours they should ascertain by ocular demonstration that the Emperor was at Longwood.

The latter died while Captain Crockat was installed in the office, and he was sent home by Sir Hudson Lowe with the dispatches, announcing that event; and after serving in India, he retired in 1830, and in spite of war, wounds, and fever, lived for nearly half a century before he passed away at a



VIEW IN BONNINGTON, 1851 (From a Drawing by William Channing.)

General Crockat, had 'down with fever' written against his name in the medical report, which told the same tale of about three-fourths of those soldiers sent to perish at pestilential Walcheren."

General Crockat had served in Sicily, in 1807, before he served in Spain, and received the war medal with four clasps for Vimiera, Corunna, Vittoria, and the Pyrenees, where he was severely wounded. When peace came, the 20th Regiment was ordered to St. Helena, and with it went then Captain Crockat, to take part in transactions to a soldier more trying than the bullets of the recent war, for as orderly officer he had charge of "the caged eagle of St. Helena," the captive Napoleon; a task which is said to have well-nigh broken the

green old relic of other times.

In this street are the entrances to the Royal Botanic Gardens, on the west side thereof, when they were first formed in 1822-4, in lieu of a previous garden on the east side of Leith Walk, from which establishment the shrubs and herbs were transferred without the eventual injury to a single plant.

They are connected with the University, in so far as the Professor of Botany is Regius Keeper, and delivers his lectures in the class-room in the gardens, which extend to twenty-seven Scottish acres, and contain an extensive range of green-houses and hothouses, with a palmhouse, 96 feet long, 70 feet high, and 57 feet broad. There is an

arrangement of British plants according to the Natural System; a general collection of the hardy plants of all countries, and a series of medicinal plants. There are also a collection of European plants, according to the Linnaean System, and an extensive arboretum, a roserie, and splendid parterres; a winter garden, museum, lecture-room, and library; a magnetic observatory and aquarium; with a construction of terraced rockeries, 190 feet long, by 120 wide.

ranged geographically, so as to enable the students to examine the flora of the different countries; and there is a general arrangement of flowering plants, illustrating the orders and genera of the entire world.

There is likewise a grouping of cryptogamic plants, and special collections of other plants, British, medicinal, and economical.

The usual number of students in the garden in summer averages about 300, and the greatest



WARRISTON HOUSE.

A public arboretum, comprising about thirty acres, along the west side of the Botanic Gardens, was obtained for £18,408 from the city funds, and £16,000 from Government. This was sanctioned by the Town Council in 1877; and this large addition to the original garden was opened in April, 1881, and Inverleith House became the official residence of the Regius Keeper.

Students have ample facilities for studying the plants in the garden; the museum is open at all times to them, and the specimens contained in it are used for illustrating the lectures. The University Herbarium is kept in the large hall, and can be consulted under the direction of the professor of botany, or his assistant. In it the plants are ar-

number is above 500. The fresh specimens of plants used for lectures and demonstrations averages above 47,300.

By agreement, it has been provided that the arboretum, mentioned above, should be placed under the Public Parks Regulations Act of 1872, and be maintained in all time coming by the Government. The trustees of both Sir William Fettes and Mr. Rocheid were bound to provide proper accesses, by good roads and avenues, to the ground and to give access by the private avenue leading from St. Bernard's Row to Inverleith House. Another avenue was also stipulated for, which was to join the road from Inverleith Place, westward to Fettes College.

The cost to the Government of fencing in the ground, planting, &c., up to May, 1881, was £6,000, while the purchase of Inverleith House entailed a further expenditure of £4,950.

In the garden are several fine memorial trees, planted by the late Prince Consort, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Edinburgh, and others.

Mr. James M'Nab was long the Curator of the Royal Botanic Gardens, and till his death, in November, 1878, was intimately associated with its care and progress. The son of William M'Nab, gardener, a native of Ayrshire, he was born in April, 1814, and five weeks later his father was appointed Curator of the Edinburgh Botanic Garden in Leith Walk. On leaving school James adopted the profession of his father, and for twelve consecutive years worked in the garden as apprentice, journeyman, and foreman, from first to last *con amore*, gaining a thorough knowledge of botany and arboriculture, and, by a variety of experiments, of the best modes of heating greenhouses. In 1834 he visited the United States and Canada, and the results of his observations in those countries appeared in the "Edinburgh Philosophical Journal" for 1835, and the "Transactions" of the Botanical Society.

On the death of his father in December, 1848, after thirty-eight years' superintendence of the Botanic Garden, Mr. James M'Nab was appointed to the Curatorship by the Regius Professor, Dr. Balfour. At that time the garden did not consist of more than fourteen imperial acres, but after a time two more acres were added, and these were planted and laid out by Mr. M'Nab. A few years after the experimental garden of ten acres was added to the original ground, and planted with conifers and other kinds of evergreens. The rockery was now formed, with 5,442 compartments for the cultivation of alpine and dwarf herbaceous plants. Mr. M'Nab was a frequent contributor to horticultural and other periodicals, his writings including papers, not only on botanical subjects, but on landscape-gardening, arboriculture, and vegetable climatology. He was one of the original members of the Edinburgh Botanical Society, founded in 1836, and in 1872 was elected President, a position rarely, if ever, held by a practical gardener.

In 1873 he delivered his presidential address on "The effects of climate during the last half century on the cultivation of plants in the Botanic Garden of Edinburgh, and elsewhere in Scotland," a subject which excited a great deal of discussion, the writer having adduced facts to show that a change had taken place in our climate within the period given. Few men of his time possessed a more thorough knowledge of his profession in all its

departments, and to his loving care and enthusiasm it is owing that the Botanic Garden of Edinburgh is now second to none.

On the east side of Inverleith Row lies the ancient estate of Warriston, which has changed proprietors quite as often as the patrimony of the Touris and Rocheids.

Early in the sixteenth century Warriston belonged to a family named Somerville, whose residence crowned the gentle eminence where now the modern mansion stands. It must, like the house of Inverleith, have formed a conspicuous object from the once open, and perhaps desolate, expanse of Wardie Muir, that lay between it and the Firth of Forth.

From Pitcairn's "Criminal Trials" it would appear that on the 10th of July, 1579, the house or fortalice at Warriston was besieged by the Dalma-hoys of that ilk, the Rocheids and others, when it was the dwelling-place of William Somerville. They were "pursued" for this outrage, but were acquitted of it and of the charge of shooting pistol-ettes and wounding Barbara Barrie.

By 1581 it had passed into the possession of the Kincaids, and while theirs was the scene of a dreadful tragedy. Before the Lords of the Council in that year a complaint was lodged by John Kincaid, James Bellenden of Pendreich, and James Bellenden of Backspittal, "all heritable feuars of the lands of Waristown," against Adam Bishop of Orkney, as Commendator of Holyrood, who had obtained an Act of the Secret Council to levy certain taxes on their land which they deemed unjust or exorbitant; and similar complaints against the same prelate were made by the feuar of abbey land at St. Leonard's. The complainers pleaded that they were not justly indebted for any part of the said tax, as none of them were freeholders, vassals, or sub-vassals, but feuars only, subject to their feu-duties, at two particular terms in the year. Before the Council again, in 1583, John Kincaid of Warriston, and Robert Monypenny of Pilrig, appeared as caution for certain feuars in Broughton, in reference to another monetary dispute with the same prelate.

In 1591, Jean Ramsay, Lady Warriston, probably of the same family, was forcibly abducted by Robert Cairncross (known as Meikle Hob) and three other men, in the month of March, for which they were captured and tried. The year 1600 brings us to the horrible tragedy to which reference was made above in passing.

John Kincaid of Warriston was married to a very handsome young woman named Jean Livingston, the daughter of a man of fortune and good

family, the Laird of Dunipace ; but, owing to some alleged ill-treatment, she grew estranged from him, and eventually her heart became filled with a deadly hatred.

An old and attached nurse began to whisper of a means of revenge and relief from her married thralldom, and thus she was induced to tamper with a young man named Robert Weir, a servant or vassal of her father at Dunipace, to become her instrument.

At an early hour in the morning of the 2nd of July, Weir came to the place of Warriston, and being admitted by the lady to the chamber of her husband, beat him to death with his clenched fists. He then fled, while the lady and her nurse remained at home. Both were immediately seized, subjected to a summary trial of some kind before the magistrates, and sentenced to death ; the lady to have "her heade struck frae her bodie" at the Canongate Cross.

In the brief interval between sentence and execution, this unfortunate young girl, who was only twenty-one, was brought, by the impressive discourse of a good and amiable clergyman, from a state of callous indifference to a keen sense of her crime, and also of religious resignation. Her case was reported in a small pamphlet of the day, entitled, "Memorial of the Conversion of Jean Livingston (Lady Warriston), with an account of her carriage at her execution"—a dark chapter of Edinburgh social history, reprinted by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe. "She stated, that on Weir assaulting her husband, she went to the hall, and waited till the deed was done. She thought she still heard the pitiful cries uttered by her husband while struggling with his murderer." She tried to weep, but not a tear could she shed, and could only regard her approaching death as a just expiation of her crime.

Deeply mortified by the latter and its consequences, her relations used every effort to secure as much privacy as was possible for the execution ; hence it was arranged that while her nurse was being burned on the Castle Hill at four o'clock in the morning, thus attracting the attention of all who might be out of bed at that time, Lady Warriston should be taken to the Girth Cross, at the east end of the town, and there executed by the Maiden.

"The whole way as she went to the place," says the pamphlet referred to, "she behaved herself so cheerfully as if she was going to her wedding, and not to her death. When she came to the scaffold, and was carried up upon it, she looked up to the Maiden with two longsome looks,

for she had never seen it before. This I may say of her, to which all that saw her will bear record, that her only countenance moved [*sic*, meaning that its expression alone was touching], although she had not spoken a word ; for there appeared such majesty in her countenance and visage, and such a heavenly courage in gesture, that many said, 'That woman is gifted with a higher spirit than any man or woman's!'"

She read an address to the spectators at the four corners of the scaffold, and continued to utter expressions of devotion till the swift descent of the axe decapitated her. Balfour, in his "Annals," gives the year 1599 as the date of this tragedy.

Four years after Weir was taken, and on the 26th January, 1606, was broken on the wheel, a punishment scarcely ever before inflicted in Scotland.

In the year 1619 Thomas Kincaid of Warriston was returned heir to his father Patrick Kincaid of Warriston, in a tenement in Edinburgh. This was probably the property that was advertised in the *Courant* of 1761, as about to be sold, "that great stone tenement of land lying at the head of the old Bank Close, commonly called Warriston's Land, south side of the Lawn Market, consisting of three bed-chambers, a dining-room, kitchen, and garret." There is no mention of a drawing-room, such apartments being scarcely known in the Edinburgh of those days.

In 1663 another proprietor of Warriston came to a tragic end, and to him we have already referred in our account of Warriston's Close.

This was Sir Archibald Johnston, who was known as Lord Warriston in his legal capacity. He was an advocate of 1633. In 1641 he was a Lord of Session. He was made Lord Clerk Register by Cromwell, who also created him a peer, under the title of Lord Warriston, and as such he sat for a time in the Upper House in Parliament. After the Restoration he was forfeited, and fled, but was brought to Edinburgh and executed at the Market Cross, as we have recorded in Chapter XXV. of Volume I.

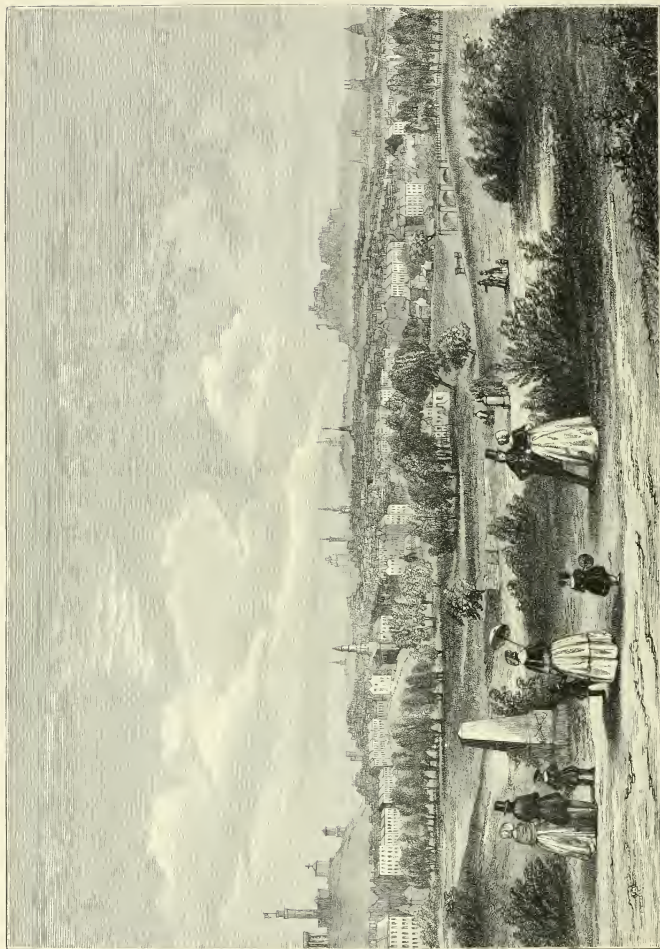
Wodrow, in his "History of the Church of Scotland," states that Warriston's memoirs, in his handwriting, in the form of a diary, are still extant ; if so, they have never seen the light. His character, admirably drawn in terse language by his nephew, Bishop Burnet, is thus given in the "History of his Own Times," Vol. I. :—

"Warriston was my own uncle. He was a man of great application ; could seldom sleep above three hours in the twenty-four. He studied the law carefully, and had a great quickness of thought,



THE ROYAL BOTANIC GARDENS.

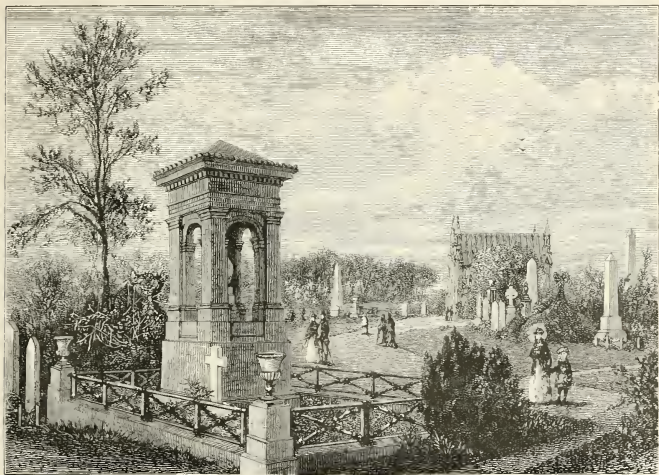
1 General View of the Gardens; 2, The Arboretum; 3, Rock Garden; 4, Palm Houses; 5, Class Room and Entrance to Museum.



EDINBURGH FROM WARRISTON CEMETERY, 1843. (After a Drawing by Daniel Wilson.)

with an extraordinary memory. He went into very high notions of lengthened devotions, in which he continued many hours a day ; he would often pray in his family two hours at a time, and had an inexhaustible copiousness that way. What thought soever struck his fancy during these effusions, he looked on it as an answer of prayer, and was wholly determined by it. He looked on the Covenant as the sitting of Christ on his throne, and was so out of measure zealous in it. He had no

The middle of the last century saw Warriston possessed by a family named Grainger, and afterwards by another named Mure ; and in 1814 there died in Warriston House the Hon. W. F. Mackenzie, the only son of Francis Lord Seaforth, and representative in Parliament for the county of Ross ; and in the same house there died, on the 28th of July, 1838, Helen D'Arcy Cranstoun (a daughter of the Hon. George Cranstoun and the second wife of Professor Dugald Stewart), a lady



WARRISTON CEMETERY.

regard to raising himself or his family, though he had thirteen children, but Presbytery was to him more than all the world. He had a readiness and vehemence of speaking that made him very considerable in public assemblies ; and he had a fruitful invention, so that he was at all times furnished with expedients." Such is the Bishop's picture of this eminent lawyer and Covenanter, but very crooked politician.

Lord Warriston's son, James Johnston, was appointed envoy to the Court of Brandenburg, but as he was afterwards fortunate enough to be created by King William one of his principal secretaries of state, he was nominated by a warrant from His Majesty "to sit as Lord Secretary in the Parliament which met in 1693."

who holds a very high place among the writers of Scottish song, and was sister of Countess Purgstall, the subject of Captain Basil Hall's "Schloss Heinfeld."

Eildon Street and Warriston Crescent, both running eastward off Inverleith Row, have been recently built on the estate of Warriston, and due eastward of the mansion-house lies the spacious and beautiful cemetery which appropriately takes its name from the locality.

Warriston Cemetery, with a gentle slope to the sun and commanding a magnificent view of the city, is laid out with very considerable taste. It was opened in 1843, and has one approach by a bridge over the Leith from Canonmills, a second

from Inverleith Row, and a third from the narrow lane leading to East Warriston House. In the grounds are spacious catacombs, above which is a balustraded terrace with a tasteful little mortuary chapel; and there are many elegant monuments. The chief, though the simplest of these, is the stone which marks the spot where, on the slope of the terrace, lie, with those of some of his family, the remains of Sir James Young Simpson, Bart., recalling the sweet lines which were among the last things he wrote :—

“ Oft in this world’s ceaseless strife,
When flesh and spirit fail me,
I stop and think of another life,
Where ills can never assail me.
Where my wearied arm shall cease its fight,
My heart shall cease its sorrow;
And this dark night change for the light
Of an everlasting morrow.”

Near this grave a little Greek temple (designed by his grandson John Dick Peddie, M.P.) marks the last resting-place of the venerable Rev. James Peddie, who was so long minister of the Bristol Street Church. Near the eastern gate, under a cross, lie the remains of Alexander Smith, author of the “Life Drama,” and other poems, which attracted much attention at the time of their publication. “It claims special notice,” says a writer in the *Scotsman*, “as one of the most artistic and appropriate works of the kind to be seen in our ceme-

teries. It is in the form of an Iona or West Highland cross of Binney stone, twelve feet in height, set in a massive square base four feet high. In the centre of the shaft is a bronze medallion of the poet, by William Brodie, R.S.A., an excellent work of art, and a striking likeness, above which is the inscription ‘Alexander Smith, poet and essayist,’ and below are the places and dates of his birth and death. The upper part of the shaft and the cross itself are elaborately carved in a style of ornament which, though novel in design, is strictly characteristic. For the design of this very striking and beautiful monument the friends of the poet are indebted to Mr. James Drummond, R.S.A.—a labour of love, in which artistic skill and antiquarian knowledge have combined to the production of a work, which, of its own kind is quite unique, and commands the admiration of the least instructed.”

In another part of the ground is an elegant reproduction of the “Maclean Cross” of Iona, erected by a member of the family. The grave of Horatio Macculloch, R.S.A., the well-known landscape painter, is also here, and also that of the Rev. James Millar, a good, worthy, and pious man, well known to the whole British army, and remarkable as being the last Presbyterian chaplain of the Castle of Edinburgh, who died in 1875, in about the thirtieth year of his ministry, and was interred here with military honours.

CHAPTER X.

THE WESTERN NEW TOWN.

Coltbridge—Roseburn House—Traditions of it—Murrayfield—Lord Henderland—Beechwood—General Leslie—The Dundases—Ravelston—The Foulises and Keiths—Craigcrook—Its first Proprietors—A Fearful Tragedy—Archibald Constable—Lord Jeffrey—Davidson’s Mains—Lauriston Castle.

COLTBRIDGE, once a little secluded hamlet on the Water of Leith, having two bridges, an old one and a new one, is now a portion of the western New Town, but is only famous as the scene of the amazing panic exhibited in 1745, by Sir John Cope’s cavalry, under Brigadier Fowke—the 13th and 14th Dragoons—who fled in great disorder, on seeing a few Highland gentlemen—said to be only seven in number—approach them, mounted, and firing their pistols, while the little force of Prince Charles Edward was marching along the old Glasgow road.

Passing the huge edifices called the Roseburn Maltings, belonging to the Messrs. Jeffrey, distillers, consisting of two floors 600 feet in length by 120 in width, for storing ale, a narrow winding path

leads to the ancient house of Roseburn and the old Dalry flour mills which now adjoin it.

Small, quaint, and very massively built, with crowstepped gables and great chimneys, it exhibits marks of very great antiquity, and yet all the history it possesses is purely traditional. It has two door lintels, one of which is the most elaborate ever seen in Edinburgh, but it has been broken, and in several places is quite illegible. In the centre is a shield with the royal arms of Scotland and the motto *IN DEFENS*. There are two other shields, now defaced; and two tablets, one inscribed thus :—

QVEN, YOU.
VIL. ENTER
AT, CRIST
IS. DYKE
1562.

The other tablet runs :—

IE MINE
YI. TI. RUM
TO YE PURE.

The inscriptions may doubtless be thus translated :—

WHEN YOU
WILL ENTER
AT CHRIST
HIS DOOR
1562.

AVE MIND
YOU THE ROOM
TO THE POOR.

Between the three shields are four lines of Roman lettering, having alternately in curiously contracted Latin and English, a legend which would run thus :—

“Gratia Dei. Lord save thy people, whom thou hast redeemed by thy precious blood. Lord give peace in our days, for there is not another who will fight for us, but thou, O our God.”

Elsewhere, on the upper part of the lintel, appears

frages of the Saints,” and is still used after vespers in all Roman Catholic churches, is a curious feature in a Scottish house of post-Reformation times.

Westward of Coltbridge there is pointed out a spot where Cromwell’s forces occupied the rising ground in 1650, after his repulse before Edinburgh, and where he was again out-generalled by the gallant Sir David Leslie, whose army was posted by the Water of Leith and the marshy fields along its banks.

Tradition assigns to Roseburn House the honour of having given quarters for that night to Oliver Cromwell, which is probable enough, as it is in the immediate vicinity of the position assumed by his army; and with this tradition the history, if it can be called so, of Roseburn ends.

In levelling some mounds here, some few years since, “some stone coffins were found,” says



LINTEL AT ROSEBURN HOUSE.

the portion of a legend, GOD KEIP OURE CROWNE, AND SEND GUDE SUCCESSION, and the date 1526.

The other lintel is over an inner door, and has a shield with two coats of arms impaled: in the first canton are three rose-buds, between a chevron charged with mullets; in the second canton are three fish, fess-wise; in the panel are the initials M. R. and K. F.; and underneath the legend and date, “All my hoip is in ye Lord, 1562.”

Why this house—the whole lower storey of which is strongly vaulted with massive stone—should be decorated with the royal arms, it is impossible to learn now, but to that circumstance, and perhaps to the date 1562, and the initials M. R., evidently those of the proprietor, may be assigned the unsupported local tradition, which associates it with the presence there of Mary and Bothwell; but the house was evidently in existence when the latter seized the former on the adjacent highway. According to Mr. James Thomson, the present occupant of Roseburn House, whose forefathers have resided in it for more than a century, tradition names one of the apartments “Queen Mary’s room,” being, it is said, the room in which she slept when she lived there.

The long legend, which is taken from the “Suf-

Daniel Wilson, “and a large quantity of human bones, evidently of a very ancient date, as they crumbled to pieces on being exposed to the air; but the tradition of the neighbouring hamlet is that they were the remains of some of Cromwell’s troopers. Our informant,” he adds, “the present intelligent occupant of Roseburn House, mentioned the curious fact that among the remains dug up were the bones of a human leg, with fragments of a wooden coffin, or case of the requisite dimensions, in which it had evidently been buried apart.”

North-west of Coltbridge House and Hall lies Murrayfield, over which the town is spreading fast in the form of stately villas. Early in the last century it was the property of Archibald Murray of Murrayfield, Advocate, whose son Alexander, a Senator of the College of Justice, was born, in 1736, at Edinburgh. Being early designed for the Bar, he became a member of the Faculty of Advocates in 1758, and three years after was appointed sheriff at Peebles.

In 1765 he succeeded his father as one of the Commissaries of Edinburgh, and a few years after saw him Solicitor-General for Scotland, in place of

Henry Dundas, appointed Lord Advocate. After being Member for Peebles, he was raised to the bench, assuming the title of Lord Henderland, from an estate he possessed in that county. He was what is called a double-gowned Senator. He also held the office of Clerk of the Pipe in the Scottish Exchequer Court, an office which, through the interest of Lord Melville, was subsequently held by his sons. He died of cholera morbus in 1796.

He saw much hard service during the American War of Independence, and was second in command at the battle of Guildford, when the colonists, under General Green, were defeated on the 15th of March, 1781. He commenced the action at the head of his division, the movements of which were successful on every point. "I have been particularly indebted to Major-General Leslie for his gallantry and exertion, as well as his assistance in



ROSEBURN HOUSE.

Westward of Murrayfield, on the southern slope of Corstorphine Hill, is Beechwood, embosomed among trees, the beautiful seat of the Dundases, Baronets of Dunira and Comrie, Perthshire. It is said that it caught the eye of the Duke of Cumberland, when marching past it in 1746, and he remarked that "it was the handsomest villa he had seen, and most like those in England."

In the last century it was the property and residence of Lieutenant-General the Hon. Alexander Leslie, Colonel of the 9th Regiment, brother of the 6th Earl of Leven and Melville, who began his military career as an ensign in the Scots Foot Guards in 1753, and attained the rank of Major-General in 1779. His mother was a daughter of Monypenny of Pitmilny, in Fifeshire.

every other part of the service," wrote Lord Cornwallis in one of his despatches.

Leslie was appointed to the command of the 9th Foot on the 4th July, 1788, and from that time held the rank of Lieutenant-General. In 1794, while second in command of the forces in Scotland, in consequence of a mutiny among the Breadalbane Highland Fencibles at Glasgow, he left Edinburgh with Sir James Stewart and Colonel Montgomerie (afterwards Earl of Eglinton) to take command of the troops collected to enforce order. By the judicious conduct of Lord Adam Gordon, the Commander-in-Chief, who knew enough of the recently raised regiment to be aware "that Highlanders may be led, not driven," an appeal to force was avoided, and the four ringleaders were brought

to the Castle of Edinburgh under a strong escort of their comrades.

General Leslie, and Lieutenant MacLean the adjutant, having accompanied this party a little way out of Glasgow, were, on their return, assailed by a mob which sympathised with the Highlanders and accused them of being active in sending away the prisoners. The tumult increased, stones were thrown; General Leslie was knocked down, and he and MacLean had to seek shelter

these documents were not formally executed, were confused in their terms, and good for nothing in a legal sense, Mrs. Rutherford of Edgerstoun very generously fulfilled to the utmost what she conceived to be the intentions of her father.

Sir Robert Dundas, Bart., of Beechwood, like the preceding, figures in the pages of Kay. He was one of the principal Clerks of Session, and Deputy Lord Privy Seal of Scotland. He was born in June, 1761, and was descended from the Dundases



BEECHWOOD.

in the house of the Lord Provost till peace officers came, and a company of Fencibles. One of the mutineers was shot, by sentence of a court-martial. The others were sent to America. On his way back to Edinburgh General Leslie was seized with a dangerous illness, and died at Beechwood House on the 27th of December, 1794.

No will could be found among the General's repositories at Beechwood, and it was presumed that he had died intestate. However, a few days after the funeral, two holograph papers were discovered, bequeathing legacies to the amount of £7,000 among some of his relations and friends, particularly £1,000 each to two natural daughters. Although

of Arniston, the common ancestor of whom was knighted by Charles I., and appointed to the bench by Charles II. Educated as a Writer to the Signet, he was made deputy-keeper of Sasines, and in 1820 a principal Clerk of Session. He was one of the original members of the old Royal Edinburgh Volunteers, of which corps he was a lieutenant in 1794. He purchased from Lord Melville the estate of Dunira in Perthshire, and succeeded to the baronetcy and the estate of Beechwood on the death of his uncle General Sir David Dundas, G.C.B., who was for some time Commander-in-Chief of the forces. Sir Robert died in 1835.

A winding rural carriage-way, umbrageous and

shady with wood, strikes from the Murrayfield Road northward past the ancient and modern houses of Ravelston. The latter is a large square-built mansion; the former is quaint, gable-ended and crow-stepped, and almost hidden among high old walls and venerable trees.

In the "Burgh Records," under date 1511, the Quarry at Ravelston appears to have been let to Robert Cuninghame, by "William Rynde, in the name and behalf of John Rynde, clerk, prebender of Ravelston," with the consent of the magistrates and council, patrons of the same.

On the old house are two lintels, the inscriptions on which are traceable. The first date is doubtless that of its erection; the second of some alteration or repair. The first over the entrance bears,

G F—NE QUID NIMIS. 1622. J B.

These are the initials of George Foulis of Ravelston and Janet Bannatyne his wife. The other is on a beautiful mantelpiece, now built up in the old garden as a grotto, and runs thus, but in one long line:—

IM. AR. 1624. YE . ALSO . AS . LIVELY . STONES .
ARE . BUILT . AS . A SPIRITUAL . HOUSE.—I PETER.

The tomb of George Foulis of Ravelston was in the Greyfriars Churchyard, and the inscription thereon is given in Latin and English in Monteith's "Theatre of Mortality, 1704."

He is styled that excellent man, George Foulis of Ravelstoun, of the noble family of Colintoun, Master of the king's mint, bailie of the city of Edinburgh, and sixteen years a Councillor. He died on the 28th of May, 1633, in his sixty-fourth year. The death and burial are also recorded of "his dearest spouse, Janet Bannatyne, with whom he lived twenty-nine years in the greatest concord."

The tomb records that he left six daughters. It was one of these daughters that Andrew Hill, a musician, was tried for abducting, on the 4th of September, 1654. One of the many specific charges against this person, is that with reference to the said Marian Foulis, daughter of Foulis of Ravelston: "he used sorceries and enchantments—namely, roots and herbs—with which he boasted that he could gain the affection of any woman he pleased," and which he used to this young lady.

The jury acquitted him of sorcery, strange to record in those times, "as a foolish boaster of his skill in herbs and roots for captivating women," but condemned him for the abduction; and while the judges delayed for fifteen days to pass sentence he was so eaten and torn by vermin in prison that he died!

In 1661 John Foulis of Ravelston was created a baronet of Nova Scotia.

In his notes to "Waverley," Sir Walter Scott refers to the quaint old Scottish garden of Ravelston House, with its terraces, its grass walks, and stone statues, as having, in some measure, suggested to him the garden of Tullyveolan.

The baronetcy of Ravelston was forfeited by the second who bore it, Sir Archibald, who was beheaded for adherence to Prince Charles, at Carlisle, in 1746, and the lineal representatives of the line are the Foulises, Baronets of Colinton, who represent alike the families of Colinton, Woodhall, and Ravelston.

The second baronet of the latter line, who was, says Burke, the son of the first baronet's eldest son, George Primrose Foulis, by whom the lands of Dunihaç, were inherited in right of his mother Margaret, daughter of Sir Archibald Primrose, and mother of the first Earl of Rosebery, bore the designation of Sir Archibald Primrose of Ravelston, whose family motto was *Thure et jure*.

In time the lands of Ravelston were acquired by the Keith family, and in 1822, Alexander Keith of Ravelston and Dunnottar, Knight-Marischal of Scotland, was created a baronet by George IV. during his visit to Edinburgh. Dying without issue in 1832, the title became extinct, and the office of Knight-Marischal passed to the Earl of Erroll as Lord High Constable of Scotland.

No. 43 Queen Street was the town residence of the Keith family at the time of the royal visit.

A writer in *Blackwood's Magazine*, on old-fashioned Scottish society, refers to Mrs. Keith of Ravelston, thus:—

"Exemplary matrons of unimpeachable morals were broad in speech and indelicate in thought, without ever dreaming of actual evil. So the respectable Mrs. Keith of Ravelston commissioned Scott, in her old age, to procure a copy of Mrs. Behn's novels for her edification. She was so shocked on her first attempt at a perusal of them, that she told him to take 'his bonny book away.' Yet, she observed, that when a young woman she had heard them read aloud in a company that saw no shadow of impropriety in them. And whatever were the faults of old Scottish society, with its sins of excess and its shortcomings in refinement, there is no disputing that its ladies were strictly virtuous, and that such slips as that of the heroine of 'Baloo, my Boy,' were so rare as to be deemed worthy of recording in rhymes. So the reformation of manners was as satisfactory as it was easy, since the foundations of the new superstructure were sound."

From Ravelston a rural road leads to Craigmuck Castle, which for thirty-four years was the

summer residence of Lord Jeffrey—deeply secluded amid coppice.

The lands of Craigcrook appear to have belonged in the fourteenth century to the noble family of Graham. By a deed bearing date 9th April, 1362, Patrick Graham, Lord of Kinpant, and David Graham, Lord of Dundaff, make them over to John de Alyncrum, burgess of Edinburgh. He in turn settled them on a chaplain officiating at "Our Lady's altar," in the church of St. Giles, and his successors to be nominated by the magistrates of Edinburgh.

John de Alyncrum states his donation of those lands of Craigcrook, was "to be for the salvation of the souls of the late king and queen (Robert and Elizabeth), of the present King David, and of all their predecessors and successors; for the salvation of the souls of all the burghers of Edinburgh, their predecessors and successors; of his own father and mother, brothers, sisters, etc.; then of himself and of his wife; and, finally, of all faithful souls deceased."

The rental of Craigcrook in the year 1368 was only £6 6s. 8d. Scots per annum; and in 1376 it was let at that rate in feu farm, to Patrick and John Lepars.

At an early period it became the property of the Adamsons. William Adamson was baillie of Edinburgh in 1513, and one of the guardians of the city after the battle of Flodden, and William Adamson of Craigcrook, burgess of Edinburgh (and probably son of the preceding), was killed at the battle of Pinkie, in 1547; and by him or his immediate successors, most probably the present castle was built—an edifice which Wood, in his learned "History of Cramond Parish," regards as one of the most ancient in the parish.

In consequence of the approaching Reformation, the proceeds of the lands were no longer required for pious purposes, and the latter were made over by Sir Simon Preston of Craigmillar, when Provost, to Sir Edward Marjoribanks, styled Prebend of Craigcrook.

They were next held for a year, by George Kirkaldy, brother of Sir James Kirkaldy of Grange in Fifeshire, Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, who engaged to pay for them £27 6s. 8d. Scots.

In June, 1542, they reverted again to Sir Edward Marjoribanks, who assigned them in perpetual feu-farm to William Adamson before-named. This wealthy burgess had acquired much property in the vicinity, including Craighleith, Cammo, Groat Hall, Clermiston, Southfield, and part of Cramond Regis. After Pinkie he was succeeded by his son William, and Craigcrook continued to pass through several generations of his heirs, till it came into

the hands of Robert Adamson, who, in 1656, sold to different persons the whole of his property.

Craigcrook was purchased by John Muir, merchant in Edinburgh, whose son sold it to Sir John Hall, Lord Provost of the city in 1689-92. He was created a baronet in 1687, and was ancestor of the Halls of Dunglass, on the acquisition of which, in East Lothian, he sold Craigcrook to Walter Pringle, advocate, from whose son it was purchased by John Strachan, clerk to the signet.

When the latter died in 1719, he left the whole of his property, with North Clermiston and the rest of his fortune, both in land and movables (save some small sums to his relations) "mortified for charitable purposes."

The regulations were that the rents should be given to poor old men and women and orphans; that the trustees should be "two advocates, two Writers to the Signet, and the Presbytery of Edinburgh, at the sight of the Lords of Session, and any two of these members," for whose trouble one hundred merks yearly is allowed.

There are also allowed to the advocates, poor fifty merks Scots, and to those of the writers to the signet one hundred merks; also twenty pounds annually for a Bible to one of the members of the Presbytery, beginning with the moderator and going through the rest in rotation.

This deed is dated the 24th September, 1712. The persons constituted trustees by it held a meeting and passed resolutions respecting several points which had not been regulated in the will. A clerk and factor, each with a yearly allowance of twenty pounds, were appointed to receive the money, pay it out, and keep the books.

They resolved that no old person should be admitted under the age of sixty-five, nor any orphan above the age of twelve; and that no annuity should exceed five pounds.

Among the names in a charter by William Forbes, Provost of the Collegiate Church of St. Giles, granting to that church a part of the ground lying contiguous to his manse for a burial-place, dated at Edinburgh, 14th January, 1477-8, there appears that of *Ricardus Roberti, prebendarius de Craicrok manse proprie* ("Burgh Charters.")

Over the outer gate of the courtyard a shield bore what was supposed to have been the arms of the Adamsons, and the date 1626; but Craigcrook has evidently been erected a century before that period. At that time its occupant was Walter Adamson, who succeeded his father William Adamson in 1621, and whose sister, Catharine, married Robert Melville of Raith, according to the Douglas Peerage.

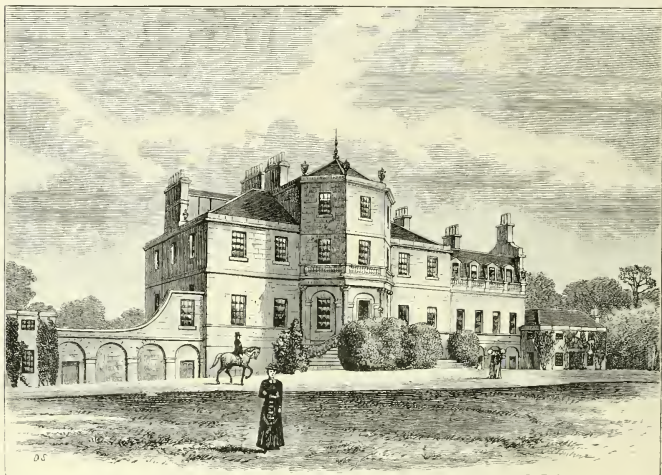
Local tradition makes Craigcrook the scene of a murder, but this is a mistake, though there was such a crime connected with it.

Mr. John Strachan before-mentioned—whose charitable bequest is still known as “the Craigcrook Mortification”—in 1707 had a house in the High Street of Edinburgh, which was kept for him by a servant named Helen Bell, and as she was left in town a good deal by herself, “as other young women in her situation will do, she

two bottles and the large house-key to carry, that her burden might be lightened.

No doubt she had been intending to take the old road that led by the Dean to Craigcrook, but on coming to a narrow and difficult part of the way, called the *Three Steps*, at the foot of the Castle Rock, they threw her down and cruelly slew her by blows of a hammer.

In a confession made subsequently by Thomson, they hurried back to town, with the intention of



RAVELSTON HOUSE.

admitted young men to see her in her master's house.”

On Hallowe'en night, in the year of the Union, two young craftsmen came to visit her—William Thomson and John Robertson—whom she chanced to inform that on Monday morning, the second morning thereafter, she had to go westward to Craigcrook, leaving the house in the High Street empty.

At five in the morning of the 3rd of November, the poor girl locked up the house and set forth on her short journey, little foreseeing it was the last she would take on earth. As she was traversing the dark and silent streets, Thomson and Robertson joined her, saying they were going a part of the way, and would escort her. On this she gave them

ransacking Mr. Strachan's house for money or valuables, and on passing through the Grassmarket they swore, mutually, to give their bodies and souls to the devil if either should inform on the other in the event of being captured.

“In the empty streets,” says the “Domestic Annalist of Scotland,” quoting Wood's “History of Cramond,” “in the dull grey of the morning, agitated by the horrid reflections arising from their barbarous act and its probable consequences, it is not very wonderful that almost any sort of hallucination should have taken possession of these miserable men. It was stated by them that on Robertson proposing that their engagement should be engrossed in a bond, a man started up between

them in the middle of the West Bow, and offered to write the bond which they had agreed to subscribe with their blood; but on Thomson demurring, this stranger immediately disappeared. No contemporary, of course, could be at any loss to surmise *who* this stranger was!"

Into Mr. Strachan's house the assassins made their way, broke open his study and cash-box, from which they carried off a thousand pounds sterling in bags of fifty pounds each, all "milled money," except one hundred pounds, which were in gold.

strange stories regarding the discovery of Thomson's guilt.

It is more to the purpose that twelve months after the murder of Helen Bell, Lady Craigcrook dreamed that she saw the criminal, in whom she recognised an old servant, kill the girl and hide the money in two old barrels filled with rubbish, and that her husband on making inquiries, found him possessed of an unusual amount of money, had him arrested, his house searched, and found his bags, which he identified, with a portion of the missing coin.



CRAIGCROOK IN 1770. (After an Etching by Clerk of Eldin).

Robertson actually proposed to set the house on fire before departing, but Thomson said "he had done wickedness enough already, and was resolved not to commit more, even though Robertson should attempt to murder him for his refusal."

Five hundred merks reward was offered by Mr. Strachan for the detection of the perpetrators of these crimes; but it was not until after some weeks elapsed that suspicion fell upon Thomson, who was arrested, made a voluntary confession, and was executed in the Grassmarket.

As no reference is made to the other culprit, he must have effected his escape. But the credulous Wodrow, in his "Analecta," records one of his

In 1736 Craigcrook Castle and grounds were let on a lease for ninety-nine years, on which early in the present century they became possessed by Archibald Constable, the eminent publisher, who made great improvements upon the mansion and grounds. Without injuring the appearance of antiquity in the former, he rendered it partly the commodious modern residence which Lord Jeffrey found it for so many summers of his life, and, like John Hunter, made the old fortalice sacred in a manner to literary and philosophic culture.

Here was born, in 1812, the late Thomas Constable, who began business in 1833, and by his taste and care did more than any other man

perhaps to raise the printing trade in Edinburgh to the high position it now holds. "For a time, too, beginning with the year 1851," says the *Scotsman*, "it seemed as if he were minded to restore the publishing honours of the house of Constable and Co. His foreign miscellany, his educational series, his 'Life of Chalmers' and the posthumous works of that eloquent divine, his edition of 'Calvin's Commentaries'; his 'Life of Perthes,' the high-minded German publisher, promised for a season to place his name beside the Murrays and Longmans, and to bring back to Edinburgh its old reputation as a centre for the diffusion of high-class literature."

Ere long, however, he would seem to have found the difficulties of competing fairly with the London book market; thus his publishing enterprise began to slacken, and was finally relinquished, but the well-known firm of Thomas and Archibald Constable, printers to Her Majesty for Scotland and to the Edinburgh University still continues at No. 11, Thistle Street.

There yet remained to him a little independent literary work, the most notable of which was the life of his father, which was published in 1873, and of which it was said that, while containing much interesting information about men of note at that time, if it erred in anything it was "in filial piety, by labouring somewhat too much to vindicate a memory which after all did not need to be cleared of any moral charge but only of business confusion."

Thomas Constable died in the end of May, 1881.

Jeffrey first occupied Craigcrook in the spring of 1815, when it was simply an old *keep*, in the midst of a large garden, which he proceeded at once to enlarge and make beautiful and scenic. He describes the place thus, in a letter to Charles Wilkes in that year, as "an old manor-house, eighteen feet wide and fifty long, with irregular projections of all sorts, three staircases, turrets, and a large round tower at one end, with a multitude of windows of all sorts and sizes," situated at the bottom of "a green slope about 400 feet high."

Among the many reunions at Craigcrook, in "Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk," published in 1819, we have a description of one, when the whole party of learned pundits—including Playfair, who died in the July of that year aged seventy-one—took off their coats and had a leaping match, a feature in the gathering which Lord Cockburn, in his "Life of Jeffrey," seems rather disposed to discredit.

In a letter written in April, 1829, to Mr. Pennington, from Craigcrook, Jeffrey says:—"It is an

infinite relish to get away (here) from courts and crowds, to sink into a half slumber on one's own sofa, without fear of tinkling bells and importunate attorneys; to read novels and poems by a crackling wood fire, and go leisurely to sleep without feverish anticipations of to-morrow; to lounge over a long breakfast, looking out on glittering evergreens and chuckling thrushes, and dawdle about the whole day in the luxury of conscious idleness."

Lord Cockburn, in this life of his friend, writes thus:—"During the thirty-four seasons that he passed there (at Craigcrook), what a scene of happiness was that spot! To his own household it was all their hearts desired. Mr. Jeffrey knew the genealogy and personal history of every shrub and flower it contained. It was the favourite resort of his friends, who knew no such enjoyment as Jeffrey at that place. And, with the exception of Abbotsford, there were more interesting strangers there than at any other house in Scotland. Saturday during the summer session of the courts was always a day of festivity, but by no means exclusively for his friends at the Bar, many of whom were under general invitations. Unlike some barbarous tribunals, which feel no difference between the last and any other day of the week, but moil on with the same stupidity, our legal practitioners, like most of the other sons of bondage in Scotland, are liberated earlier on Saturday, and thus the Craigcrook party began to assemble about three, each taking to his own enjoyment. The bowling green was sure to have its matches, in which the host joined with skill and keenness; the garden had its loiterers; the flowers, not forgetting the glorious wall of roses, their admirers; and the hill its prospect seekers. The banquet which followed was generous; the wines never spared, but rather various; mirth unrestrained, except by propriety; the talk always good, but never ambitious, and mere listeners in no disrepute. What can efface those days, or indeed any day, at Craigcrook from the recollection of those who had the happiness of enjoying them!"

Before quitting this quarter, it is impossible to omit a reference to the interesting little fortalice called Lauriston Castle, which in the present century gave a title to the Marquis of Lauriston, Governor of Venice, Marshal and Grand Veneur of France, and which stands about a mile northward from Craigcrook, with a hamlet or village between, properly called Davidson's Mains, but locally known by the grotesque name of "Muttonhole," a name which, however, goes back to the middle of the last century.

In the *Courant* of 5th October, 1761, an adver-

tisement announces, "that there was this day lodged in the High Council House, an old silver snuff-box, which was found upon the highway leading from Muttonhole to Cramond Bridge in the month of July last. Whoever can prove the property will get the box, upon paying the expense incurred; and that if this is not done betwixt this and the 10th of November next, the same will be sold for payment thereof."

In the time of King David II. a charter was given to John Tennand of the lands of Lauriston, with forty creels of peats in Cramond, in the county of Edinburgh, paying thirty-three shillings and fourpence to the Crown, and the same sum sterling to the Bishop of Dunkeld. (Robertson's Index.)

The present Castle of Lauriston—which consisted, before it was embellished by the late Lord Rutherford, of a simple square three-storeyed tower, with two corbelled turrets, a remarkably large chimney, and some gabled windows—was built by Sir Archibald Napier of Merchiston and Edenbellie, father of the philosopher, who, some years before his death, obtained a charter of the lands and meadow, called the King's Meadow, 1587-8 and of half the lands of "Lauranstoun," 16th November, 1593.

On two of the windows there yet remain his initials, S. A. N., and those of his wife, D. E. M., Dame Elizabeth Mowbray, daughter of Mowbray of Barnbougle, now called Dalmeny Park.

The tower gave the title of Lord Lauriston to their son, Sir Alexander Napier, who became a Lord of Session in 1626.

Towards the close of the same century the tower and estate became the property of Law, a wealthy goldsmith of Edinburgh, descended from the Laws of Lithrie, in Fifeshire; and in the tower, it is said, his son John, the great financier, was born in April, 1671. There, too, the sister of the latter, Agnes, was married in 1685 to John Hamilton, Writer to the Signet in Edinburgh, where she died in 1750.

On his father's death Law succeeded to Lauriston, but as he had been bred to no profession, and exhibited chiefly a great aptitude for calculation, he took to gambling. This led him into extravagances. He became deeply involved, but his mother paid his debts and obtained possession of the estate, which she immediately entailed. Tall, handsome, and addicted to gallantry, he became familiarly known as Beau Law in London, where he slew a young man named Wilson in a duel, and was found guilty of murder, but was pardoned by the Crown. An appeal being made against this pardon, he escaped from the King's Bench, reached France, and through Holland returned to Scotland

in 1700, and in the following year published at Glasgow his "Proposals and Reasons for Constituting a Council of Trade in Scotland."

He now went to France, where he obtained an introduction to the Duke of Orleans, and offered his banking scheme to the Minister of Finance, who deemed it so dangerous that he served him with a police notice to quit Paris in twenty-four hours. Visiting Italy, he was in the same summary manner banished from Venice and Genoa as a daring adventurer. His success at play was always great; thus, when he returned to Paris during the Regency of Orleans, he was in the possession of £100,000 sterling.

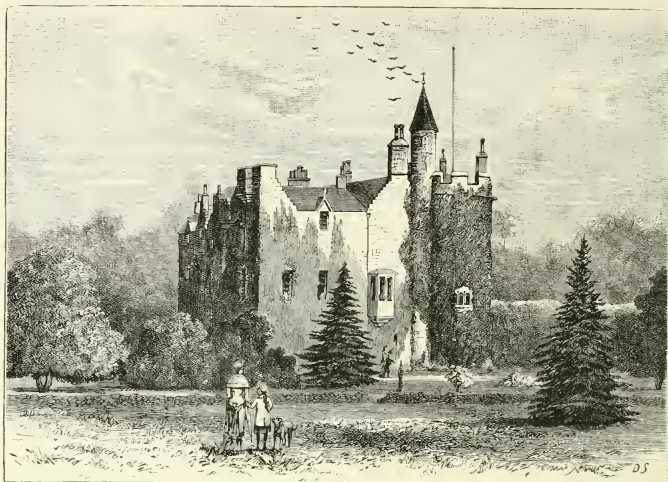
On securing the patronage of the Regent, he received letters patent which, on the 2nd March, 1716, established his bank, with a capital of 1,200 shares of 500 livres each, which soon bore a premium. To this bank was annexed the famous Mississippi scheme, which was invested with the full sovereignty of Louisiana for planting colonies and extending commerce—the grandest and most comprehensive scheme ever conceived—and rumour went that gold mines had been discovered of fabulous and mysterious value.

The sanguine anticipations seemed to be realised, and for a time prosperity and wealth began to prevail in France, where John Law was regarded as its good genius and deliverer from poverty.

The house of Law in the Rue Quinquempoix, in Paris, was beset day and night by applicants, who blocked up the streets—peers, prelates, citizens, and artisans, even ladies of rank, all flocked to that temple of Plutus, till he was compelled to transfer his residence to the Place Vendôme. Here again the prince of stockjobbers found himself overwhelmed by fresh multitudes clamouring for allotments, and having to shift his quarters once more, he purchased from the Prince de Carignan, at an enormous price, the Hôtel de Soissons, in the spacious gardens of which he held his levees.

It is related of him, that when in the zenith of his fame and wealth he was visited by John the "great Duke of Argyle," the latter found him busy writing. The duke never doubted but that the financier was engaged on some matter of the highest importance, as crowds of the first people of France were waiting impatiently an audience in the suites of ante-rooms, and the duke had to wait too, until Mr. Law had finished his letter, which was merely one to his gardener at Lauriston regarding the planting of cabbages at a particular spot!

In 1720 he was made Comptroller-General of the Finances, but the crash came at last. The amount of notes issued by Law's bank more



CRAIGCROOK IN THE PRESENT DAY.

than doubled all the specie circulating in France, when it was hoarded up, or sent out of the country. Thus severe edicts were published, threatening with dire punishment all who were in possession of £20 of specie—edicts that increased the embarrassments of the nation. Cash payments were stopped at the bank, and its notes were declared to be of no value after the 1st November, 1720. Law's influence was lost, his life in danger from hordes of beggared and

infuriated people. He fled from the scenes of his splendour and disgrace, and after wandering through various countries, died in poverty at Venice on the 21st of March, 1729. Protected by the Duchess of Bourbon, William, a brother of the luckless controller, born in Lauriston Castle, became in time a Maréchal de Camp in France, where his descendants have acquitted themselves with honour in many departments of the State.

CHAPTER XI.

CORSTORPHINE.

Corstorphine—Supposed Origin of the Name—The Hill—James VI. hunting there—The Cross—The Spa—The Dicks of Braid and Corstorphine—"Corstorphine Cream"—Convalescent House—A Wraith—The Original Chapel—The Collegiate Church—Its Provosts—Its Old Tombs—The Castle and Loch of Corstorphine—The Forrester Family.

CORSTORPHINE, with its hill, village, and ancient church, is one of the most interesting districts of Edinburgh, to which it is now nearly joined by lines of villas and gas lamps. Anciently it was called Crosstorphy, and the name has proved a puzzle to antiquarians, who have had some strange theories on the subject of its origin.

By some it is thought to have obtained its name from the circumstance of a golden cross—*Croix d'or fin*—having been presented to the church by a French noble, and hence Corstorphine; and an obscure tradition of some such cross did once exist. According to others, the name signified "the milk-house under the hill," a wild idea in-

deed. Some have derived it from *Coire*, a hollow, *stoir*, wet steps, and either *fionn*, white, or *fein*, "the Fingalians." ("Old Stat. Account.") The name might thus signify, "the hollow with the white steps;" or, the "Glen of Fingalian steps." And by some it has been asserted that the original name was *Curia Storphinorum*, from a cohort of Roman soldiers called the Storphini having been stationed here. But George Chalmers, with much more probability than any, deduces the name from the "Cross of Torphin."

"Torphin's Cross, from whence its name is derived," says Wilson in his "Reminiscences," "doubtless stood there in some old century to mark the last resting-place of a rough son of Thor."

Tradition has it that the builder of the cross was Torphin, an Archdeacon of Lothian. Torphin Hill is the name of one of the lower heads of the Pentlands near Juniper Green.

Corstorphine Hill, an appellation which it could only have won from being somewhat insulated amid the flat and fertile plain, is 474 feet in height above the level of the sea. Its sloping sides are covered with rich arable land, and wooded to the summit with thick and beautiful coppice. After a gentle ascent of about half a mile, an elevated spot is reached, called "Rest and be Thankful," from whence a series of magnificent views can be had of the city and the surrounding scenery, extending from the undulating slopes of the Pentlands on the south, to the Forth with all its isles, Fife with all its hills, woods, and sea-coast towns, and eastward away to the cone of North Berwick and the cliffs of the Bass. But always most beautiful here are the fine effects of evening and sunset—

"When the curtain of twilight o'er shadows the shore,
And deepens the tints on the blue Lammermoor,
The hues on Corstorphine have paled in their fire,
But sunset still lingers in gold on its spire,
When the Rosebery forests are hooded in grey,
And night, like his heir, treads impatient on day."

Amid the great concern and grief caused by the murder of "the bonnie Earl of Moray," by the Huntly faction, in 1591, we read that the King,

James VI., at the crisis, would not restrain his propensity for field sports, and was hunting on the north side of Corstorphine Hill on a day in February, when Lord Spynie, hearing that Captain John Gordon (brother of the Laird of Gicht) who had been severely wounded in the brawl at Donibristle, had been brought to Leith, together with Moray's dead body, having a warrant to place him in Edinburgh Castle, was anticipated by the Lord Ochiltree.

The latter, at the head of forty men-at-arms, went in search of James VI., whom he found at "Corstorphine Craigs, where his majesty was taking a drink." Ochiltree dismounted at the base of the hill, approached the king respectfully

on foot, and impressed upon him how much the slaughter of the earl affected his honour. At the lord's earnest desire he then granted him "a warrant to present Captain Gordon and his man to the trial of an assize that same day; whilk, with all diligence the said lord did per-

form, and the captain was beheadit and his man hanged. The captain condemned the fact, protesting that he was brought ignorantly upon it." (Calderwood, &c.)

In 1632 and 1650 respectively the Parliament House and Heriot's Hospital were built from a quarry at Corstorphine.

Past the latter, on the 27th of August, 1650, the Scottish army, under Leslie, marched to baffle Cromwell a second time in his attempt to turn the Scottish position and enter Edinburgh. An encounter took place near Gogar, on ground still called the Flashes, from the explosion of firearms in the twilight probably, "and after a distant cannonade, the English, finding that they could not dislodge the Scots, drew off" towards Braid.

Corstorphine must at one time have had a kind of market cross, as in 1764 it is announced in the *Edinburgh Advertiser* of 14th February, that there are for sale, three tenements "near the Cross of Corstorphine; one, a house of three storeys, with fourteen fire-rooms, and stables;" the other two are stated to have "fixed bedsteads on the floor,"



LAURISTON CASTLE IN 1775. (After Castle of Lothian.)

meaning, no doubt, the panelled box-beds so common of old in Scotland.

There was a mineral well at Corstorphine, which was in such repute during the middle of the last century, that in 1749 a coach was established to run between the village and the city, making eight or nine trips each week-day and four on Sunday.

"After this time the pretty village of Corstorphine," says a writer, "situated at the base of the hill, on one of the Glasgow roads, in the middle of the meadow land extending from Coltbridge to Redheughs, was a place of great gaiety during summer, and balls and other amusements were then common."

The *Spa*, as it was called, was sulphureous, and similar in taste to St. Bernard's Well at Stockbridge, and was enclosed at the expense of one of the ladies of the Dick family of Prestonfield, who had greatly benefited by the water. It stood in the south-west portion of the old village, called Janefield, within an enclosure, and opposite a few thatched cottages. Some drainage operations in the neighbourhood caused a complete disappearance of the mineral water, and the last vestiges of the well were removed in 1831. "Near the village," says the "New Statistical Account," "in a close belonging to Sir William Dick, there long stood a sycamore of great size and beauty, the largest in Scotland."

The Dick family, baronets of Braid (and of Prestonfield) had considerable property in Corstorphine and the neighbourhood, with part of Cramond Muir. "Sir James, afterwards Sir Alexander Dick, for his part of the barony of Corstorphine," appears rated in the Valuation Roll of 1726 at £1,763 14s.

The witty and accomplished Lady Anne Dick of Corstorphine (the grand-daughter of the first Earl of Cromarty), who died in 1741, has already been referred to in our first volume.

Regarding her family, the following interesting notice appears in the *Scots Magazine* for 1768. "Edinburgh, March 14th. John Dick, Esq., His Britannic Majesty's Consul at Leghorn, was served heir to Sir William Dick of Braid, Baronet. It appeared that all the male descendants of Sir William Dick had failed except his youngest son Captain Lewis, who settled in Northumberland, and who was the grandfather of John Dick, Esq., his only male descendant now in life. Upon which a respectable jury unanimously found his propinquity proved, and declared him to be now Sir John Dick, Baronet. It is remarkable that Sir William Dick of Braid lost his great and opulent estates in the service of the public cause and the liberties of his country, in consideration of which, when it

was supposed there was no heir male of the family, a new patent was granted to the second son of the heir male, which is now in the person of Sir Alexander Dick of Prestonfield, Baronet. The Lord Provost and magistrates of this city, in consideration of Sir John Dick's services to his king and country, and that he is the representative of that illustrious citizen, who was himself Lord Provost in 1638 and 1639, did Sir John the honour of presenting him with the freedom of the city of Edinburgh. After the service an elegant dinner was given at Fortune's, to a numerous company, consisting of gentlemen of the jury, and many persons of distinction, who all testified their sincere joy at the revival of an ancient and respectable family in the person of Sir John Dick, Baronet."

Corstorphine has lost the reputation it long enjoyed for a once-celebrated delicacy, known as its Cream, which was brought to the city on the backs of horses. The mystery of its preparation is thus preserved in the old "Statistical Account":—"They put the milk, when fresh drawn, into a barrel or wooden vessel, which is submitted to a certain degree of heat, generally by immersion in warm water, this accelerates the stage of fermentation. The serous is separated from the other parts of the milk, the oleaginous and coagulable; the serum is drawn off by a hole in the lower part of the vessel; what remains is put into the plunge-churn, and, after being agitated for some time, is sent to market as Corstorphine Cream."

High up on the southern slope of the hill stands that humane appendage to the Royal Infirmary, the convalescent house for patients who are cured, but, as yet, too weak to work.

This excellent institution is a handsome two-storeyed building in a kind of Tuscan style of architecture, with a central block and four square wings or towers each three storeys in height, with pavilion roofs. The upper windows are all arched. It has a complete staff, including a special surgeon, chaplain, and matron.

The somewhat credulous author of the "Night Side of Nature," records among other marvels, the appearance of a mounted wraith upon Corstorphine Hill.

Not very long ago, Mr. C——, a staid citizen of Edinburgh, was riding gently up the hill, "when he observed an intimate friend of his own on horseback also, immediately behind him, so he slackened his pace to give him an opportunity of joining company. Finding he did not come up so quickly as he should, he looked round again, and was astonished at no longer seeing him, since there

was no side road into which he could have disappeared. He returned home perplexed by the oddness of the circumstance, when the first thing he learned was, that during his absence this friend had been killed by his horse falling in the Candle-makers Row."

The church of Corstorphine is one of the most interesting old edifices in the Lothians. It has been generally supposed, says a writer, that Scotland, while possessed of great and grand remains of Gothic architecture, is deficient in those antique rural village churches, whose square towers and ivied buttresses so harmonise with the soft landscape scenery of England, and that their place is too often occupied by the hideous barn-like structure of times subsequent to the Reformation. But among the retiring minor beauties of Gothic architecture in Scotland, one of the principal is the picturesque little church of Corstorphine.

It is a plain edifice of mixed date, says Billings in his "Antiquities," the period of the Decorated Gothic predominating. It is in the form of a cross, with an additional transept on one of the sides; but some irregularities in the height and character of the different parts make them seem as if they were irregularly clustered together without design. A portion of the roof is still covered with old grey flagstone. A small square belfry-tower at the west end is surmounted by a short octagonal spire, the ornate string mouldings on which suggest an idea of the papal tiara.

As the church of the parish, it is kept in tolerably decent order, and it is truly amazing how it escaped the destructive fury of the Reformers.

This edifice was not the original parish church, which stood near it, but a separate establishment, founded and richly endowed by the pious enthusiasm of the ancient family whose tombs it contains, and whose once great castle adjoined it. Notices have been found of a chapel attached to the manor of Corstorphine, but subordinate to the church of St. Cuthbert, so far back as 1128, and this chapel became the old parish church referred to. Thus, in the Holyrood charter of King David I., 1143-7, he grants to the monks there the two chapels which pertain to the church of St. Cuthbert, "to wit, Crostorfin, with two oxgates and six acres of land, and the chapel of Libertun with two oxgates of land."

In the immediate vicinity of that very ancient chapel there was founded another chapel towards the end of the fourteenth century, by Sir Adam Forrester of Corstorphine; and that edifice is supposed to form a portion of the present existing church, because after its erection no mention what-

ever has been found of the second chapel as a separate edifice.

The building with which we have now to do was founded in 1429, as an inscription on the wall of the chancel, and other authorities, testify, by Sir John Forrester of Corstorphine, Lord High Chamberlain of Scotland in 1425, and dedicated to St. John the Baptist, for a provost, five prebendaries, and two singing boys. It was a collegiate church, to which belonged those of Corstorphine, Dalma-hoy, Hatton, Cramond, Colinton, &c. The tiends of Ratho, and half of those of Adderton and Upper Gogar, were appropriated to the revenues of this college.

"Sir John consigned the annual rents of one hundred and twenty ducats in gold to the church," says the author of the "New Statistical Account," "on condition that he and his successors should have the patronage of the appointments, and on the understanding that if the kirk of Ratho were united to the provost, other four or five prebendaries should be added to the establishment, and maintained out of the fruits of the benefice of Ratho. Pope Eugenius IV. sanctioned this foundation by a bull, in which he directed the Abbot of Holyrood-house, as his Apostolic Vicar, to ascertain whether the foundation and consignment had been made in terms of the original grant, and on being satisfied on these points, to unite and incorporate the church of Ratho with its rights, emoluments, and pertinents to the college for ever."

The first provost of this establishment was Nicholas Bannatyne, who died there in 1470, and was buried in the church, where his epitaph still remains.

When Dunbar wrote his beautiful "Lament for the Makaris," he embalmed among the last Scottish poets of his time, as taken by Death, "the gentle Roull of Corstorphine," one of the first provosts of the church—

"He has tane Roull of Aberdeen,
And gentle Roull of Corstorphine;
Twa better fellows did nae man see:
Timor mortis conturbat me."

There was, says the "The Book of Bon Accord," a Thomas Roull, who was Provost of Aberdeen in 1416, and it is conjectured that the bard was of the same family; but whatever the works of the latter were, nothing is known of him now, save his name, as recorded by Dunbar.

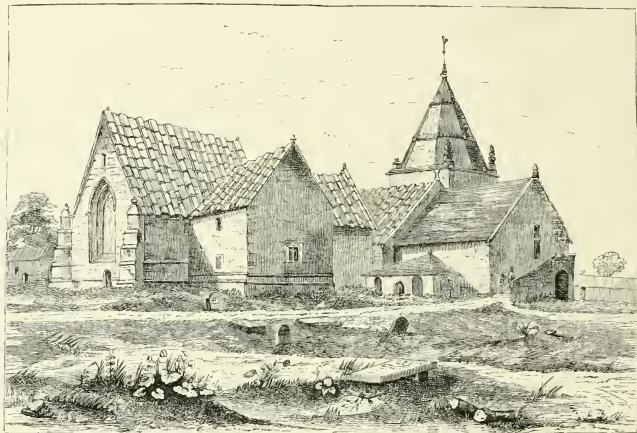
In the year 1475, Hugh Bar, a burghess of Edinburgh, founded an additional chaplaincy in this then much-favoured church. "The chaplain, in addition to the performance of daily masses for the souls of the king and queen, the lords of the

manor, and the founder's own mother and wife, and of all the faithful dead, was specially directed, at the commencement of each season of Lent, to exhort the people to say one Pater Noster and the salutation of the angel to the blessed Virgin Mary for the souls of the same persons." ("New Stat. Account.")

The provostry of Corstorphine was considered a rather lucrative office, and has been held by several important personages. In the beginning of the sixteenth century it was held by Robert Cairn-

present state of affairs." Cairncross was Treasurer of Scotland in 1529 and 1537.

In 1546, John Sandilands, son and heir of Sir James Sandilands, knight of Calder (afterwards Preceptor of Torphichen and Lord St. John of Jerusalem), found surety, under the pain of ten thousand pounds, that he would remain "in warde, in the place of Corstorphine, colege, toun, and yards yairof, until he passed to France." His grandmother was Mariotte, a daughter of Archibald Forrester of Corstorphine.



CORSTORPHINE CHURCH, 1817. (After an Etching by James Skene of Rubislaw.)

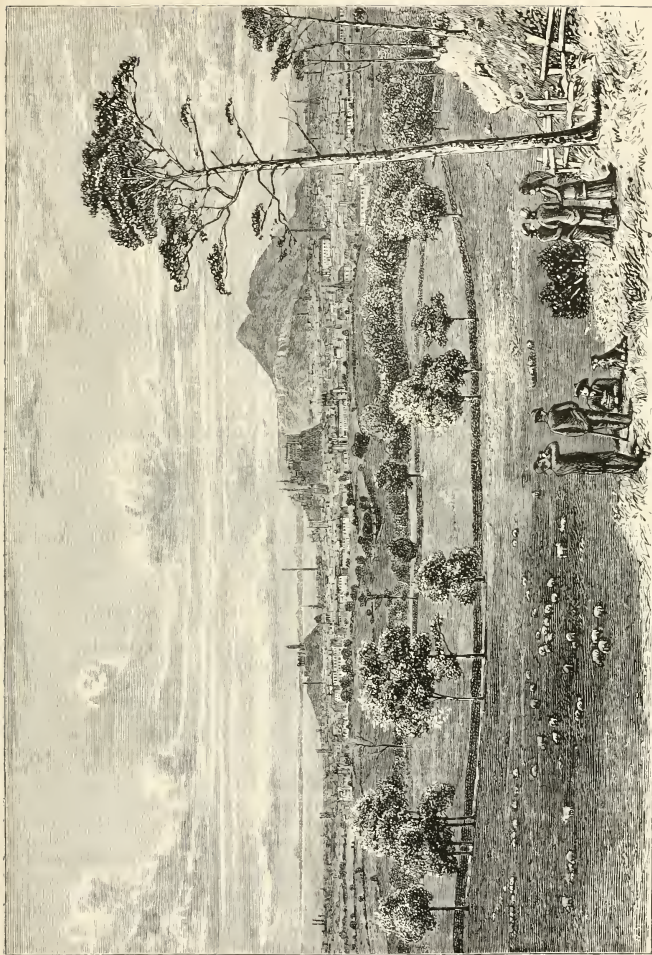
cross, whose name does not shine in the pages of Buchanan, by the manner in which he obtained the Abbacy of Holyrood without subjecting himself to the law against simony.

"Robert Cairncross," he states, "one meanly descended, but a wealthy man, bought that preferment of the king who then wanted money, eluding the law by a new sort of fraud. The law was—that ecclesiastical preferments should not be sold; but he laid a great wager with the king that he would not bestow upon him the next preferment of that kind which fell vacant, and by that means lost his wager but got the abbacy." This was in September, 1528, and he was aware that the Abbot William Douglas was, as Buchanau states, "dying of sickness, trouble of mind, and grief for the

In March, 1552, the Provost of Edinburgh, his bailies, and council, ordered their treasurer, Alexander Park, to pay the prebendaries of Corstorphine the sum of ten pounds, as the half of twenty owing them yearly "furth of the commonn gude."

In 1554, James Scott, Provost of the Church of Corstorphine, was appointed a Lord of Session, and in that year he witnessed the marriage contract of Hugh Earl of Eglinton and Lady Jane Hamilton daughter of James Duke of Chatellherault.

Conspicuous in the old church are the tombs of the Forrester family. The portion which modern utility has debased to a porch contains two altar tombs, one of them being the monument of Sir John Forrester, the founder, and his second lady, probably, to judge by her coat-of-arms, Jean Sinclair



EDINBURGH, FROM "REST AND BE THANKFUL" CORSTORPHINE HILL.

of the House of Orkney. He is represented in armour of the fifteenth century (but the head has been struck off); she, in a dress of the same period, with a breviary clasped in her hands. The other monument is said to represent the son of the founder and his wife, whose hands are represented meekly crossed upon her bosom. Apart lies the tomb of a supposed crusader, in the south transept, with a dog at his feet. Traditionally this is said to be the resting-place of Bernard Stuart, Lord Aubigny, who came from France as Ambassador to the Court of James IV., and died in the adjacent Castle of Corstorphine in 1508. But the altar tomb is of a much older date, and the shield has the three heraldic horns of the Forresters duly stringed. One shield impaled with Forrester, bears the fesse cheque of Stuart, perhaps for Marian Stewart, Lady Dalswinton.

It has been said there are few things more impressive than such prostrate effigies as these—so few in Scotland now—on the tombs of those who were restless, warlike, and daring in their times; and the piety of their attitudes contrasts sadly with the mockery of the sculptured sword, shield, and mail, and with the tenor of their characters in life.

The cutting of the figures is sharp, and the draperies are well preserved and curious. There are to be traced the remains of a piscina and of a niche, canopied and divided into three compartments. The temporalities of the church were dispersed at the Reformation, a portion fell into the hands of lay impropiators, and other parts to educational and other ecclesiastical institutions.

In 1644 the old parish church was demolished, and the collegiate establishment, in which the minister had for some time previously been accustomed to officiate, became from thenceforward the only church of the parish.

In ancient times the greater part of this now fertile district was a swamp, the road through which was both difficult and dangerous; thus a lamp was placed at the east end of the church, for the double purpose of illuminating the shrine of the Baptist, and guiding the belated traveller through the perilous morass. The expenses of this lamp were defrayed by the produce of an acre of land situate near Coltbridge, called the Lamp Acre to this day, though it became afterwards an endowment of the schoolmaster. At what time the kindly lamp of St. John ceased to guide the wayfarer by its glimmer is unknown; doubtless it would be at the time of the Reformation; but a writer in 1795 relates "that it is not long since the pulley for supporting it was taken down."

Of the Forrester family, Wilson says in his

"Reminiscences," published in 1878, "certainly their earthly tenure, outside of their old collegiate foundation, has long been at an end. Of their castle under Corstorphine Hill, and their town mansion in the High Street of Edinburgh, not one stone remains upon another. The very wynd that so long preserved their name, where once they flourished among the civic magnates, has vanished.

"Of what remained of their castle we measured the fragments of the foundations in 1848, and found them to consist of a curtain wall, facing the west, one hundred feet in length, flanked by two round towers, each twenty-one feet in diameter externally. The ruins were then about seven feet high, except a fragment on the south, about twelve feet in height, with the remains of an arrow hole."

Southward and eastward of this castle there lay for ages a great sheet of water known as Corstorphine Loch, and so deep was the Leith in those days, that provisions, etc., for the household were brought by boat from the neighbourhood of Coltbridge.

Lightfoot mentions that the Loch of Corstorphine was celebrated for the production of the water-hemlock, a plant much more deadly than the common hemlock.

The earliest proprietors of Corstorphine traceable are Thomas de Marshal and William de la Roche, whose names are in the Ragman Roll under date 1296. In the Rolls of David II. there was a charter to Hew Danyelstoun, "of the forfaultrie of David Marshal, Knight, except Danyelstoun, which Thomas Camo got by gift, and the lands of Cortorphing whilk Malcolm Ramsay got." (Robertson's "Index.")

They were afterwards possessed by the Mores of Abercorn, from whom, in the time of Sir William More, under King Robert II., they were obtained by charter by Sir Adam Forrester, whose name was of great antiquity, being deduced from the office of Keeper of the King's Forests, his armorial bearings being three hunting horns. In that charter he is simply styled "Adam Forrester, Burgess of Edinburgh." This was in 1377, and from thenceforward Corstorphine became the chief title of his family, though he was also Laird of Nether Liberton.

Previous to this his name appears in the Burgh Records as chief magistrate of Edinburgh, 24th April, 1373; and in 1379 Robert II. granted him "twenty merks of sterlings from the custom of the said burgh, granted to him in heritage by our other letters . . . until we, or our heirs, infeft the said Adam, or his heirs, in twenty merks

of land, in any proper place;" and in 1383 there followed another charter from the same king concerning "the twenty merks yearly from the farmes of Edinburgh." (Burgh Charters.) In the preceding year this influential citizen had been made Sheriff of Edinburgh and of Lothian.

In 1390 he was made Lord Privy Seal, and negotiated several treaties with England; but in 1402 he followed Douglas in his famous English raid, which ended in the battle of Homildon Hill, where he fell into the hands of Hotspur, but was ransomed. He died in the Castle of Corstorphine on the 13th of October, leaving, by his wife, Agnes Dundas of Fingask, two sons, Sir John, his heir, and Thomas, who got the adjacent lands of Drylaw by a charter, under Robert Duke of Albany, dated "at Corstorfyne," 1406, and witnessed among others by Gilbert, Bishop of Aberdeen, then Lord Chancellor, George of Preston, and others.

Sir John Forrester obtained a grant of the barony of Ochtertyre, in favour of him and his first wife in 1407, and from Henry Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, he obtained an annuity of twelve merks yearly, out of the coal-works at Dysart, till repaid thirty nobles, "which he lent the said earl in his great necessity."

In 1424 he was one of the hostages for the ransom of James I., with whom he stood so high in favour that he was made Master of the Household and Lord High Chamberlain, according to Douglas, and Lord Chancellor, according to Beatson's Lists. His second wife was Jean Sinclair, daughter of Henry Earl of Orkney. He founded the collegiate church of which we have given a description, and in 1425 an altar to St. Ninian in the church of St. Giles's, requiring the chaplain there to say perpetual prayers for the souls of James I. and Queen Jane, and of himself and Margaret his deceased wife.

He died in 1440, and was succeeded by his son Sir John, who lived in stormy times, and whose lands of Corstorphine were subjected to fire and sword, and ravaged in 1445 by the forces of the Lord Chancellor, Sir William Crichton, whose lands of Crichton he had previously spoiled.

By his wife, Marian Stewart of Dalswinton, he had Archibald his heir, and Matthew, to whom James III., in 1487, gave a grant of the lands of Banton. Then followed in succession, Sir Alexander Forrester, and two Sir Jameses. On the death of the last without heirs Corstorphine devolved on his younger brother Henry, who married Helen Preston of Craigmillar.

Their son George was a man of talent and probability. He stood high in favour with Charles I.,

who made him a baronet in 1625, and eight years afterwards a peer, by the title of Lord Forrester of Corstorphine. By his wife Christian he had several daughters—Helen, who became Lady Ross of Hawkhead; Jean, married to James Baillie of Torwoodhead, son of Lieutenant-General William Baillie, famous in the annals of the covenanting wars; and Lillias, married to William, another son of the same officer. And now we approach the dark tragedy which, for a time, even in those days, gave Corstorphine Castle a terrible notoriety.

George, first Lord Forrester, having no male heir, made a resignation of his estates and honours into the hands of the king, and obtained a new patent from Charles II., to himself in life-rent, and after his decease, "to, or in favour of, his daughter Jean and her husband the said James Baillie and the heirs procreate betwixt them; whom failing, to the nearest lawful heir-male of the said James whatever, they carrying the name and arms of Forrester; the said James being designed Master of Forrester during George's life."

This patent is dated 13th August, 1650, a few weeks before the battle of Worcester. He died soon after, and was succeeded by his son-in-law, whose wife is said to have sunk into an early grave, in consequence of his having an intrigue with one of her sisters.

James Lord Forrester married, secondly, a daughter of the famous old Cavalier general, Patrick Ruthven, Earl of Forth and Brentford, by whom, says Burke, "he had three sons and two daughters, all of whom assumed the name of Ruthven," while Sir Robert Douglas states that he died without any heir, and omits to record the mode of his death.

He was a zealous Presbyterian, and for those of that persuasion, in prelate times, built a special meeting-house in Corstorphine; this did not prevent him from forming a dangerous intrigue with a handsome woman named Christian Nimmo, wife of a merchant in Edinburgh, and the scandal was increased in consequence of the lady being the niece of his first wife and grand-daughter of the first Lord Forrester. She was a woman of a violent and impulsive character, and was said to carry a weapon concealed about her person. It is further stated that she was mutually related to Mrs. Bedford, a remarkably wicked woman, who had murdered her husband a few years before, and to that Lady Warriston who was beheaded for the same crime in 1600; thus she was not a woman to be treated lightly.

Lord Forrester, when intoxicated, had on one occasion spoken of her opprobriously, and this

fact came to her knowledge. Inspired with fury she repaired at once to the castle of Corstorphine, and finding that he was drinking at a tavern in the village, sent for him, and they met in the garden at a tree near the old dovecot, which marked the spot. A violent altercation ensued between them, and in the midst of it, she snatched his sword from his side, ran him through the body and killed him on the instant. (Fountainhall.)

"The inhabitants of the village," says C. Kirk-

sought to extenuate it on the plea that Lord Forrester was intoxicated and furious, that he ran at her with his sword, on which she took it from him to protect herself, and he fell upon it; but this was known to be false, says Fountainhall. She practised a deception upon the court by which her sentence of death was postponed for two months, during which, notwithstanding the care of her enjoined on John Wan, Gudeman of the Tolbooth, she escaped in male apparel but was captured by the Ruthvens



CORSTORPHINE CHURCH.

patrick Sharpe, in his Notes to Kirkton's "History," "still relate some circumstances of the murder not recorded by Fountainhall. Mrs. Nimmo, attended by her maid, had gone from Edinburgh to the castle of Corstorphine," and adds that after the murder "she took refuge in a garret of the castle, but was discovered by one of her slippers, which dropped through a crevice of the floor. It need scarcely be added, that till lately the inhabitants of the village were greatly annoyed of a moonlight night by the appearance of a woman clothed in white, with a bloody sword in her hand, wandering and wailing near the pigeon-house."

Being seized and brought before the Sheriffs of Edinburgh, she made a confession of her crime, but

next day at Fala Mill. On the 12th of November, 1679, she was beheaded at the market cross, when she appeared on the scaffold in deep mourning, laying aside a large veil, and baring her neck and shoulders to the executioner with the utmost courage.

Though externally a Presbyterian it was said at the time "that a dispensation from the Pope to marry the woman who murdered him was found in his (Lord Forrester's) closet, and that his delay in using it occasioned her fury." ("Popery and Schism," p. 39.)

Connected with this murder, a circumstance very characteristic of the age took place. The deceased peer leaving only heirs of his second marriage, who

took the name of Ruthven, and occupied the castle, the family honours and estates, which came by his first wife, went by the patent quoted to another branch of the family. Dreading that the young Ruthvens might play foully with the late lord's charter chest, and prejudice their succession, Lillias Forrester Lady Torwoodhead, her son William Baillie, William Gourlay, and others, forced a passage into the castle of Corstorphine, while the dead lord's bloody corpse lay yet unburied there,

and took possession of a tall house, from which they annoyed the defenders, although they were unable to carry the post."

He afterwards became colonel of the Scottish Horse Grenadier Guards. His son, the sixth lord, was dismissed from the navy by sentence of a court-martial in 1746 for misconduct, when captain of the *Defiance*, and died two years after. His brother (cousin, says Burke) William, seventh lord, succeeded him, and on his death in 1763 the title



TOMB OF THE FORRESTERS, CORSTORPHINE CHURCH.

and furiously demanded the charter chest, of which the Lords of Council took possession eventually, and cast these intruders into prison.

Young Baillie became third Lord Forrester of Corstorphine. The fourth lord was his son William, who died in 1705, and left, by his wife, a daughter of Sir Andrew Birnie of Saline, George, the fifth Lord Forrester, who fought against the House of Stuart at Preston in 1715; and it is recorded, that when Brigadier Macintosh was attacked by General Willis at the head of five battalions he repulsed them all. "The Cameronian Regiment, however, led by their Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Forrester, who displayed singular bravery and coolness in the action, succeeded in effecting a lodgment near the barricade,

and devolved in succession upon two Baronesses Forrester, through one of whom it passed to James, Earl of Verulam, grandson of the Hon. Harriet Forrester; so the peers of that title now represent the Forresters of Corstorphine, whose name was so long connected with the civic annals of Edinburgh.

It may be of interest to note that the armorial bearings of the Forresters of Corstorphine, as shown on their old tombs and elsewhere, were—quarterly 1st and 4th, three buffaloes' horns stringed, for the name of Forrester; with, afterwards, 2nd and 3rd, nine mullets for that of Baillie; crest, a talbot's head; two talbots for supporters, and the motto *Spero*.

CHAPTER XII.

THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUBS.

Of Old Clubs, and some Notabilia of Edinburgh Life in the Last Century—The Horn Order—The Union Club—Impious Clubs—Assembly of Birds—The Swating Club—The Revolution and certain other Clubs—The Beggars' Penion—The Capillaire Club—The Industrious Company—The Wig, Esculapian, Boar, Country Dinner, The East India, Cape, Spendthrift, Pious, Antemanum, Six Feet, and Shakespeare Clubs—Oyster Cellars—"Frolics"—The "Duke of Edinburgh."

As a change for a time from history and statistics, we propose now to take a brief glance at some old manners in the last century, and at the curious and often quaintly-designated clubs, wherein our forefathers roystered, and held their "high jinks" as they phrased them, and when tavern dissipation, now so rare among respectable classes of the community, "engrossed," says Chambers, "the leisure hours of all professional men, scarcely excepting even the most stern and dignified. No rank, class, or profession, indeed, formed an exception to this rule."

Such gatherings and roysterings formed, in the eighteenth century, a marked feature of life in the deep dark closes and picturesque wynds of "Auld Reekie," a *sobriquet* which, though attributed to James VI., the afore-named writer affirms cannot be traced beyond the reign of Charles II., and assigns it to an old Fifeshire gentleman, Durham of Largo, who regulated the hour of family worship and his children's bed-time as he saw the smoke of evening gather over the summits of the venerable city.

To the famous Crochallan Club, the Poker and Mirror Clubs, and the various golf clubs, we have already referred in their various localities, but, taken in chronological order, probably the HORN ORDER, instituted in 1705, when the Duke of Argyll was Lord High Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament, was the first attempt to constitute a species of fashionable club.

It was founded as a coterie of ladies and gentlemen mostly by the influence and exertions of one who was a leader in Scottish society in those days and a distinguished beau, John, third Earl of Selkirk (previously Earl of Ruglan). Its curious designation had its origin in a whim of the moment. At some convivial meeting a common horn spoon had been used, and it occurred to the members of the club—then in its infancy—that this homely implement should be adopted as their private badge; and it was further agreed by all present, that the "Order of the Horn" would be a pleasant caricature of various ancient and highly-sanctioned dignities.

For many a day after this strange designation was adopted the members constituting the *Horn Order* met and caroused, but the commonalty of the city

put a very evil construction on these hitherto unheard of reunions; and, "indeed, if all accounts be true, it must have been a species of masquerade, in which the sexes were mixed, and all ranks confounded."

The UNION CLUB is next heard of after this, but of its foundation, or membership, nothing is known; doubtless the unpopularity of the name would soon lead to its dissolution and doom.

Impious clubs, strange to say, next make their appearance in that rigid, strict, and strait-laced period of Scottish life; but they were chiefly branches of or societies affiliated to those clubs in London, against which an Order in Council was issued on the 28th of April, 1721, wherein they were denounced as scandalous meetings held for the purpose of ridiculing religion and morality. These fraternities of free-living gentlemen, who were unbounded in indulgence, and exhibited an outrageous disposition to mock all solemn things, though centring, as we have said, in London, established their branches in Edinburgh and Dublin, and to both these cities their secretaries came to impart to them "as far as wanting, a proper spirit."

Their toasts were, beyond all modern belief, fearfully blasphemous. Sulphureous flames and fumes were raised in their rooms to simulate the infernal regions; and common folk would tell with bated breath, how after drinking some unusually horrible toast, the proposer would be struck dead with his cup in his hand.

In 1726 the Rev. Robert Wodrow adverts to the rumour of the existence in Edinburgh of these offshoots of impious clubs in London; and he records with horror and dismay that the secretary of the Hell-fire Club, a Scotsman, was reported to have come north to establish a branch of that awful community; but, he records in his *Analecta*, the secretary "fell into melancholy, as it was called, but probably horror of conscience and despair, and at length turned mad. Nobody was allowed to see him; the physicians prescribed bathing for him, and he died mad at the first bathing. The Lord pity us, wickedness is come to a terrible height!"

Wickedness went yet further, for the same gossiping historian has among his pamphlets an account of the Hell-fire Clubs, Sulphur Societies, and Demirep Dragons, their full strength, with a list of the

presiding officials, male and female, with the names they adopted, such as Elisha the Prophet, King of Hell, Old Pluto, the Old Dragon, Lady Envy, and so forth. "The Hell-fire Club," says Chambers in his "Domestic Annals," "seems to have projected itself strongly on the popular imagination in Scotland, for the peasantry still occasionally speak of it with bated breath and whispering horror. Many wicked lairds are talked of who belonged to the Hell-fire Club, and who came to bad ends, as might have been expected on grounds involving no reference to miracle."

THE ASSEMBLY OF BIRDS is the next periodical gathering, but for ostensibly social purposes, and to it we find a reference in the *Caledonian Mercury* of October, 1733. This journal records that yesternight "there came on at the "Parrot's Nest" in this city the annual election of office-bearers in the ancient and venerable *Assembly of Birds*, when the *Game Cock* was elected preses; the *Black Bird*, treasurer; the *Glede*, principal clerk; the *Crow*, his depute; the *Duck*, officer; all birds duly qualified to our happy establishment, and no less enemies to the excise scheme. After which an elegant entertainment was served up, all the royal and loyal healths were plentifully drunk in the richest wines, '*The Glorious 205*'; '*All Bonny Birds*,' &c. On this joyful occasion nothing was heard but harmonious music, each bird striving to excel in chanting and warbling their respective melodious notes."

We may imagine the medley of sounds in which these humorous fellows indulged; "the glorious 205," to whom reference was made, were those members of the House of Commons who had recently opposed a fresh imposition upon the tobacco tax.

Somewhere about the year 1750 a society called the SWEATING CLUB made its appearance. The members resembled the Mohocks and Bullies of London. After intoxicating themselves in taverns and cellars in certain obscure closes, they would sally at midnight into the wynds and large thorough-fares, and attack whomsoever they met, snatching off wigs and tearing up roquelaures. Many a luckless citizen who fell into their hands was chased, jostled, and pinched, till he not only perspired with exertion and agony, but was ready to drop down and die of sheer exhaustion.

In those days, when most men went armed, always with a sword and a few with pocket-pistols, such work often proved perilous; but we are told that "even so late as the early years of this century it was unsafe to walk the streets of Edinburgh at night, on account of the numerous drunken parties of young men who reeled about, bent on mischief

at all hours, and from whom the Town Guard were unable to protect the sober citizens."

In Vol. I. of this work (p. 63) will be found a facsimile of the medal of the *Edinburgh Revolution Club*, struck in 1753, "in commemoration of the recovery of religion and liberty by William and Mary in 1688." It bears the motto, *Memini se Jurabit*.

"On Thursday next," announces the *Advertiser* for November, 1764, "the 15th current, the *Revolution Club* is to meet in the Assembly Hall at six o'clock in the evening, in commemoration of our happy deliverance from Popery and slavery by King William of glorious and immortal memory; and of the further security of our religion and liberties by the settlement of the crown upon the illustrious house of Hanover, when it is expected all the members of that society, in or near the city, will give attendance." The next issue records the meeting but gives no account thereof. Under its auspices a meeting was held to erect a monument to King William III. in 1788, attended by the Earls of Glencairn, Buchan, Dumfries, and others; but a suggestion in the Edinburgh magazines of that year, that it should be erected in the valley of Glencoe with the King's warrant for the massacre carved on the pedestal, caused it to be abandoned, and so this club was eventually relegated to "the lumber-room of time," like the UNION and four others, thus ranked briefly by the industrious Chambers:—

THE DIRTY CLUB . . .	{ No gentleman to appear in clean linen.
THE BLACK WIGS . . .	{ Members wore black wigs.
THE ODD FELLOWS . . .	{ Members wrote their names upside down.
THE BONNET LAIRDS . .	{ Members wore bonnets.
THE DOCTORS OF FACULTY CLUB	{ Members regarded as Physicians, and so styled, wearing gowns and wigs.

In Volume II. of the "Mirror Club Papers" we find six others enumerated:—*The Whin Bush*, *Knights of the Cap and Feather* (meeting in the close of that name), *The Tabernacle*, *The Stoic*, *The Hum-drum*, and the *Antemanum*.

In 1765 the institution of another club is thus noticed in the *Advertiser* of January 29th:—"We are informed that there was a very numerous meeting of the Knights Companions of the Ancient Order of the BEGGARS' BENISON, with their sovereign on Friday last, at Mr. Walker's tavern, when the band of music belonging to the Edinburgh Regiment (25th Foot) attended. Everything was conducted with the greatest harmony and cheerfulness, and all the knights appeared with the medal of the order."

In 1783, "a chapter of the order" was advertised "to be held at their chamber in Anstruther. Dinner at half-past two."

The LAWNMARKET CLUB, with its so-called "gazettes," has been referred to in our first volume.

The CAPILLAIRE CLUB was one famous in the annals of Edinburgh convivialia and for its fashionable gatherings. The *Weekly Magazine* for 1774 records that "last Friday night, the gentlemen of the Capillaire Club gave their annual ball. The company consisted of nearly two hundred ladies and gentlemen of the first distinction. Their dresses were extremely rich and elegant. Her Grace the Duchess of D—— and Mrs. Gen. S—— made a most brilliant appearance. Mrs. S.'s jewels alone, it is said, were above £30,000 in value. The ball was opened about seven, and ended about twelve o'clock, when a most elegant entertainment was served up."

The ladies whose initials are given were evidently the last Duchess of Douglas and Mrs. Scott, wife of General John Scott of Balcomie and Bellevue, mother of the Duchess of Portland. She survived him, and died at Bellevue House, latterly the Excise Office, Drummond Place, on the 23rd August, 1797, after which the house was occupied by the Duke of Argyll.

The next notice we have of the club in the same year is a donation of twenty guineas by the members to the Charity Workhouse. "The Capillaire Club," says a writer in the "Scottish Journal of Antiquities," "was composed of all who were inclined to be witty and joyous."

There was a JACOBITE CLUB, presided over at one time by the Earl of Buchan, but of which nothing now survives but the name.

The INDUSTRIOUS COMPANY was a club composed oddly enough of porter-drinkers, very numerous, and formed as a species of joint-stock company, for the double purpose of retailing their liquor for profit, and for fun and amusement while drinking it. They met at their rooms, or cellars rather, every night, in the Royal Bank Close. There each member paid at his entry £5, and took his monthly turn of superintending the general business of the club; but negligence on the part of some of the managers led to its dissolution.

In the *Advertiser* for 1783 it is announced as a standing order of the WIG CLUB, "that the members in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh should attend the meetings of the club, or if they find that inconvenient, to send in their resignation; it is requested that the members will be pleased to attend to this regulation, otherwise their places will be supplied by others who wish to be of

the club.—Fortune's Tavern, February 4th, 1783." In the preceding January a meeting of the club is summoned at that date, "as St. P——'s day." Mr. Hay of Drumelzier in the chair. As there is no saint for the 4th February whose initial is P, this must have been some joke known only to the club. Charles, Earl of Haddington, presided on the 2nd December, 1783.

From the former notice we may gather that there was a decay of this curious club, the president of which wore a wig of extraordinary materials, which had belonged to the Moray family for three generations, and each new entrant's powers were tested, by compelling him to drink "to the fraternity in a quart of claret, without pulling bit—i.e., pausing."

The members generally drank twopenny ale, on which it was possible to get intoxicated for the value of a groat, and ate a coarse kind of loaf, called Soutar's clod, which, with penny pies of high reputation in those days, were furnished by a shop near Forrester's Wynd, and known as the *Baijen Hole*.

There was an ÆSCULAPIAN CLUB, a relic of which survives in the Greyfriars Churchyard, where a stone records that in 1785 the members repaired the tomb of "John Barnett, student of phisick (*sic*) who was born 15th March, 1733, and departed this life 1st April, 1755."

The BOAR CLUB was chiefly composed, eventually, of wild waggish spirits and fashionable young men, who held their meetings in Daniel Hogg's tavern, in Shakespeare Square, close by the Theatre Royal.

"The joke of this club," to quote "Chambers's Traditions," "consisted in the supposition that all the members were *boars*, that their room was a *stye*, that their talk was grunting, and in the *double entendre* of the small piece of stoneware which served as a repository for the fines, being a *pig*. Upon this they lived twenty years. I have at some expense of eyesight and with no small exertion of patience," continues Chambers, "perused the soiled and blotted records of the club, which, in 1824, were preserved by an old vintner whose house was their last place of meeting, and the result has been the following memorabilia. The Boar Club commenced its meetings in 1787, and the original members were J. G. C. Schetky, a German musician; David Shaw, Archibald Crawford, Patrick Robertson, Robert Aldrige, a famous pantomimist and dancing-master; James Nelson, and Luke Cross. . . . Their laws were first written down in due form in 1790. They were to meet every evening at seven o'clock; each *boar* on his entry contributed a halfpenny to the pig. A fine of a halfpenny was imposed upon any person who

called one of his brother boars by his proper out-of-club name, the term 'Sir' being only allowed. The entry-money, fines, and other pecuniary acquisitions, were hoarded for a grand annual dinner."

In 1799 some new officials were added, such as a poet-laureate, champion, archbishop, and chief grunter, and by that time, as the tone and expenses of the club had increased, the fines became very severe, and in the exactions no one met with any mercy, "as it was the interests of all that the pig should bring forth a plenteous farrow." This practice led to squabbles, and the grotesque fraternity was broken up.

THE COUNTRY DINNER CLUB was a much more sensible style of gathering, when some respectable citizens of good position were wont to meet on the afternoon of each Saturday about the year 1790 to dine in an old tavern in Canonmills, then at a moderate distance from town. They kept their own particular claret. William Ramsay, a banker, then residing in Warriston House, was deemed "the tongue of the trumpet to the club," which entirely consisted of hearty and honest old citizens, all of whom have long since gone to their last account.

THE EAST INDIA CLUB was formed in 1797, and held its first meeting in John Bayll's tavern on the 13th of January that year, when the *Herald* announces that dinner would be on the table at the then late and fashionable hour of four, but the body does not seem to have been long in existence; it contributed twenty guineas to the sufferers of a fire in the Cowgate in the spring of 1799, and fifty to the House of Industry in 1801.

John Bayll managed the "George Square assemblies," which were held in Buccleuch Place. His tavern was in Shakespeare Square, where his annual balls and suppers, in 1800, were under the patronage of the Duchess of Buccleuch and Mrs. Dundas of Arniston.

OF THE CAPE CLUB, which was established on the 15th of March, 1733, and of which Fergusson the poet and Runciman the painter were afterwards members, an account will be found in Vol. I., which, however, omitted to give the origin of the name of that long-existing and merry fraternity, and which was founded on an old, but rather weak, Edinburgh joke of the period.

Some well-known burgess of the Calton who was in the habit of spending the evening hours with friends in the city, till after the ten o'clock drum had been beaten and the Netherbow Port was shut, to obtain egress was under the necessity of bribing the porter there, or remaining within the walls all night. On leaving the gate he had to

turn acutely to the left to proceed down Leith Wynd, which this facetious toper termed "doubling the Cape." Eventually it became a standing joke in the small circle of Edinburgh then, "and the Cape Club owned a regular institution from 1763," says Chambers, but its sixty-fifth anniversary is announced in the *Herald* of 1798, for the 15th of March as given above.

THE SPENDTHRIFT CLUB, was so called in ridicule of the very moderate indulgence of its members, whose expenses were limited to fourpence-halfpenny each night, yet all of them were wealthy or well-to-do citizens, many of whom usually met after forenoon church at the Royal Exchange for a walk in the country—their plan being to walk in the direction from whence the wind blew and thus avoid the smoke of the city. "In 1824," says Chambers, "in the recollection of the senior members, some of whom were of fifty years' standing, the house (of meeting) was kept by the widow of a Lieutenant Hamilton of the army, who recollected having attended the theatre in the Tennis Court at Holyrood when the play was the 'Spanish Friar,' and many of the members of the Union Parliament were present in the house."

The meetings of this club were nightly, till reduced to four weekly. Whist was played for a halfpenny. Supper originally cost only twopence, and half a bottle of strong ale, with a dram, cost twopence-halfpenny more; a halfpenny to the servant-maid, was a total of fivepence for a night of jollity and good fellowship.

THE PIOUS CLUB was composed of respectable and orderly business-men who met every night, Sundays not excepted, in the *Pie-house*—hence their name, a play upon the words. We are told that "the agreeable uncertainty as to whether their name arose from their *piety* or the circumstance of their eating *pies*, kept the club hearty for many years."

Fifteen members constituted a full night, a gill of toddy to each was served out like wine from a decanter, and they were supposed to separate at ten o'clock.

THE ANTEMANUM CLUB was composed of men of respectability, and many who were men of fortune, who dined together every Saturday. "Brag" was their chief game with cards. It was a purely convivial club, till the era of the Whig party being in the ascendant led to angry political discussions, and eventual dissolution.

THE SIX FEET CLUB was composed of men who were of that stature or above it, if possible. It was an athletic society, and generally met half-yearly at the Hunter's Tryst, near Colinton, or similar places,

when silver medals were given for rifle-shooting, throwing a hammer 16 pounds in weight, single-stick, &c. On these occasions, Sir Walter Scott, Professor Wilson, and the Ettrick Shepherd, were frequently present, and often presided. In 1828 we find the club designated the Guard of Honour to the Lord High Constable of Scotland. Its chairman was termed captain, and Sir Walter Scott was umpire of the club.

THE SHAKESPEARE CLUB was, as its name imports, formed with a view to forward dramatic art and literature, yet was not without its convivial features also. Among its members, in 1830, were W. D. Gillon of Walhouse, M.P., the Hon. Colonel Ogilvy of Clova, Patrick Robertson, afterwards the well-known and witty Lord Robertson, Mr. Pritchard of the Theatre Royal, and other kindred spirits.

Edinburgh now teems with clubs, county and district associations, and societies; but in tone, and by the change of times and habits, they are very different from most of the old clubs we have enumerated here, clubs which existed in "the Dark Age of Edinburgh," when a little fun and merriment seemed to go a long way indeed, and when grim professional men appeared to plunge into madcap and grotesque roistering and coarse racy humour, as if they were a relief from, or contrast to, the general dull tenor of life in those days when, after the Union, the gloom of village life settled over the city, and people became rigid and starched in their bearing, morose in their sanctimony, and the most grim decorum seemed the test of piety and respectability.

Many who were not members of clubs, by the occasional tenor of their ways seemed to protest against this state of things, or to seek relief from it by indulging in what would seem little better than orgies now.

In the letters added to the edition of Arnot's "History in 1788," we are told that in 1763 there were no oyster cellars in the city, or if one, it was for the reception of the lowest rank; but, that in 1783, oyster cellars, or taverns taking that name, had become numerous as places of fashionable resort, and the frequent rendezvous of dancing parties or private assemblies. Thus the custom of ladies as well as gentlemen resorting to such places, is a curious example of the state of manners during the eighteenth century.

The most famous place for such oyster parties was a tavern kept by Lucky Middlemass in the Cowgate, and which stood where the south pier of the first bridge stands now. Dances in such places were called "frolics."

In those days fashionable people made up a

party by appointment, especially in winter, after evening closed in, and took their carriages as near as they could go conveniently, to these subterranean abysses or vaults, called *laigh shops*, where the raw oysters and flagons of porter were set out plentifully on a table in a dingy wainscoted room, lighted, of course, by tallow candles. The general surroundings gave an additional zest to the supper, and one of the chief features of such entertainments would seem to have been the scope they afforded to the conversational powers of the company.

Ladies and gentlemen alike indulged in an unrestrained manner in sallies and witticisms, observations and jests, that would not have been tolerated elsewhere; but in those days it was common for Scottish ladies, especially of rank, to wear black velvet masks when walking abroad or airing in the carriage; and these masks were kept close to the face by a glass button or jewel which the fair wearer held by her teeth.

Brandy or rum punch succeeded the oysters and porter; dancing then followed; and when the ladies had departed in their sedans or carriages the gentlemen would proceed to crown the evening by an unlimited debauch.

"It is not," says Chambers, writing in 1824, "more than thirty years since the late Lord Melville, the Duchess of Gordon, and some other persons of distinction, who happened to meet in town after many years of absence, made up an oyster cellar party by way of a frolic, and devoted one winter evening to the revival of this almost forgotten entertainment of their youth. It seems difficult," he adds, "to reconcile all these things with the staid and somewhat square-toed character which our country has obtained amongst her neighbours. The fact seems to be that a kind of Laodicean principle is observable in Scotland, and we oscillate between a rigour of manners on one hand, and a laxity on the other, which alternately acquires a paramount ascendancy."

In 1763 people of fashion dined at two o'clock, and all business was generally transacted in the evening; and all shop-doors were locked after one for an hour and opened after dinner. Twenty years later four or five o'clock was the fashionable dinner hour, and dancing schools had been established for servant girls and tradesmen's apprentices.

We may conclude this chapter on old manners, by mentioning the fact, of which few of our readers are perhaps aware, that Edinburgh as a dukedom is a title much older than the reign of Queen Victoria. George III., when Prince of Wales, was Duke of Edinburgh, Marquis of Ely, and Earl of Chester.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE DISTRICT OF RESTALRIG.

Abbey Hill—Baron Norton—Alex. Campbell and "Albyn's Anthology"—Comely Gardens—Easter Road—St. Margaret's Well—Church and Legend of St. Triduana—Made Collegiate by James III.—The Mausoleum—Old Barons of Restalrig—The Logans, &c.—Conflict of Black Saturday—Residents of Note—First Balloon in Britain—Rector Adams—The Nisbets of Craigantinnie and Dean—The Millers—The Craigantinnie Tomb and Marbles—The Marionville Tragedy—The Hamlet of Jock's Lodge—Mail-bag Robberies in seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—Pierhill House and Barracks.

At the Abbey Hill, an old house—in that antiquated but once fashionable suburb, which grew up in the vicinity of the palace of Holyrood—with groups of venerable trees around it, which are now, like itself, all swept away to make room for the present Abbeyhill station and railway to Leith, there lived long the Hon. Fletcher Norton, appointed one of the Barons of the Scottish Exchequer in 1776, with a salary of £2,865 per annum, deemed a handsome income in those days.

He was the second son of Fletcher Norton of Grantley in Yorkshire, who was Attorney-General of England in 1762, and was elevated to the British peerage in 1782, as Lord Grantley.

He came to Scotland at a time when prejudices then against England and Englishmen were strong and deep, for the rancour excited by the affair of 1745, about thirty years before, was revived by the periodical publication of the *North Briton*, but Baron Norton soon won the regard of all who knew him. His conduct as a judge increased the respect which his behaviour in private life obtained. His perspicacity easily discovered the true merits of any cause before him, while his dignified and conciliatory manner, joined to the universal confidence which prevailed in his rigid impartiality, reconciled to him even those who suffered by such verdicts as were given against them in consequence of his charges to the juries.

He married in 1793 a Scottish lady, a Miss Balmain, and in the Edinburgh society of his time stood high in the estimation of all, "as a husband, father, friend, and master," according to a print of 1820. "His fund of information—of anecdotes admirably told—his social disposition, and the gentlemanly pleasantness of his manner, made his society to be universally coveted. Resentment had no place in his bosom. He seemed almost insensible to injury so immediately did he pardon it. Amongst his various pensioners were several who had shown marked ingratitude; but distress, with him, covered every offence against himself."

He was a warm patron of the amiable and enthusiastic, but somewhat luckless Alexander Campbell, author of "The Grampians Desolate," which "fell dead" from the press, and editor of "Albyn's Anthology," who writes thus in the preface to the

first volume of that book in 1816, and which, we may mention, was a "collection of melodies and local poetry peculiar to Scotland and the isles":—

"So far back as the year 1780, while as yet the editor of 'Albyn's Anthology' was an organist to one of the Episcopal chapels in Edinburgh, he projected the present work. Finding but small encouragement at that period, and his attention being directed to pursuits of quite a different nature, the plan was dropped, till by an accidental turn of conversation at a gentleman's table, the Hon. Fletcher Norton gave a spur to the speculation now in its career. He with that warmth of benevolence peculiarly his own, offered his influence with the Royal Highland Society of Scotland, of which he is a member of long standing, and in conformity with the zeal he has uniformly manifested for everything connected with the distinction and prosperity of our ancient realm, on the editor giving him a rough outline of the present undertaking, the Hon. Baron put it into the hands of Henry Mackenzie, Esq., of the Exchequer, and Lord Bannatyne, whose influence in the society is deservedly great. And immediately on Mr. Mackenzie laying it before a select committee for music, John H. Forbes, Esq. (afterwards Lord Medwyn), as convener of the committee, convened it, and the result was a recommendation to the society at large, who embraced the project cordially, voted a sum to enable the editor to pursue his plan; and forthwith he set out on a tour through the Highlands and western islands. Having performed a journey (in pursuit of materials for the present work) of between eleven and twelve hundred miles, in which he collected 191 specimens of melodies and Gaelic vocal poetry, he returned to Edinburgh, and laid the fruits of his gleanings before the society, who were pleased to honour with their approbation his success in attempting to collect and preserve the perishing remains of what is so closely interwoven with the history and literature of Scotland."

From thenceforth the "Anthology" was a success, and a second volume appeared in 1818. Under the influence of Baron Norton, Campbell got many able contributors, among whom appear the names of Scott, Hogg, Mrs. Grant of Laggan, Maturin, and Jamieson.

Baron Norton was remarkable for his constant attention to all religious duties. Throughout his long life not a Sunday passed in which he was prevented from attending the service of the Scottish Episcopal Church, and so inviolable was his regard to truth, that no argument could ever prevail upon him to deviate from the performance of a promise, though obtained contrary to his interest and by artful representations imperfectly founded.

He died at Abbeyhill in 1820, after officiating as a Baron of Exchequer for forty-four years. His remains were taken to England and deposited in the family vault at Womersley, near Guildford, in Surrey. On the death of his elder brother William, without heirs in 1822, his son Fletcher Norton succeeded as third Lord Grantley.

It is from him that the three adjacent streets at the delta of the Regent and London Roads take their names.

In this quarter lie Comely Green and Comely Gardens. During the middle of the last century, the latter would seem to have been a species of lively Tivoli Gardens for the lower classes in Edinburgh, though Andrew Gibb, the proprietor thereof, addresses his advertisement to "gentlemen and ladies," in the *Courant* of September 1761.

Therein he announces that he intends "to give up Comely Gardens in a few weeks, and hopes they will favour his undertaking and encourage him to the last. As the ball nights happened to be rainy these three weeks past he is to keep the gardens open every day for this season, that gentlemen and ladies may have the benefit of a walk there upon paying 2d. to the doorkeeper for keeping the walk in order, and may have tea, coffee, or fruit any night of the ball nights; and hereby takes this opportunity of returning his hearty thanks to the noblemen, gentlemen, and ladies, who have done him the honour to favour him with their company, and begs the continuance of their favour, as the undertaking has been accompanied with great expense. Saturday night is intended to be the last public one of this season."

A subsequent advertisement announces for sale, "the enclosed grounds of Comely Gardens, together with the large house then commonly called the Green House, and the office, houses, &c., on the east side of the road leading to Jock's Lodge."

Adjoining the new abbey church, at the end of a newly-built *cul-de-sac*, is one of those great schools built by the Edinburgh School Board, near Norton Place.

For the site £2,000 was paid. In architectural design it corresponds with the numerous Board Schools erected elsewhere in the city. Including

fittings, the edifice cost £7,700. Extending across the width of the building, on both flats, are two great halls, with four class-rooms attached. The infants are accommodated down-stairs, the juveniles above.

On the ground flat is a large sewing-room. All the class-rooms are lofty and well ventilated. At the back are playgrounds, partly covered, for the use of the pupils, whose average number is 540.

The long thoroughfare which runs northward from this quarter, named the Easter Road, was long the chief access to the city from Leith; the only other, until the formation of the Walk, being the Western or Bonnington Road.

On the east side of it are the vast premises built in 1878 by the Messrs. W. and A. K. Johnston for business purposes, as engravers, printers, and publishers, and a little to the north of these are the recently-built barracks for the permanent use of the City Militia, or "Duke of Edinburgh's Own Edinburgh Artillery," consisting of six batteries, having twenty officers, including the Prince.

Passing an old mansion, named the Drum, in the grounds of which were dug up two very fine claymores, now possessed by the proprietor, Mr. Smith-Sligo of Inzievar, we find a place on the west side of the way that is mentioned more than once in Scottish history, the Quarry Holes.

In 1605, Sir James Elphinstone, first Lord Balmerino, became proprietor of the lands of Quarry Holes after the ruin of Logan of Restalrig. The Upper Quarry Holes were situated on the declivity of the Calton Hill, at the head of the Easter Road, and allusion is made to them in some trials for witchcraft in the reign of James VI.

At the foot of this road a new Free Church for South Leith was erected in 1881, and during the excavations four human skeletons were discovered—those of the victims of war or a plague.

Eastward of this, cut off on the south by the line of the North British Railway, and partially by the water of Lochend on the west, lies the still secluded village of Restalrig, which, though in the immediate vicinity of the city, seems, somehow, to have fallen so completely out of sight, that a vast portion of the inhabitants appear scarcely to be aware of its existence; yet it teems with antiquarian and historical memories, and possesses an example of ecclesiastical architecture the complete restoration of which has been the desire of many generations of men of taste, and in favour of which the late David Laing wrote strongly—the ancient church of St. Triduana.

But long before the latter was erected Restalrig was chiefly known from its famous old well.

By the south side of what was once an old forest path when the oaks of Drumsheugh were in all their glory, there stood St. Margaret's Well, the entire edifice of which was removed to the Royal Park, near Holyrood; but the pure spring, deemed so holy as to be the object of pilgrimages in the days of old, still oozes into the fetid marsh close by.

It was no doubt the source of supply to the ancient ecclesiastics of the village, and the path alluded to had become in after times a means of

The structure—for elsewhere it still remains intact—is octagonal, and entered by a pointed Gothic doorway, and rises to the height of 4 ft. 6 in. It is of plain ashlar work, with a stone ledge or seat running round seven of the sides. From the centre of the water, which fills the entire floor of the building, rises a decorated pillar to the same height as the walls, with grotesque gargoyles, from which the liquid flows. Above this springs a richly groined roof, “presenting, with the ribs that rise



RESTALRIG.

communication between the church there and the Abbey of Holyrood.

No authentic traces can be found of the history of this consecrated fountain; “but from its name,” says Billings, “it appears to have been dedicated to the Scottish queen and saint, Margaret, wife of Malcolm III.”

In the legend which we have already referred to in our account of Holyrood, which represents David I. as being miraculously preserved from the infuriated white hart, Bellenden records that it “fled away with gret violence, and evanist in the same place quhere now springs the Rude Well.”

From its vicinity to the abbey, St. Margaret's has been conjectured to be the well referred to.

from the corresponding corbels at each of the eight angles of the building, a singularly rich effect when illuminated by the reflected light from the water below.” (See Vol. II., page 311.)

When this most picturesque fountain stood in an unchanged condition by the side of the old winding path to Restalrig, an ancient elder-tree, with furrowed and gnarled branches, covered all its grass-grown top, and a tiny but aged thatched cottage stood in front of it. Then, too, a mossy bank, rising out of pleasant meadow land, protected the little pillared cell; but the inexorable march of modern improvement came, the old tree and the rustic cottage were swept away, and the well itself was buried under a hideous station of the North British Railway.

By interdict the directors were compelled to give access to the well, which they grudgingly did by a species of drain, till the entire edifice was removed to where it now stands.

Near the site of the well is the ancient church of Restalrig, which, curiously enough, at first sight has all the air of an entirely modern edifice; but on a minute inspection old mouldings and carvings of great antiquity make their appearance in conjunction with the modern stonework of its restoration. It is a simple quadrangular building, without aisles or transept.

The choir, which is the only part of the building that has escaped the rough hands of the iconoclasts of the sixteenth century, is a comparatively small, though handsome, specimen of Decorated English Gothic; and it remained an open ruin until a few years since, when it was restored in a manner as a chapel of ease for the neighbouring district.

But a church existed here long before the present one, and it was celebrated all over Scotland for the tomb of St. Triduana, who died at Restalrig, and whose shrine was famous as the resort of pilgrims, particularly those who were affected by diseased eyesight. Thus, to this day, she is frequently painted as carrying her own eyes on a salver or the point of a sword. A noble virgin of Achaia, she is said to have come to Scotland, in the fourth century, with St. Rule. Her name

is unknown in the Roman Breviary; but a recent writer says, "St. Triduana, with two companions, devoted themselves to a recluse life at Roscobry, but a Pictish chief, named Nectan, having been attracted by her beauty, she fled into Athole to escape him. As his emissaries followed her there, and she discovered that it was her eyes which had entranced him, she plucked them out, and, fixing them on a thorn, sent them to her admirer. In consequence of this practical method of satisfying a lover, St. Triduana, who came to Restalrig to live, became famous, and her shrine was for many generations the resort of pilgrims whose eyesight was defective, miraculous cures being effected by the waters of the well."

Sir David Lindsay writes of their going to "St. Trid well to mend their ene;" thus it has been

inferred that the well afterwards called St. Margaret's was the well of St. Triduana.

Curiously enough, Lestalric, the ancient name of Restalrig, is that by which it is known in the present day; and still one of the roads leading to it from Leith is named the *Lochsterrock Road*.

The existence of a church and parish here, long prior to the death of King Alexander III. is proved by various charters; and in 1291, Adam of St. Edmunds, prior of Lestalric, obtained a writ, addressed to the sheriff of Edinburgh, to put him in possession of his lands and rights. The same ecclesiastic, under pressure, like many others at the time, swore fealty to Edward I. of England in 1296.

Henry de Leith, rector of Restalrig, appeared as a witness against the Scottish Knights of the Temple, at the trial in Holyrood in 1309. The vicar, John Pettit, is mentioned in the charter of confirmation by James III., under his great seal of donations to the Blackfriars of Edinburgh in 1473.

A collegiate establishment of considerable note, having a dean, with nine prebends and two singing boys, was constituted at Restalrig by James III., and completed by James V.; but it seems not to have interfered with the parsonage, which remained entire till the Reformation.

The portion of the choir now remaining does not date, it is supposed, earlier than from the fourteenth century, and is much

plainer, says Wilson, than might be expected in a church enriched by the contributions of three pious monarchs in succession, and resorted to by so many devout pilgrims as to excite the special indignation of one of the earliest assemblies of the Kirk, apparently on account of its abounding with statues and images.

By the Assembly of 1560 it was ordered to be "raysit and utterly casten down," as a monument of idolatry; and this order was to some extent obeyed, and the "aisler stanis" were taken by Alexander Clark to erect a house with, but were used by the Reformers to build a new Nether Bow Port. The parishoners of Restalrig were ordered in future to adopt as their parish church that of St. Mary's, in Leith, which continues to the present day to be South Leith church.



SEAL OF THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF RESTALRIG.

That the church was not utterly destroyed is proved by the fact that the choir walls of this "monument of idolatry" were roofed over in 1837, as has been stated.

An ancient crypt, or mausoleum, of large dimensions and octangular in form, stands on the south side of the church. Internally it is constructed with a good groined roof, and some venerable yews cast their shadow over the soil that has accumulated above it, and in which they have taken root. It is believed to have been erected by Sir Robert Logan, knight, of Restalrig, who died in 1439, according to the obituary of the Preceptory of St. Anthony at Leith, and it has been used as a last resting-place for several of his successors. Some antiquaries, however, have supposed that it was undoubtedly attached to the college, perhaps as a chapter-house, or as a chapel of St. Triduana, but constructed on the model of St. Margaret's Well. Among others buried here is "LADY JANET KER, LADY RESTALRIG, QUHA DEPARTED THIS LIFE 17th MAY, 1526."

Wilson, in his "Reminiscences," mentions that "Restalrig kirkyard was the favourite cemetery of the Nonjuring Scottish Episcopalians of the last century, when the use of the burial service was proscribed in the city burial-grounds;" and a strong division of dead cavalry have been interred there from the adjacent barracks. From Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe he quotes a story of a quarrel carried beyond the grave, which may be read upon a flat stone near that old crypt.

Of the latter wrote Sharpe, "I believe it belongs to Lord Bute, and that application was made to him to allow Miss Hay—whom I well knew—daughter of Hay of Restalrig, Prince Charles's forfeited secretary, to be buried in the vault. This was refused, and she lies outside the door. May the earth lie light on her, old lady kind and venerable!"

In 1609 the legal rights of the church and parish of Restalrig, with all their revenues and pertinents, were formally conferred upon the church of South Leith.

In 1492, John Fraser, dean of Restalrig, was appointed Lord Clerk Register; and in 1540 another dean, John Sinclair, was made Lord of Session, and was afterwards Bishop of Brechin and Lord President of the Court of Session. He it was who performed the marriage ceremony for Queen Mary and Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley. In 1592 the deanery was dissolved by Act of Parliament, and divided between "the parsonage of Leswade and parsonage of Dalkeith, maid by Mr. George Ramsay, dean of Restalrig."

After the Logans—of whom elsewhere—the

Lords Balmerino held the lands of Restalrig till their forfeiture in 1746, and during the whole period of their possession, appropriated the vaults of the forsaken and dilapidated church as the burial-place of themselves and their immediate relations. From them it passed to the Earls of Bute, with whose family it still remains.

In the burying-ground here, amid a host of ancient tombs, are some of modern date, marking where lie the father of Lord Brougham; Louis Cauvin, who founded the hospital which bears his name at Duddingston; the eccentric doctor known as "Lang Sandy Wood," and his kindred, including the late Lord Wood; and Lieutenant-Colonel William Rickson, of the 19th Foot, a brave and distinguished soldier, the comrade and attached friend of Wolfe, the hero of Quebec. His death is thus recorded in the *Scots Magazine* for 1770:—"At his house in Broughton, Lieutenant-Colonel William Rickson, Quartermaster-General and Superintendent of Roads in North Britain." His widow died so lately as 1811, as her tomb at Restalrig bears, "in the fortieth year of her widowhood."

Here, too, was interred, in 1720, the Rev. Alexander Rose, the last titular bishop of Edinburgh.

In tracing out the ancient barons of Restalrig, among the earliest known is Thomas of Restalrig, circa 1210, whose name appears in the *Registrum de Dunfermline* as Sheriff of Edinburgh.

In the Macfarlane MSS. in the Advocates' Library, there is a charter of his to the Priory of Inchcolm, in the Firth of Forth, circa 1217, very interesting from the localities therein referred to, and the tenor of which runs thus in English:—

"To all seeing or hearing these writings, Thomas of Lestalrig wishes health. Know ye, that for the good of my soul, and the souls of all my predecessors and successors, and the soul of my wife, I have given and conceded, and by this my charter have confirmed, to God and the canons of the church of St. Columba on the Isle, and the canons of the same serving God, and that may yet serve Him forever, that whole land which Baldwin Comyn was wont to hold from me in the town of Leith, namely, that land which is next and adjoining on the south to that land which belonged to Ernauld of Leith, and to twenty-four acres and a half of arable land in my estate of Lestalrig in that field which is called Horstanes, on the west part of the same field, and on the north part of the high road between Edinburgh and Leith (*i.e.*, the Easter Road) in pure and perpetual gift to be held by them, with all its pertinents and easements, and with common pasture belonging to such land, and with free ingress and egress, with carriage, team,

oxen, and other things belonging to a field, by the hands of him, namely, who is called Hood of Leith, from me and my heirs for ever, as freely, quietly, and honourably free from all service and secular exactions as any other gifts more freely and quietly given, are possessed in the Kingdom of Scotland. And that this gift may continue, I have set my seal to this writing."

Among those who witnessed this document were the Lord Chancellor of Scotland, Hugh de Sigillo,

In May, 1398, Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig granted to the citizens of Edinburgh, by charter, full liberty to carry away earth and gravel, lying upon the bank of the river, to enlarge their port of Leith, to place a bridge over the said river, to moor ships in any part of his lands, without the said port, with the right of road and passage, through all his lands of Restalrig. "All which grants and concessions be warranted absolutely, under penalty of £200 sterling to be uptaken



RESTALRIG CHURCH, 1817. (*After an Etching by James Skene of Rubislaw.*)

Bishop of Dunkeld (called the "Poor Man's Bishop"); Walter, Abbot of Holyrood, previously Prior of Inchcolm, who died in 1217; W. de Edinham, Archdeacon of Dunkeld; Master R. de Raplaw; and Robert Hood, of Leith.

In 1366, under David II., Robert Multerer (Moutray?) received a charter of lands, within the barony of Restalrig, before pertaining to John Colti; and some three years afterwards, John of Lestalrick (*sic*) holds a charter of the mill of Instrother, in Fifeshire, granted by King David at Perth.

Towards the latter part of the fourteenth century the barony had passed into the possession of the Logans, a powerful family, whose name is inseparably mingled with the history of Leith.

by the said burgesses and community in the name of damages and expenses, and £100 sterling to the fabric of the church of St. Andrews before the commencement of any plea." (Burgh Charters.)

In 1413-4 another of his charters grants to the city, "that the piece of ground in Leith between the gate of John Petindrich and a wall newly built on the shore of the water of Leith, should be free to the said community for placing their goods and merchandise thereon, and carrying the same to and from the sea, in all time coming."

Westward of the village church, and on the summit of a rock overhanging Loch End, are the massive walls of the fortalice in which the barons of Restalrig resided; but a modern house is engrained

on it now. Here it probably was that the powerful Archibald Douglas, fifth Earl of Douglas, Lord of Bothwell, Galloway, and Annandale, Duke of Touraine and Marshal of France, resided in 1440, in which year he died at Restalrig, of a malignant fever.

In 1444 Sir John Logan of Restalrig was sheriff of Edinburgh; and in 1508 James Logan, of the same place, was Sheriff-deputy.

Twenty-one years before the latter date an

calsay lyand, and the town desolate." In the following year, Holinshed records that "the Lord Grey, Lieutenant of the Inglis' armie," during the siege of Leith, "ludged in the town of Lestalrike, in the Dean's house, and part of the Demi-lances and other horsemen lay in the same towne."

A little way north-westward of Restalrig, midway between the place named Hawkhill and the upper Quarry Holes, near the Easter Road, there occurred on the 16th of June, 1571, a disastrous skirmish, de-



RESTALRIG CHURCH IN THE PRESENT DAY.

English army had encamped at Restalrig, under the Duke of Gloucester, who spared the city at the request of the Duke of Albany and on receiving many rich presents from the citizens, while James III., in the hand of rebel peers, was a species of captive in the castle of Edinburgh.

In 1559 the then secluded village was the scene of one of the many skirmishes that took place between the troops of the Queen Regent and those of the Lords of the Congregation, in which the latter were baffled, "driven through the myre at Restalrig—worried at the Craingate" (*i.e.*, the Calton), and on the 6th of November, "at even in the nycht," they departed "furth of Edinburgh to Lynlithgow, and left their artailzerie on the

signated the *Black Saturday*, or "Drury's peace," as it was sometimes named, through the alleged treachery of the English ambassador.

Provoked by a bravado on the part of the Earl of Morton, who held Leith, and who came forth with horse and foot to the Hawkhill, the Earl of Huntly, at the head of a body of Queen Mary's followers, with a train of guns, issued out of Edinburgh, and halted at the Quarry Holes, where he was visited by Sir William Drury, the ambassador of Queen Elizabeth, who had been with Morton in Leith during the preceding night. His proposed object was an amicable adjustment of differences, to the end that no loss of life should ensue between those who were countrymen, and, in too

many instances, relatives and friends. With all the affected zeal of a peacemaker, this gentleman (whose house stood in Drury Lane, off the Strand in London), proposed terms which Huntly deemed satisfactory; but the next point to be considered was, which party should first march off the field. On this, both parties were absurdly obstinate. Huntly maintained that Morton, by an aggressive display, had drawn the Queen's troops out of the city; while Morton, on the other hand, charged the Highland Earl with various acts of hostility and insult. Drury eventually got both parties to promise to quit the ground at a given signal, "and that signal," he arranged, "shall be the throwing up of my hat."

This was agreed to, and before Drury was half-way between the Hawkhill and the ancient quarries, up went his plumed hat, and away wheeled Huntly's forces, marching for the city by the road that led to the Canongate, without the least suspicion of the treachery of Drury, or Morton, whose soldiers had never left their ground, and who now, rushing across the open fields with shouts charged with the utmost fury the queen's men, "who were retiring with all the imprudent irregularity and confusion which an imaginary security and exultation at having escaped a sanguinary conflict were calculated to produce."

Thus treacherously attacked, they were put to flight, and were pursued with cruel and rancorous slaughter to the very gates of the city. The whole road was covered with dead and wounded men, while Lord Home, several gentlemen of high position, and seventy-two private soldiers, a pair of colours, several horses, and two pieces of cannon, were, amid great triumph, marched into Leith in the afternoon.

This was not the only act of treachery of which Sir William Drury was guilty. He swore that he was entirely innocent, and threw the whole blame on Morton; but though an ambassador, so exasperated were the people of Edinburgh against him, that he had afterwards to quit the city under a guard to protect him from the infuriated mob.

The Laird of Restalrig was among those who surrendered with Kirkaldy of Grange, in 1573, when the Castle of Edinburgh capitulated to Morton; but he would seem to have been pardoned, as no record exists of any severity practised upon him.

In some criminal proceedings, in 1576, the sheet of water here is designated as Restalrig Loch, when a woman named Bessie Dunlop was tried for witchcraft and having certain interviews with "ane Tam Reid," who was killed at the battle of Pinkie. Having once ridden with her husband to

Leith to bring home meal, "ganging afield to tether her horse at Restalrig Loch, there came ane company of riders by, that made sic a din as if heaven and earth had gane together; and, incontinent they rade into the loch, with mony hideous rumble. Tam tauld [her] it was the Gude Wights, that were riding in middle-eard."

For these and similar confessions, Bessie was consigned to the flames as a witch.

During the prevalence of the pestilence, in 1585, James Melville says that on his way to join the General Assembly at Linlithgow he had to pass through Edinburgh; that after dining at Restalrig at eleven o'clock, he rode through the city from the Water Gate to the West Port, "in all whilk way, we saw not three persons, sae that I mis-kenned Edinburgh, and almost forgot that I had ever seen sic a town."

In 1594 Restalrig was the scene of one of those stormy raids that the "mad Earl of Bothwell" caused so frequently, to the torment of James VI.

The earl, at the head of an armed force, was in Leith, and broke out in open rebellion, when, on the 3rd of April, the king, after sermon, summoned the people of Edinburgh in arms, and moved towards Leith, from whence Bothwell instantly issued at the head of 500 mounted men-at-arms, and took up a position at the Hawkhill near Restalrig. Fearing, however, the strength of the citizens, he made a detour, and galloped through Duddingstone. Lord Home with his lances followed him to "the Woomet," says Birrel, probably meaning Woolmet, near Dalkeith, when Bothwell faced about, and compelled him to retire in turn, but not without bloodshed.

In February, 1593, at Holyrood, Robert Logan, of Restalrig, was denounced for not appearing to answer for his treasonable conspiracy and trafficking "with Francis, sum tyme Earl of Bothwell;" and in the June of the following year he was again denounced as a traitor for failing to appear and answer for the conduct of two of his vassals, Jockie Houlden and Peter Craick, who had despoiled Robert Gray, burgess in Edinburgh of £950.

It was in this year that the remarkable indenture was formed between him and Napier of Merchiston to search for gold in Fast Castle (the "Wolf's Crag" of the Master of Ravenswood), a fortress which he had acquired by his marriage with an heiress of the Home family, to whom it originally belonged. Logan joined the Earl of Gowrie in the infamous and mysterious conspiracy at Perth, in the year 1600. It was proposed to force the king into a boat at the bottom of the garden of Gowrie House, which the river Tay bordered, and from thence conduct him by sea to Logan's inacces-

sible eyrie, Fast Castle, there to await the orders of Elizabeth or the other conspirators as to the disposal of his person.

Logan's connection with this astounding treason remained unknown till nine years after his death, when the correspondence between him and the Earl of Gowrie was discovered in possession of Sprott, a notary at Eyemouth, who had stolen them from a man named John Bain, to whom they had been entrusted. Sprott was executed, and Logan's bones were brought into court to have a sentence passed upon them, when it was ordained "that the memorie and dignitie of the said umkle Robert Logan be extinct and abolisheit," his arms riven and deleted from all books of arms and all his goods escheated.

The poor remains of the daring old conspirator, were then re-taken to the church of St. Mary at Leith and re-interred; and during the alterations in that edifice, in 1847, a coffin covered with the richest purple velvet was found in a place where no interment had taken place for years, and the bones in it were supposed by antiquaries to be those of the turbulent Logan, the last laird of Restalrig.

His lands, in part, with the patronage of South Leith, were afterwards bestowed upon James Elphinstone, Lord Balmerino; but the name still lingered in Restalrig, as in 1613 we find that John Logan a portioner there, was fined £1,000 for hearing mass at the Netherbow with James of Jerusalem.

Logan was forfeited in 1609, but his lands had been lost to him before his death, as Nether Gogar was purchased from him in 1596, by Andrew Logan of Coatfield, Restalrig in 1604 by Balmerino, who was interred, in 1612, in the vaulted mausoleum beside the church; "and the English army," says Scotstarvit, "on their coming to Scotland, in 1650, expecting to have found treasures in that place, hearing that lead coffins were there, raised up his body and threw it on the streets, because they could get no advantage or money, when they expected so much."

In 1633 Charles I. passed through, or near, Restalrig, on his way to the Lang Gate, prior to entering the city by the West Port.

William Nisbet of Dirleton was entailed in the lands of Restalrig in 1725, and after the attainder and execution of her husband, Arthur Lord Balmerino, in 1746, his widow—Elizabeth, daughter of a Captain Chalmers—constantly resided in the village, and there she died on the 5th January, 1767.

Other persons of good position dwelt in the village in those days; among them we may note

Sir James Campbell of Aberuchill, many years a Commissioner of the Customs, who died there 13th May, 1754, and was buried in the churchyard; and in 1764, Lady Katharine Gordon, eldest daughter of the Earl of Aboyne, whose demise there is recorded in the first volume of the *Edinburgh Advertiser*.

Lord Alemoor, whose town house was in Niddry's Wynd, was resident at Hawkhill, where he died in 1776; and five years before that period the village was the scene of great festal rejoicings, when Patrick Macdowal of Frengh, fifth Earl of Dumfries, was married to "Miss Peggy Crawford, daughter of Ronald Crawford, Esq., of Restalrig."

From Peter Williamson's Directory it appears that Restalrig was the residence, in 1784, of Alexander Lockhart, the famous Lord Covington. In the same year a man named James Tytler, who had ascended in a balloon from the adjacent Comely Gardens, had a narrow escape in this quarter. He was a poor man, who supported himself and his family by the use of his pen, and he conceived the idea of going up in a balloon on the Montgolfier principle; but finding that he could not carry a fire-stove with him, in his desperation and disappointment he sprang into his car with no other sustaining power than a common crate used for packing earthenware; thus his balloon came suddenly down in the road near Restalrig. "For a wonder Tytler was uninjured; and though he did not reach a greater altitude than three hundred feet, nor traverse a greater distance than half a mile, yet his name must ever be mentioned as that of the first Briton who ascended with a balloon, and who was the first man who so ascended in Britain."

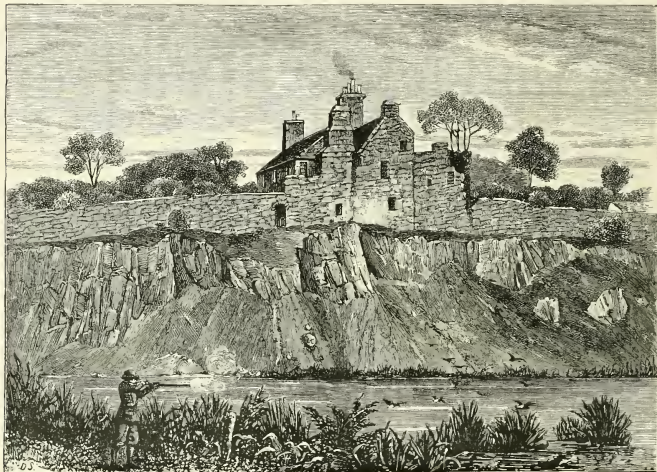
It is impossible to forget that the pretty village, latterly famous chiefly as a place for tea-gardens and strawberry-parties, was, in the middle of the last century, the scene of some of the privations of the college life of the fine old Rector Adam of the High School, author of "Roman Antiquities," and other classical works. In 1758 he lodged there in the house of a Mr. Watson, and afterwards with a gardener. The latter, says Adam, in some of his MS. memoranda (quoted by Dr. Steven), "was a Seceder, a very industrious man, who had family worship punctually morning and evening, in which I cordially joined, and alternately said prayers. After breakfast I went to town to attend my classes and my private pupils. For dinner I had three small coarse loaves called *baps*, which I got for a penny-farthing. As I was now always dressed in my best clothes, I was ashamed to buy these from a baker in the street. I therefore went down to a baker's in the middle of a close. I put

them in my pocket and went up some public staircase to eat them, without beer or water. In this manner I lived at the rate of little more than fourpence a day, including everything." In the following season he lived in Edinburgh, and added to his *baps* a little broth.

In 1760, when only in his nineteenth year, Adam—one of that army of great men who have made Scotland what she is to-day—obtained the head mastership of Watson's Hospital.

This place was the patrimony of the Nisbet family, already referred to in our account of the ancient house of Dean, wherein it is related that Sir Patrick Nisbet of Craigantinnie, who was created a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1669, was subsequently designated "of Dean," having exchanged his paternal lands for that barony with his second cousin, Alexander Nisbet.

The latter, having had a quarrel with Macdougall of Mackerston, went abroad to fight a duel with



THE HOUSE OF THE LOGANS OF RESTALRIG, LOCH END. (Partly after a Sketch by the Author made in 1847.)

Year after year Restalrig was the favourite summer residence of the Rev. Hugh Blair, author of the well-known "Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles-lettres," who died on the 27th of December 1800.

A little way north-east of Restalrig village stands the ancient house of Craigantinnie, once a simple oblong-shaped mansion, about four storeys in height, with crowstepped gables, and circular turrets; but during the early part of this century made much more ornate, with many handsome additions, and having a striking aspect—like a gay Scoto-French château—among the old trees near it, and when viewed from the grassy irrigated meadows that lie between it and the sea.

him, in 1682, attended by Sir William Scott of Harden, and Ensign Douglas, of Douglas's Regiment, the Royal Scots, as seconds. On their return the Privy Council placed the whole four in separate rooms in the Tolbooth, till the matter should be inquired into; but the principals were, upon petition, set at liberty a few days after, on giving bonds for their reappearance.

On the death of Sir Alexander Nisbet at the battle of Tournay, unmarried, the estates and title reverted to his uncle, Sir Alexander, who was succeeded by his eldest son Sir Henry; upon whose decease the title devolved upon his brother Sir John, who died in 1776.

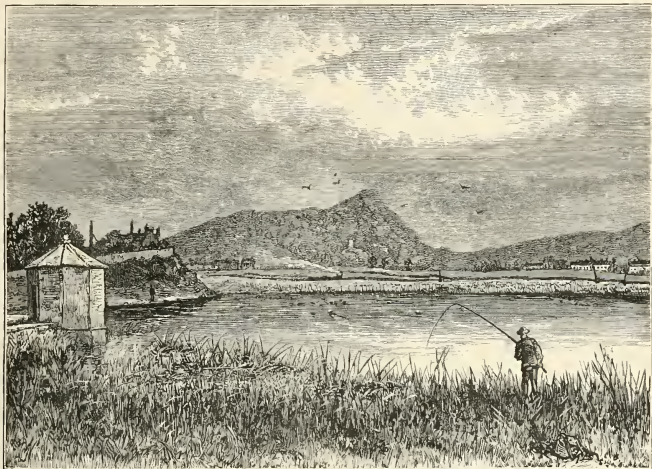
In that year the latter was succeeded by his

son John, as sixth baronet; but not without a contest, as fourteen years afterwards a Mr. John Edgar raised in the Court of Session an action of reduction of his service, as nearest lawful heir of the late baronet, on the plea that the latter had never been legally married to his wife.

It was alleged that he had gone to France, and there had formed a connection with a lady whose social position was inferior to his own, but who accompanied him to Britain, where she bore him

The question was, whether from the whole circumstances, Sir John and this lady were to be considered as married persons? In evidence it appeared that they had never doubted that they were so, though Sir John, in dread of his proud relations, had sedulously kept the fact a secret while in Scotland, where, it was alleged for the pursuer, Sir John had ventured to pay his addresses to a lady of rank.

On the other side there was the evidence of an



LOCH END.

two sons. After selling out of the army, in 1775, Sir John went to Carolina, to settle upon an estate he possessed there, taking with him this lady and his two sons, and the process stated that "after their arrival in America, in 1775, or the beginning of 1776, Sir John and his lady were shipwrecked and drowned. From this awful catastrophe their two sons were preserved, having been left at school in the Jerseys. Some time afterwards the boys were sent over to this country, and the eldest of them—the defender in this action—on the 15th August, 1781, was served heir to his father. From the time of his father and mother's death, till 1790, when this action was raised, he had been in the uninterrupted possession of his father's estates."

old and confidential servant, and of an intimate friend of Sir John, to both of whom he revealed his marriage, with certain reasons for keeping it secret. From this it appeared that when in his own house he had uniformly treated the lady as his wife and their children as legitimate. It was also proved that when he went to America he had openly and solemnly acknowledged the marriage on many occasions, and till it was dissolved by death the lady was always considered by Sir John's friends as Lady Nisbet of the old line of Craigantinnie and Dean, and was in the habit of receiving and returning their visits as such.

After a four-days' debate, the Lords of Session pronounced for the defender, with expenses. The

latter married a lady whom Burke calls "Miss Alston, of America," and died without any family, and now the line of the Nisbets of Dean and Craigtinnie has passed completely away; but long prior to the action recorded the branch at Restalrig had lost the lands there and the old house we have described.

In the beginning of the last century the proprietor of Craigtinnie was Nisbet of Dirleton, of the male line of that Sir John Nisbet of Dirleton who was King's Advocate after the Restoration.

It was subsequently the property of the Scott-Nisbets, and on the death of John Scott-Nisbet, Esq., in 1765, an action was raised against his heirs and trustees, by Young of Newhall, regarding the sale of the estate, which was ultimately carried to the House of Peers.

Craigtinnie was next acquired by purchase by William Miller, a wealthy seedsman, whose house and garden, at the foot of the south back of the Canongate, were removed only in 1859, when the site was added to the Royal Park. When Prince Charles's army came to Edinburgh in 1745, he obtained 500 shovels from William Miller for trenching purposes. His father, also William Miller, who died in 1757, in his eightieth year, had previously acquired a considerable portion of what is now called the Craigtinnie estate, or the lands of Philliside, and others near the sea. He left £20,000 in cash, by which Craigtinnie proper was acquired by his son William. He was well known as a citizen of Edinburgh by the name of "the auld Quaker," as he belonged to the Society of Friends, and was ever foremost in all works of charity and benevolence.

About 1780, when in his ninetieth year, he married an Englishwoman who was then in her fiftieth year, with whom he went to London and Paris, where she was delivered of a child, the late William Miller, M.P. for Newcastle-under-Lyne; and thereby hangs a story, which made some stir at the time of his death, as he was currently averred to be a changeling—even to be a woman, a suggestion which his thin figure, weak voice, absence of all beard, and some peculiarity of habit, seemed to corroborate. Be that as it may, none were permitted—save those interested in him—to touch his body, which, by his will, lies now buried in a grave, dug to the great depth of forty feet, on the north side of the Portobello Road, and on the lands of Craigtinnie, with a classic tomb of considerable height and beauty erected over it.

At his death, without heirs, the estate passed into the hands of strangers.

His gigantic tomb, however, with its beautiful

sculptures, forms one of the most remarkable features in this locality. Regarding it, a writer in *Temple Bar* for 1881, says:—"Not one traveller in a thousand has ever seen certain sculptures known as the 'Craigtinnie Marbles.' They are out of town, on the road to Portobello, beyond the Piershill cavalry barracks, and decorate a mausoleum which is to be found by turning off the high road, and so past a cottage into a field, green and moist with its tall neglected grass. There is something piquant in coming upon Art among humble natural things in the country or a thinly peopled suburb." After referring to Giotto's work outside Padua, he continues: "It is obvious there is no comparison intended between that early work of Italy, so rich in sincere thought and beautiful expression, and the agreeable, gracious and even manly labour, of the artist who wrought for modern Scotland, the 'Song of Miriam' in this Craigtinnie field. Still there is a certain freshness of pleasure in the situation of the work, nor does examination of the art displayed lead to prompt disappointment."

Standing solitary and alone, westward of Restalrig Church, towers the tall villa of Marionville, which, though now rather gloomy in aspect, was prior to 1790 the scene often of the gayest private theatricals perhaps in Britain, and before its then possessor won himself the unenviable name of "the Fortunate Duellist," and became an outcast and one of the most miserable of men. The house is enclosed by shrubbery of no great extent, and by high walls. "Whether it be," says Chambers, "that the place has become dismal in consequence of the rise of a noxious fen in its neighbourhood, or that the tale connected with it acts upon the imagination, I cannot decide; but unquestionably there is about the house an air of depression and melancholy such as could scarcely fail to strike the most unobservant passenger."

Elsewhere he mentions that this villa was built by the Misses Ramsay, whose shop was on the east side of the old Lyon Close, on the north side of the High Street, opposite the upper end of the City Guardhouse. There they made a fortune, spent on building Marionville, which was locally named *Lappet Ha'* in derision of their profession.

Here, for some time before 1790, lived Captain James Macrae, formerly of the 3rd Regiment of Horse (when commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Ralph Abercrombie), and now known as the 6th Dragoon Guards, or Carabiniers; and his story is a very remarkable one, from the well-known names that must be introduced in it. He was Macrae of Holemains, whom Fowler, in his *Ren-*

frewshire Sketches, styles "a Goth who committed a most barbarous deed by demolishing the great and splendid castle (of Houston) in 1780, and applied the stones to the building of a new village for lapnet weavers."

During his occupation of Marionville, his tastes and family being gay and fashionable, the house was the scene of constant festivities and private theatricals, of which many such notices appear in the papers of the time, like the following from the *Advertiser* of April, 1789:—

"On Tuesday last, the tragedy of *Venice Preserved* was performed before a genteel and select company at Mr. Macrae's Private Theatre at Marionville. The following were the principal *Dramatis Personæ*:—

Prüli	Mrs. Hunter.
Pierre	Captain Mackewan.
Jaffier	Mr. Macrae.
Renault	Mr. Welwood.
Bedamar	Mr. Dowling.
Duke of Venice	Mr. Justice.
Belvidera	Mrs. Macrae.

The play gave very great satisfaction. Mrs. Macrae and Captain Mackewan, in particular, performed in a style of superior excellence."

Captain Macrae, in addition to being a man of fortune, was well-connected, and was a cousin of that good Earl of Glencairn who was the friend and patron of Burns, while through his mother he was nearly related to Viscount Fermoy and the famous Sir Boyle Roche. He was a man of a generous and warm disposition, but possessed a somewhat lofty and imperious sense of what he deemed due to the position of a gentleman; and being yet young, he was about to return to the army when the catastrophe occurred which caused his ruin. All allowed him to be a delightful companion, yet liable to be transported beyond the bounds of reason at times by trivial matters.

"Thus," says Chambers, "a messenger of the law having arrested the Rev. Mr. Cunningham, a brother of the Earl of Glencairn, for debt, as he was passing with a party from the drawing-room to the dining-room of Drumsheugh House, Macrae threw the man over the stairs. He was prompted to this act by indignation at the affront which he conceived his cousin, as a gentleman, had received from a common man. But soon after, when it was represented to him that every other means of inducing Mr. Cunningham to settle his debt had failed, and when he learned that the messenger had suffered severe injury, he went to him, made him a hearty apology, and agreed to pay 300 guineas by way of compensation."

His wife was Maria Cecilia le Maitre, daughter of the Baroness Nolken, wife of the Swedish ambas-

sador. While resident occasionally with her cousin in Paris Madame de la Briche, the private theatricals they saw at her magnificent house in the Marais led to the reproduction of them at Marionville. There the husband and wife both took character parts, and Sir David Kinloch and the Mr. Justice already mentioned were among their best male performers; and often Mrs. Macrae herself. The chief lady was Mrs. Carruthers, of Dormont, in Dumfries-shire, a daughter of Paul Sandby, the eminent artist, and founder of the English school of water-colour painting, who died in 1809.

Marionville was quite the centre of fashionable society; but, manners apart—alternately stately and rough—how strange to-day seems what was fashionable then in Edinburgh! the ladies with head-dresses so enormous that at times they had to sit on the carriage floor; the gentlemen with bright coloured coats, with tails that reached to their heels, breeches so tight that to get them on or off was a vast toil; waistcoats six inches long; large frilled shirts and stiff cravats; a watch in each fob, with a bunch of seals, and wigs with great side curls, exactly as Kay shows Macrae when in the act of levelling a pistol.

In the visiting circle at Marionville were Sir George Ramsay, Bart., of Banff House, and his lady, whose maiden name was Eleanor Fraser, and they and the Macraes seem to have been very intimate and warmly attached friends, till a quarrel arose between the two husbands about a rather trivial cause.

On the evening of the 7th April, 1790, Captain Macrae was handing a lady out of the box-lobby of the old theatre, and endeavoured to get a sedan for her conveyance home. Seeing two chairmen approach with one, he asked if it was disengaged, and both replied distinctly in the affirmative. As Macrae was about to hand the lady into it, a footman came forward in a violent manner, and seizing one of the poles insisted that it was engaged for his mistress, though the latter had gone home some time before; but the man, who was partly intoxicated, knew not that she had done so.

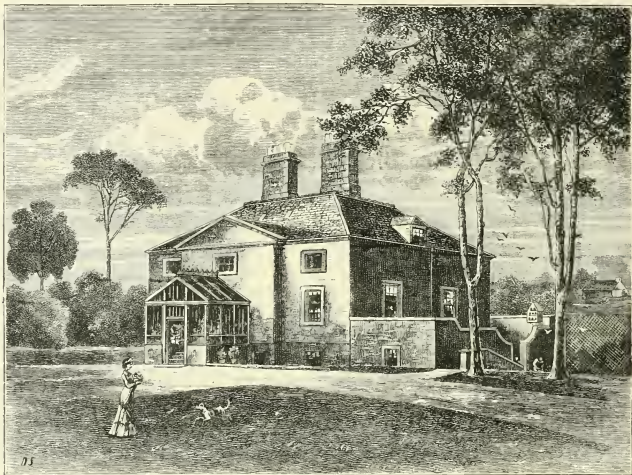
Macrae, irritated by the valet's manner, gave him a rap over the knuckles with his cane, to make him quit his hold of the pole; on this the valet called him a scoundrel, and struck him on the breast. On being struck over the head, the man became more noisy and abusive; Macrae proceeded to chastise him, on which several bystanders took part with the valet; a general brawl seemed about to ensue; another chair was got for the terrified lady, and she was carried away. The details of this brawl are given in the "Life of Peter Burnet,

a Negro," published at Paisley so lately as 1841. Peter was a livery servant in Edinburgh at the time. Learning that the valet was one of Lady Ramsay's, Macrae came to town next day to explain, and met Sir George in the street. The latter, laughing, said that the man, being his lady's footman, prevented him being concerned in the matter.

Macrae, still anxious to apologise to Lady Ramsay, proceeded in quest of her to her house in St. Andrew Square, but found her sitting for her

dropped, or Merry discharged; but Ramsay seemed disinclined to move in the matter, and a long and eventually angry correspondence on the subject ensued, and is given at length in the *Scots* and other Edinburgh magazines of the day; till, in the end, at Bayle's Tavern a hostile meeting was proposed by Captain Amory, a friend of Macrae's, and pretty rough epithets were exchanged.

Duly attended by seconds, the parties met at Ward's Inn, on the borders of Musselburgh Links,



HAWKHILL.

portrait in the studio of the then young artist, Henry Raeburn; before him, it is said that he impulsively went on his knee when asking pardon for having chastised her servant, and then the matter seemed to end with Macrae; but it was not so. Soon after he received an anonymous letter, stating that there was a strong feeling against him among the Knights of the Shoulder-Knot; one hundred and seven had resolved to have revenge upon him for the insult he had put upon their fraternity; while James Merry, the valet, whose bruises had been declared slight by Dr. Benjamin Bell, instituted legal proceedings against him.

Exasperated by all this, Macrae wrote to Sir George, insisting that the prosecution should be

on the 14th of April. Sir George Ramsay was accompanied by Sir William Maxwell, Macrae by Captains Amory and Haig. Benjamin Bell, the surgeon, was also one of the party, which had separate rooms. A compromise seemed impossible—as Sir George would not turn off the valet, and Macrae would not apologise—they walked to the beach, and took their places in the usual manner, fourteen paces apart. On the word being given, both fired at the same moment. Sir George took a steady aim at Macrae, whose coat collar was grazed by the bullet.

Macrae afterwards solemnly asserted that he meant to have fired in the air; but, on finding Sir George intent on slaying him, he altered his reso-

lution, and brought him to the ground by a mortal wound. As usual on such occasions, consternation and distress reigned supreme; the passionate Macrae was sincerely afflicted, and it was with difficulty that Sir William Maxwell could prevail

A very unfavourable view was taken of Macrae's conduct. It was alleged that for some time before the duel he was wont to practise at a barber's block in the garden at Marionville, and that he had pistols of a peculiar and very deadly character;



CRAIGANTINNIE HOUSE.

upon him to quit the field. Sir George lingered for two days, when he expired.

Macrae's days of pleasure at Marionville were ended for ever. He fled to France, and for a time took up his residence at the Hôtel de la Dauphine, in Paris. The event created a great sensation in Edinburgh society. Macrae left behind him a son and daughter. As Sir George Ramsay was childless, the baronetcy went to his brother William.

both of which were vulgar rumours, as he was without such weapons, and those used in the duel were a clumsy old brass-mounted pair that belonged to Captain Amory, who bore testimony that Macrae, as they journeyed together to the land of exile, never ceased to bewail the fate of his friend, and that he took so obstinate a view of the valet's case.

Macrae and Amory reached France; a summons was issued for the trial of the former, but as he

did not appear, sentence of outlawry was passed upon him. Meanwhile the servant's action went on, but was not determined till February, 1792, and though the evidence proved in the clearest manner that he had been the aggressor, the sheriff and Court of Session alike awarded damages and expenses.

Macrae lived in France till the progress of the French Revolution compelled him to retire to Altona. In July, 1792, the widow of his antagonist became the wife of Lieutenant Duncan Campbell of the Guards. When time had softened matters a little at Edinburgh, he began to hope that he might return home; but it was decided by counsel that he could not. It was held that his case was without the extenuating circumstances that were necessary, and that it seemed he had forced on the duel in a spirit of revenge; so, in the end, he had to make up his mind to the bitterness of a life-long exile.

"A gentleman of my acquaintance," says Robert Chambers, "who had known him in early life in Scotland, was surprised to meet him one day in a Parisian coffee-house, after the peace of 1814—the wreck or ghost of the handsome sprightly man he had once been. The comfort of his home, his country, and friends, the use of his talents to all these, had been lost, and himself obliged to lead the life of a condemned Cain, all through the one fault of a fiery temper."

This unfortunate gentleman died abroad on the 16th of January, 1820.

In the immediate vicinity of Restalrig are Piershill barracks and the hamlet of Jock's Lodge, now absorbed into the eastern suburb of Edinburgh. The locality is on the plain immediately under the eastern base of Arthur's Seat, yet scarcely a mile from the sandy shore of the Firth of Forth, and independently of the attractions of growing streets and villas in the vicinity, is rich in scenery of a pleasing nature.

Jock's Lodge, long a wayside hamlet, on the lonely path that led to the Figgate Muir, is said to have derived its name from an eccentric mendicant known as *Jock*, who built unto himself a hut there; and historically the name appears first in 1650, during the repulse of Cromwell's attack upon Edinburgh. "The enemy," says Nicol, "placed their whole horse in and about Restalrig, the foot at that place callit Jockis Lodge, and the cannon at the foot of Salisbury Hill, within the park dyke, and played with their cannon against the Scottish leaguer lying in St. Leonard's Craigs."

In 1692, it would appear from the Privy Council Register, that the post-boy riding with the mail-bag

on its last stage from England, was robbed "near the place called Jock's Lodge," at ten o'clock at night on the 13th August by a mounted man armed with a sword and one on foot armed with pistols, who carried off the bag and the boy's horse; £100 reward was offered, with a free pardon to informers; but many such robberies were the result of political complications.

In 1763 the same crime occurred again. The *Edinburgh Museum* for that year records that on the night of the 11th November the post-boy who left the General Post Office was attacked at Jock's Lodge by a man who knocked him off his horse, mounted it, and rode off with the mail-bags. On recovering, the boy went to the house of Lord Ellick, at Jock's Lodge, and went in pursuit with some of the senator's servants, who found the robber in a ditch that bordered a field, cutting up the bags and opening the letters. He was secured and taken to the house of Lord Ellick, who communicated with the authorities, and the man was brought by the city guard to the Tolbooth, when he was discovered to be Walter Graham, a workman at Salisbury Craigs, who had been sentenced to death for housebreaking in 1758, but been pardoned on condition of transportation for life.

There died in the hamlet here, in November, 1797, Mrs. Margaret Edgar, daughter of John Edgar of Wedderlie, relict of Louis Caivin, teacher of French in Edinburgh, mother of the founder of the adjacent hospital which bears his name.

Rear-Admiral Edgar died in 1817—last of the Edgars of Wedderlie in Berwickshire, a family dating back to 1170.

Here is one of the oldest toll-bars in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh.

About the middle of the last century Colonel Piers, who commanded a corps of horse in Edinburgh, occupied a villa built on the higher ground overlooking Restalrig, and a little way north of the road at Jock's Lodge. In the *Courant* for February, 1761, it is described as being a house suited for a large family, with double coach-house and stabling for eight horses; and for particulars as to the rent, application was to be made to Mr. Ronald Crawford, the proprietor, who names it Piershill House.

This villa occupied the exact site of the present officers' quarters, a central block of the spacious barracks for two regiments of cavalry, built there in 1793 from stones excavated at Craigmillar, in the same quarry that furnished materials for the erection of George Square and the Regent Bridge.

These barracks form three sides of a quadrangle, presenting a high wall, perforated by two gateways,

to the line of the turnpike road. The whole surface of the district round them is studded with buildings, and has only so far subsided from the urban character as to acquire for these, whether villa or cottage, the graceful accompaniments of garden or hedge-row. "A stroll from the beautified city to Piershill," says a writer, "when the musical bands of the barracks are striving to drown

the soft and carolling melodies of the little songsters on the hedges and trees at the subsession of Arthurs Seat, and when the blue Firth, with its many-tinted canopy of clouds, and its picturesque display of islets and steamers, and little smiling boats on its waters, vies with the luxuriant lands upon its shore to win the award due to beauty, is indescribably delightful."

CHAPTER XIV.

PORTOBELLO.

Portobello—The Site before the Houses—The Figgate Muir—Stone Coffins—A Meeting with Cromwell—A Curious Race—Portobello Hut—Robbers—William Jamieson's Feuing—Sir W. Scott and "The Lay"—Portobello Tower—Review of Yeomanry and Highlanders—Hugh Miller—David Laing—Joppa—Magdalene Bridge—Brunstane House.

PORTOBELLO, now a Parliamentary burgh, and favourite bathing quarter of the citizens, occupies a locality known for ages as the Figgate Muir, a once desolate expanse of muir-land, which perhaps was a portion of the forest of Drumsheugh, but which latterly was covered with whins and furze, bordered by a broad sandy beach, and extending from Magdalene Bridge on the south perhaps to where Seafield now lies, on the north-west.

Through this waste flowed the Figgate Burn out of Duddingston Loch, a continuation of the Braid. Figgate is said to be a corruption of the Saxon word for a cow's-ditch, and here the monks of Holyrood were wont to pasture their cattle.

Traces of early inhabitants were found here in 1821, when three stone coffins were discovered under a tumulus of sand, midway between Portobello and Craiganinnie. These were rudely put together, and each contained a human skeleton. "The bones were quite entire," says the *Weekly Journal* for that year, "and from their position it would appear that the bodies had been buried with their legs across. At the head of each was deposited a number of flints, from which it is conjectured the inhumation had taken place before the use of metal in this country; and, what is very remarkable, the roots of some shrubs had penetrated the coffins and skulls of the skeletons, about which and the ribs they had curiously twisted themselves. The cavities of the skeletons indeed were quite filled with vegetable matter."

It was on the Figgate Muir that, during the War of Independence, Sir William Wallace in 1296 mustered his 200 patriots to join Robert Lauder and Crystal Seton at Musselburgh for the pursuit of the traitor Earl of Dunbar, whom they fought at Inverwick, afterwards taking his castle at Dunbar.

In the Register of the Privy Council, January, 1584, in a bond of caution for David Preston of Craigmillar, Robert Pacok in Brigend, Thomas Pacok in Cameron, and others, are named as sureties that John Hutchison, merchant and burgess of Edinburgh, shall be left peaceably in possession of the lands "callit Kingis medow, besyde the said burgh, and of that pairt thair of nixt adjacent to the burne callit the Figott Burne, on the north side of the same, being a proper pairt and pertinent of the saidis landis of Kingis Medow." Among the witnesses is George Ramsay, Dean of Restalrig.

We next hear of this locality in 1650, when it was supposed to be the scene of a secret meeting, "half way between Leith and Musselburgh Rocks, at low water," between Oliver Cromwell and the Scottish leaders, each attended by a hundred horse, when any question the latter proposed to ask he agreed to answer, but declined to admit alike of animadversion or reply. A part of this alleged conference is said to have been—

"Why did you put the king to death?"

"Because he was a tyrant, and deserved death."

"Why did you dissolve the Parliament?"

"Because they were greater tyrants than the king, and required dissolution."

The *Mercurius Caledonius* of 1661 records a very different scene here, under the name of the Thicket Burn, when a foot-race was run from thence to the summit of Arthur's Seat by twelve browster-wives, "all of them in a condition which makes violent exertion unsuitable to the female form." The prizes on this occasion were, for the first, a hundredweight of cheese and "a budgell of Dunkeld aquavita; and a rumpkin of Brunswick rum for the second, set down by the Dutch midwife. The next day six-

teen fishwives (are) to trot from Musselburgh to the Canon(gate) Cross, for twelve pairs of lambs' harrigals."

The Figgate Burn was the boundary in this quarter of a custom-house at Prestonpans; the Tyne was the boundary in the other direction.

The Figgate lands, on which Portobello and Brickfield are built, says the old statistical account, consist together of about seventy acres, and continued down to 1762 a mere waste, and were com-

master of a fishing-boat, on his way from Musselburgh to Leith, was attacked by footpads at the Figgate Whins, who robbed him of ten guineas that were sewn in the waistband of his breeches, 12s. 6d. that he had in his pocket, cut him over the head with a broadsword, stabbed him in the breast, and left him for dead. "His groans were heard by two persons coming that way, who carried him to Leith."

About 1763 the Figgate Whins was sold by



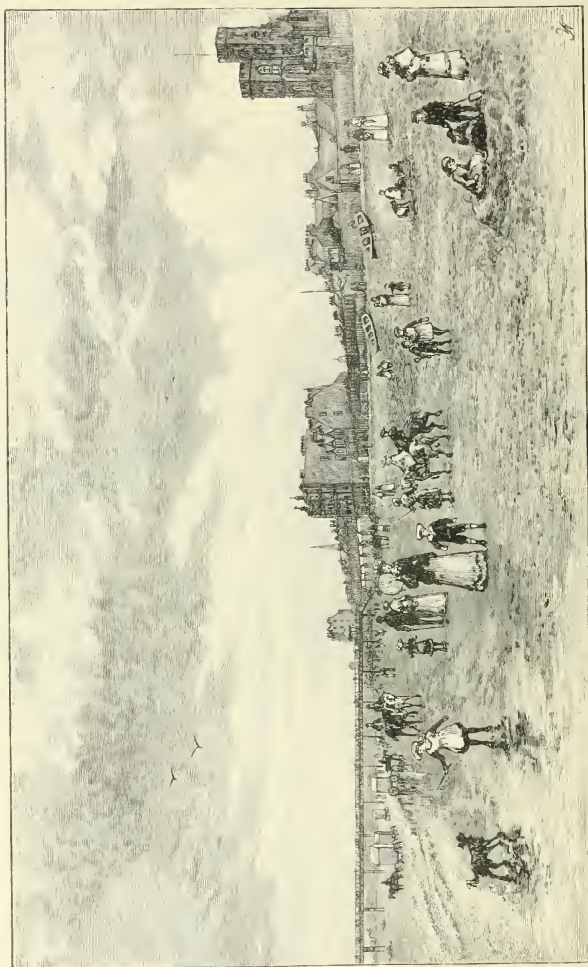
THE CRAIGANTINNIE MARBLES.

monly let to one of the Duddingston tenants for 200 merks Scots, or £11 2s. 2½d. sterling. Portobello Hut, built in 1742, by an old Scottish seaman who had served under Admiral Vernon, in 1739, was so named by him in honour of our triumph at that West Indian seaport, and hence the cognomen of this watering-place; but houses must have sprung up around it by the year 1753, as in the *Courant* of that year, "George Hamilton in Portobello" offers a reward of three pounds for the name of a libeller who represented him as harbouring in his house robbers, by whom, and by some smugglers, the locality was then infested.

In the January of the following year the *Scots Magazine* records that Alexander Henderson,

Lord Milton, the proprietor, to Baron Muir, of the Exchequer, for £1,500, and feuing then began at £3 per acre; but the once solitary abode of the old tar was long an object of interest, and stood intact till 1851, at the south-west side of the High Street, nearly opposite to Regent Street, and was long used as a hostelry for humble foot-travellers, on a road that led from the old Roman way, or Fishwives' Causeway, across the Whins towards Musselburgh. Parker Lawson, in his "*Gazetteer*," says it was long known as the *Shepherds' Ha'*.

In 1765, Mr. William Jamieson, the feuar under Baron Muir, discovered near the Figgate Burn a valuable bed of clay, and on the banks of the stream he erected first a brick and tile works, and



PORTOBELLO SANDS.

afterwards an earthenware manufactory. These public works, as well as others which followed them, necessarily made the place a seat of population. Portobello began to grow a thriving village, from which it rapidly expanded to the dignity of a town, but was still so small that, in 1798, we find advertised to sell "the old Thatch House of Portobello" on the great road leading to Musselburgh.

In 1801 it was advertised that the Marquis of Abercorn was prepared to feu in lots the whole of

of drilling, Scott used to delight in walking his powerful black horse up and down by himself on Portobello sands, within the beating of the surge; and now and then you would see him plunge in his spurs and go off as if at the charge, with the spray dashing about him. As we rode back to Musselburgh he often came and placed himself beside me to repeat the verses he had been composing during those pauses in our exercise."

These verses were probably portions of the "Lay



MARIONVILLE.

the land lying on the north side of that road, from Mr. Rae's property westward to the Magdalene Bridge; for about that time the beauty of the beach, the firmness of its sand, and its general eligibility as a bathing place, drew the attention of the citizens towards it, and speedily won for the rising town a fame that prompted the erection of many villas and streets, and a growing local prosperity.

With other corps of cavalry, here the Edinburgh Light Horse in those days were wont to drill on the noble extent of sandy beach, which has an average breadth of half a mile, with a slow and almost insensible gradient.

When Scott was in the corps mentioned, Skene of Rubislaw tells us that, in 1802, "in the intervals

of the Last Minstrel," for we are told that when the corps was on permanent duty at Musselburgh, Scott, the quartermaster, during a charge on Portobello sands, received a kick from a horse, which confined him for three days to his lodgings, where Skene always found him busy with his pen; and before three days were passed he produced the first canto of "The Lay," very nearly in the state in which it was ultimately published; and that the whole poem was sketched and filled in with extraordinary rapidity there can be no difficulty in believing, for Scott's really warlike spirit was warmed up by the daily blare of the trumpet, the flashing of steel, and the tramp of hoofs.

From Mr. Jamieson, to whom a great portion of

Portobello once belonged, Mr. James Cunningham, W.S., one of the earliest feuars there, procured the piece of ground to the westward, whereon he erected, in the first years of the present century, the eccentric and incongruous edifice named the Tower, the window-lintels and cornices of which were formed of carved stones found in the houses that were pulled down to make way for the South Bridge, from the cross of the city, and even from the cathedral of St. Andrews. For many years it remained an unfinished and open ruin.

The editor of Kay tells us that Mr. Jamieson, to whom this locality owes so much, was also contractor for making the city drains, at an estimate of £10,000. The rubbish from the excavations was to be carted to Portobello free of toll at Jock's Lodge, as the bar belonged to the Town Council. The tollman, insisting on his regular dues, closed the gate, on which Mr. Jamieson said to the carters, "Weel, weel, just coup the carts against the toll-bar," which was done more than once, to the inconceivable annoyance of the keeper, who never after refused the carters the right of free passage.

Portobello, in spite of its name, is no seaport, and neither has, nor probably ever will have, any seaward trade. At the mouth of the Figgate Burn a small harbour was constructed by the enterprising Mr. Jamieson after his discovery of the clay bed; but it was never of any use except for boats. It became completely ruinous, together with a little battery that formed a portion of it; and now their vestiges can scarcely be traced.

The manufactures, which consist of brick, lead, glass, and soap works, and a mustard manufactory, are of some importance, and employ many hands, whose numbers are always varying. Communication with Princes Street is maintained incessantly by trains and tramway cars.

On the sands here, in 1822, George IV. reviewed a great body of Scottish yeomanry cavalry, and a picturesque force of Highland clans that had come to Edinburgh in honour of his visit. On the mole of the little harbour—now vanished—the royal standard was hoisted, and a battery of guns posted to fire a royal salute.

On that day, the 23rd of August, the cavalry were the 3rd Dragoon Guards, the Glasgow Volunteer Horse, the Peebles, Selkirkshire, Fifeshire, Berwickshire, East and West Lothian, Midlothian, and Roxburgh Regiments of Yeomanry, with the Scots Greys, under the veteran Sir James Stewart Denholm of Coltness, latterly known as "the father of the British army."

The whole, under Sir Thomas Bradford, formed a long and magnificent line upon the vast expanse

of yellow sands, with the broad blue Firth, Preston Bay, and Berwick Law as a background to the scene, and all under a glorious sunshine. The King more than once exclaimed, "This is a fine sight, Dorset!" to the duke of that name, as his open carriage traversed it, surrounded by a glittering staff, and amid the acclamations of a mighty throng. After the march past and salute, His Majesty expressed a desire to see the Highlanders; and the Duke of Argyle, who commanded them, formed them in open column, Sir Walter Scott acting as adjutant-general of the "Tartan Confederacy," as it was named.

The variety of the tartans, arms, and badges on this occasion is described as making the display "superb, yet half barbaric," especially as regarded the Celtic Society, no two of whom were alike, though their weapons and ornaments were all magnificent, being all gentlemen of good position. The clans, of course, were uniform in their own various tartans.

The Earl of Breadalbane led the Campbells of his sept, each man having a great badge on his right arm. Stewart of Ardvorlich and Graham of Airth marched next with the Strathfillan Highlanders. After them came the Macgregors, all in red tartans, with tufts of pine in their bonnets, led by Sir Evan Macgregor of that ilk; then followed Glengarry, with his men, among whom was his tall and stately brother, Colonel Macdonnell, whose powerful hand had closed the gate of Hougomont, all carrying, in addition to targets, claymores, dirks, and pistols, like the rest, antique muskets of extraordinary length. The Sutherland Highlanders wore trews and shoulder plaids. The Drummonds, sent by Lady Gwydir, marched with sprigs of holly in their bonnets. "To these were to have marched the clans under the Dukes of Athole and Gordon, Macleod of Macleod, the Earl of Fife, Farquharson of Invercauld, Clanranald, and other high chiefs; but it was thought that their numbers would occasion inconvenience."

The King surveyed this unusual exhibition with surprise and pleasure, and drove off to Dalkeith House under an escort of the Greys, while the Highlanders returned to Edinburgh, Argyle marching on foot at the head of the column with his claymore on his shoulder.

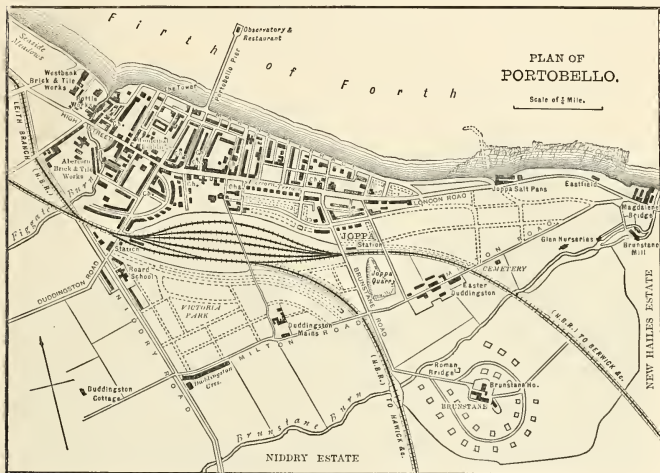
In 1834 Portobello, which *quoad civilia* belongs to the parish of Duddingston, was separated from it by order of the General Assembly. In the preceding year, by an Act of William IV., it had been created a Parliamentary burgh, and is governed by a Provost, two bailies, seven councillors, and other officials. In conjunction with Leith and Mussel-

burgh, Portobello returns one member to the House of Commons.

The Established parish church was built in 1810 as a chapel of ease, at the cost of only £2,650, but was enlarged in 1815. The Relief Chapel, belonging to a congregation formed in 1834, was built in 1825, and purchased in the former-named year by the minister, the Rev. David Crawford. St John's Catholic chapel (once Episcopal) in Brighton Place, was originally in 1826 a

school is situated in the Niddry Road, about half a mile from the centre of the town, and was erected in 1875-6 at the cost of £7,000. It is a handsome edifice in the collegiate style for the accommodation of about 600 scholars.

In form Portobello is partially compact or continuous. Its entire length is traversed by the High Street (or line of the old Musselburgh Road), is called at its north-west end and for the remaining part Abercorn Street; and what—were the town an



PLAN OF PORTOBELLO.

villa, purchased in 1834 by the Bishop of Edinburgh for £600. The United Secession chapel is of recent erection, and belongs to a congregation formed in 1834. The Independent chapel was built in 1835, and belongs to the congregation which erected it. St Mark's Episcopal chapel is private property, and used to be rented at £40 yearly by the congregation, which was established in 1825. It was consecrated by Bishop Sandford in 1828. Another church, with a fine spire, has recently been erected in the High Street, for a congregation of United Presbyterians. A Free church stands at the east end of the main street. It was erected in 1876-7, and is a handsome Gothic edifice with a massive tower. A public

old one and a marketing community—would be the Cross, is a point at which the main thoroughfare is divided into two parts, and where Bathgate goes off to the sea, and Brighton Place towards Duddingston.

The suite of hot and cold salt-water baths was erected in 1806 at the cost of £4,000, and overlooks the beach, between the foot of Bath Street and that of Regent Street.

Much enlargement of the town eastward of the railway station, and even past Joppa, to comprise a crescent, terraces, and lines of villas, was planned in the spring of 1876, and a projection of the new Marine Parade, which is 26 feet wide, was planned 300 yards eastward about the same time. At right

angles from this Parade there was constructed in 1871 a very handsome promenade iron pier, 1,250 feet long, at a cost of £7,000; and in the following year a fine bowling-green was formed in Lee Crescent, off Brighton Place, measuring 40 yards by 45; and a roller skating-rink was opened in Bath Street in 1876, comprising a hall-rink, an out-door rink, a gallery or orchestra, and retiring-room.

In Portobello are to be found quarters for all classes of visitors and summer residents. "Many

A house in Tower Street was the residence of Hugh Miller—that self-taught and self-made Scottish genius, author of "The Old Red Sandstone," and other geological works, with lighter productions, such as, "My Schools and Schoolmasters;" and there, worn out by the overwork of a highly sensitive brain, he shot himself with a revolver in 1856. The event caused great excitement in Edinburgh, and his funeral was a vast and solemn one. "You should have been in Edinburgh to-



JOCK'S LODGE.

of the private houses," says a recent writer, "the mansions and villas, are the homes of capitalists and annuitants, who have adopted Portobello as their constant retreat, and who people it in sufficient numbers to give its resident or unshifting population a tone of selectness and elegance. In winter the town is far from having the forsaken and wan aspect which pervades a mere sea-bathing station; and in summer it has an animation and gaiety superior to those of any other sea-bathing station in Scotland." In 1839 a valuable oyster-bed was discovered off the town.

The Town Hall, with the Council Chambers and offices of the Commissioners of Police, is a handsome building in the principal thoroughfare.

day," wrote Sydney Dobell to a friend, "and seen the great army of the body that debouched inexhaustibly through all its main streets—a waving parti-coloured river, where a fallen child or a blind beggar made an instant mob, as in a stream at flood so much as a walking-stick set straight will make an eddy. It was curious to walk up the same streets on Monday, as I walked often past Hugh Miller's house, and to think what different causes could produce the same 'pomp and circumstance' of populous life. Never since the death of Chalmers has Edinburgh been so unanimous in honour. Even Christopher North's funeral was sectarian and cold in comparison. The shops were shut; the common people drew back in thick masses on each

side of the streets when the cavalcade was to pass, and through this flesh and blood corpus (*sic*), as it were, all the mind of the city followed, in long-drawn procession half a mile in length, '*The Stone Mason of Cromarty.*' The whole thing was national, as distinct from popular. To make the day complete, Nature herself spread over it the robe of innocence, but, as it were, of dabbled innocence, snow and thaw together. You saw, of course, the result of the *post-mortem* examination, which showed a brain past responsibility—a terrible example of what mental work caused, even to such a physical giant as Hugh Miller. The last time I

incredible number of volumes that threw light on Scottish archaeology, but kindly rendered invaluable assistance to other workers in the same useful field.

Joppa, a modern village, the name of which does not appear in Kincaid's "Gazetteer of Midlothian" in 1787, or his map of 1794, is now incorporated with Portobello on the east, and a mineral well once gave it importance to invalids. Near it are salt works, well known as Joppa Pans. Robert Jamieson, Professor of Natural History in the University of Edinburgh, to the chair of which he was appointed in 1804, was long resident in this place, and he is referred to in the famous "Chaldee MS." as "a



PORTOBELLO, 1838. (After W. B. Scott.)

saw him I felt suspicious that his mind was shaken, for tottering nervousness in so vast a form (for he really looked quite colossal) seemed more than ordinary *mauvaise honte*, and he complained much of his broken health." ("Life and Letters of Sydney Dobell.") As has been mentioned in a previous chapter, he was buried in the Grange cemetery. He was born in Cromarty in 1802.

In No. 12, James Street, Portobello, the eminent antiquary, David Laing, LL.D., who for forty years acted as librarian to the Signet Library, closed his long, laborious, and blameless life on the 18th of October, 1878, in his eighty-sixth year. He formed one of the last surviving links between our own time and literary coteries of sixty years ago. We have elsewhere referred to him, and to that career in which he not only edited personally an almost

wise man which had come out of Joppa, where the ships are; one that had sojourned in far countries."

Brunstane Burn, which flows into the Firth at Magdalene Bridge, forms a kind of boundary in this quarter, and the bridge takes its name from an ancient chapel, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, which once stood in the ground of New Hailes, and which was a subordinate chaplaincy of the church of St. Michael, at Inveresk, and, with others, was granted by James VI. to his Chancellor, Lord Thirlstane, progenitor of the Earls of Lauderdale.

Before quitting this quarter it is impossible to omit a reference to the great quadrangular old-fashioned manor-house of Brunstane, which was sometimes of old called Gilbertoun, and which is approached by a massive little picturesque bridge, of such vast antiquity that it is supposed to be

Roman, and which spans the burn where it flows through a wooded and sylvan glen near Joppa. The lower portions and substructure of this house date probably from the Middle Ages; but the present edifice was built in 1639, by John, second Lord Thirlstane (son of the Lord Chancellor just referred to), who was father of the future Duke of Lauderdale, and who died in 1645.

The older mansion in the time of the Reformation belonged to a family named Crichton, and the then laird was famous as a conspirator against Cardinal Beaton. When, in 1545, George Wishart courageously ventured to preach in Leith, among his auditors were the Laids of Brunstane, Longniddry, and Ormiston, at whose houses he afterwards took up his residence in turns, accompanied at times by Knox, his devoted scholar, and the bearer of his two-handed sword.

When Cardinal Beaton became especially obnoxious to those Scottish barons who were in the pay of Henry VIII., a scheme was formed to get rid of him by assassination, and the Baron of Brunstane entered into it warmly. In July 1545 he opened a communication with Sir Ralph Sadler "touching the killing of the Cardinal;" and the Englishman—showing his opinion of the character of his correspondent—coolly hinted at "a reward of the deed," and "the glory to God that would accrue from it." (Tytler.) In the same year Crichton opened communications with several persons in England with the hope of extracting protection and reward from Henry for the murder of the Cardinal; but as pay did not seem forthcoming, he took no active hand in the final catastrophe.

He was afterwards forfeited; but the Act was withdrawn in a Parliament held by the Queen Regent in 1556.

In 1585, John Crichton of Brunstane and James Douglas of Drumlanrig became caution in £10,000 for Robert Douglas, Provost of Lincluden, that if released from the Castle of Edinburgh he would return to reside there on a six days' warning.

In the "Retours" for May 17th, 1608, we find Jacobus Crichtoun *heres*, Joannis Crichtoun de Brunstoun *patris*; but from thenceforward to the time of Lord Thirlstane there seems a hiatus in the history of the old place.

We have examined the existing title-deeds of it, which show that previous to 1682 the house and lands were in possession of John, Duke of Lauderdale, whose second duchess, Elizabeth Murray (daughter of William, Earl of Dysart, and widow of Sir Lyonell Talmash, of Heyling, in the county of Suffolk), obtained a charter of them, under the Great Seal of Scotland, in the year mentioned, on the 10th March.

They next came into possession of Lyonell, Earl of Dysart, "as only son and heir of the deceased Elizabeth, Duchess of Lauderdale," on the 19th of March, 1703.

The said Earl sold "the house of Gilberton, commonly called Brunstane," to Archibald, Duke of Argyle, on the 31st May, 1736; and ten years afterwards the latter sold Brunstane to James, third Earl of Abercorn.

Part of the lands of Brunstane were sold by the Duke on the 28th September, 1747, to Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, nephew of that stern patriot of the same name who, after the Union, quitted Scotland, saying that "she was only fit for the slaves who sold her."

Andrew Fletcher resided in the house of Brunstane. He was Lord Justice Clerk, and succeeded the famous Lord Fountainhall on the bench in 1724, and presided as a judge till his death, at Brunstane, 13th of December, 1766. His daughter, "Miss Betty Fletcher," was married at Brunstane, in 1758, to Captain Wedderburn of Gosford.

On the 15th of February, 1769, the old house and the Fletchers' portion of the estate were acquired by purchase by James, eighth Earl of Abercorn, whose descendant and representative, the first Duke of Abercorn, sold Brunstane, in 1875, to the Benhar Coal Company, by whom it is again advertised for sale.

CHAPTER XV.

LEITH WALK.

A Pathway in the 15th Century probable—General Leslie's Trenches—Repulse of Cromwell—The Road Chapel—Old Leith Stages—Proposal for Lighting the Walk—The Gallow Lea—Executions there—The Minister of Spott—Five Witches—Five Covenanters—The Story of their Skulls—The Murder of Lady Bailie—The Effigies of "Johnnie Wilkes."

PRIOR to the building of the North Bridge the Easter Road was the principal carriage way to Leith on the east, and the Bonnington Road, as we have

elsewhere stated, was the chief way to the seaport on the west; but there would seem to have been of old some kind of path, however narrow, in the

direction of Leith Walk, as by charter under the Great Seal, dated at Edinburgh, 13th August, 1456, King James II. granted, "*preposito, ballivis et communitati nostri de Edinburgh*," the valley or low ground between the well called Craigangilt, on the east side (*i.e.*, the Calton Hill), "and the common way and road towards the town of Leith, on the west side," etc.

But the origin of Leith Loan—or Leith Walk, as we now call it—was purely accidental, and the result of the contingencies of war.

In 1650, to repel Cromwell's attack upon the city, Sir Alexander Leslie had the whole Scottish army skillfully entrenched in rear of a strong breastwork of earth that lay from north to south between Edinburgh and Leith. Its right flank was defended by redoubts armed with guns on the green slope of the Calton Hill; its left by others on the eastern portions of Leith and St. Anthony's Port, which enfiladed the line and swept all the open ground towards Restalrig. In addition to all this, the walls of the city were everywhere armed with cannon, and the banners of the trades were displayed above its gates.

Along the line of this entrenchment Charles II., after landing at Leith from Stirling, proceeded on horseback to the city. His appearance created the greatest enthusiasm, all the more so that Cromwell's arms were seen glittering in the distance. Around Charles was his Life Guard of Horse, led by the Earl of Eglinton, magnificently armed and mounted, and having on their embroidered standards the crown, sword, and sceptre, with the mottoes *Nobis hæc invicta miserunt*, and *Pro Religione, Rege, et Patriâ*.

On Monday, the 24th of July, Cromwell furiously attacked the entrenchment, as he had been exasperated by the result of a sortie made by Major General Montgomery, who at the head of 2,000 Scottish dragoons, had repulsed an advanced column, and "killed five Colonells and Lieutenant-Colonells, mortally wounded Lieut.-Gen. Lambert and five hundred soldiers." (Balfour.) As the English advanced, the rising sun shone full upon the long lines of Scottish helmets glittering above the rough earthwork, where many a pike was gleaming and many a standard waving. Clearing the rocks and house of Restalrig, they advanced over the plain westward from Lochend, when the field batteries at the Quarry Holes, the guns on Leith and the Calton, opened on them simultaneously, while a rolling and incessant fire of musketry ran along the whole Scottish line from flank to flank, and was poured in closely and securely from the summit of the breastwork. They were speedily thrown into confusion, and fled in considerable disorder, leaving

behind them some pieces of cannon and the ground strewn with dead and wounded.

Cromwell's vigorous attack on the southern part of the city was equally well repulsed, and he then drew off from it till after his victory at Dunbar.

At this time General Leslie's head-quarters were in the village of Broughton, from whence many of his despatches were dated; and when the war was shifted to other quarters, his famous breastwork became the established footway between the capital and its seaport.

Midway between these long stood an edifice, of which no vestige remains—the Rood Chapel, repairs upon which were paid for by the city in 1554-5. It stood in the vicinity of the Gallow Lee, a place memorable for a desperate conflict between the Kingsmen and Queensmen in 1571, when the motto of "God shaw the Richt," was conferred on Captain Crawford, of Jordan Hill, by the Regent Morton, and whose tombstone is yet to be seen in the churchyard of Kilbimie. On nearly the same ground in 1604 James Hardie, of Bounmylnierig, with others, in the month of April, between nine and ten in the evening, assailed Jacques de la Berge, a Fleming, forced him to quit his saddle, and "thereafter rypeit him" of gold and silver, for which Hardie was hanged at the Cross and his goods forfeited.

Though in 1610 Henrie Anderson, a native of Stralsund, in Pomerania, obtained a royal patent for coaches to run between Edinburgh and Leith at the rate of 2d. per passenger, we have no record of how his speculation succeeded; nor was it until 1660 that William Woodcock obtained a license "to fitt and set up ane haickney coach for the service of his Majesty's lieges, betwix Leith and Edinburgh," at the rate of 12s. (Scots) per passenger, if the latter decided to travel alone, but if three went with him, the charge was to be no more than 12s.; and all who came upward to Edinburgh were to alight at the foot of Leith Wynd, "for the staynes yr of."

From that time we hear no more of Leith stages till 1678, as mentioned in our first volume; but in 1702 a person named Robert Miller obtained permission to keep four vehicles to ply between the two towns for nine years. Individual enterprise having failed to make stages here remunerative, the magistrates in 1722 granted to a company the exclusive right to run coaches on Leith Walk for a period of twenty-one years, each to hold six passengers, the fare to be 3d. in summer and 4d. in winter; but this speculation did not seem to pay, and in 1727 the company raised the fares to 4d. and 6d. respectively.

In 1748 the thoroughfare is described as "a very handsome gravel walk, twenty feet broad, which is kept in good repair at the public expense, and no horses suffered to come upon it." In 1763 two stage coaches, with three horses, a driver, and postilion each, ran between Edinburgh and Leith every hour, consuming an hour on the way, from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m.; and at that time there were no other stage coaches in Scotland, except one which set out at long intervals for London.

Before that nothing had been done, though in 1774 the *Weekly Magazine* announced that "a new road for carriages is to be made betwixt Edinburgh and Leith. It is to be continued from the end of the New Bridge by the side of Clelland's Gardens and Leith Walk. [Clelland's Feu was where Leith Terrace is now.] We hear that the expense of it is to be defrayed by subscription."

In 1779 Arnot states that "so great is the concourse of people passing between Edinburgh and



HIGH STREET, PORTOBELLO.

In 1769, when Provost Drummond built the North Bridge, he gave out that it was to improve the access to Leith, and on this pretence, to conciliate opposition to his scheme, upon the plate in the foundation-stone of the bridge it is solely described as the opening of a new road to Leith; and after it was opened the Walk became freely used for carriages, but without any regard being paid to its condition, or any system established for keeping it in repair; thus, consequently, it fell into a state of disorder "from which it was not rescued till after the commencement of the present century, when a splendid causeway was formed at a great expense by the city of Edinburgh, and a toll erected for its payment."

Leith, and so much are the stage coaches employed, that they pass and re-pass between these towns 156 times daily. Each of these carriages holds four persons." The fare in some was 2½d.; in others, 3d.

In December, 1799, the *Herald* announces that the magistrates had ordered forty oil lamps for Leith Walk, "which necessary improvement," adds the editor, "will, we understand, soon take place."

Among some reminiscences, which appeared about thirty years ago, we have a description of Anderson's Leith stage, "which took an hour and a half to go from the Tron Church to the shore. A great lumbering affair on four wheels, the two fore painted yellow, the two hind red, having formerly



VIEWS IN PORTOBELLO.

1, Ramsay Lane; 2, The Established Church; 3, High Street, looking east; 4, Town Hall; 5, Episcopal Church.

belonged to different vehicles. It is standing opposite the Tron Kirk. The warning bell rings a quarter of an hour before starting! Shortly a pair of ill-conditioned and ill-sized hacks make their appearance, and are yoked to it; the harness, partly of old leathern straps and partly of ropes, bears evidence of many a mend. A passenger comes and takes a seat—probably from the Crames or Luckenbooths—who has shut his shop and affixed a notice to the door, 'Gone to Leith, and will be back at 4 of the clock, p.m.' The quarter being up, and the second bell rung, off starts the coach at a very slow pace. Having taken three-quarters of an hour to get to the Halfway House, the 'bus' sticks fast in a rut; the driver whips up his nags, when lo! away go the horses, but fast remains the stage. The ropes being re-tied, and assistance procured from the 'Half-way,' the stage is extricated, and proceeds. What a contrast," adds the writer, "between the above pictures and the present 'bus' with driver and conductor, starting every five minutes." But to-day the contrast is yet greater, the tram having superseded the 'bus.

The forty oil-lamps referred to would seem not to have been erected, as in the *Advertiser* for September, 1802, a subscription was announced for lighting the Walk during the ensuing winter season, the lamps not to be lighted at all until a sufficient sum had been subscribed at the Leith Bank and certain other places to continue them to the end of March, 1803; but we have no means of knowing if ever this scheme were carried out.

"If my reader be an inhabitant of Edinburgh of any standing," writes Robert Chambers, "he must have many delightful associations of Leith Walk in connection with his childhood. Of all the streets in Edinburgh or Leith, the *Walk*, in former times, was certainly the street for boys and girls. From top to bottom it was a scene of wonders and enjoyments peculiarly devoted to children. Besides the panoramas and caravan shows, which were comparatively transient spectacles, there were several shows upon Leith Walk which might be considered as regular fixtures, and part of the *country-cousin* sights of Edinburgh. Who can forget the waxworks of 'Mrs. Sands, widow of the late G. Sands,' which occupied a *laigh* shop opposite to the present Haddington Place, and at the door of which, besides various parrots and sundry Birds of Paradise, sat the wax figure of a little man in the dress of a French courtier of the *ancien régime*, reading one eternal copy of the *Edinburgh Advertiser*? The very outsides of these wonderful shops was an immense treat; all along the Walk it was one delicious scene of squirrels hung out at doors and

monkeys dressed like soldiers and sailors, with holes behind them where their tails came through. Even the halfpenny-less boy might have got his appetite for wonders to some extent gratified."

The long spaces of blank garden or nursery walls on both sides of the way were then literally garrisoned with mendicants, organ-grinders, and cripples on iron or wooden legs, in bowls and wheelbarrows, by ballad singers and itinerant fiddlers. Among the mendicants on the east side of the Walk, below Elm Row (where the last of the elms has long since disappeared) there was one noted mendicant, an old seaman, whose figure was familiar there for years, and whose sobriquet was "Commodore O'Brien," who sat daily in a little masted boat which had been presented to him by order of George IV. "The commodore's ship," says the *Weekly Journal* for 1831, "is appropriately called the *Royal Gift*. It is scarcely 6 ft. long, by 2½ breadth of beam, and when rigged for use her mast is little stouter than a mopstick, her cordage scarcely stronger than packthread, and her tonnage is a light burden for two men. In this mannikin cutter the intrepid navigator fearlessly commits himself to the ocean and performs long voyages." Now the character of the Walk is entirely changed, as it is a double row of houses from end to end.

During the railway mania two schemes were projected to supersede the omnibus traffic here. One was an atmospheric railway, and the other a subterranean one, to be laid under the Walk. A road for foot-passengers was to be formed alongside the railway, and shops, from which much remuneration was expected, were to be opened along the line; but both schemes collapsed, though plans for them were laid before Parliament.

In April, 1803, there died, in a house in Leith Walk, James Sibbald, an eminent bookseller and antiquary, who was educated at the grammar-school of Selkirk, and after being in the shop of Elliott, a publisher in Edinburgh, in 1781 acquired by purchase the library which had once belonged to Allan Ramsay, and was thereafter long one of the leading booksellers in the Parliament Square.

One terrible peculiarity attended Leith Walk, even till long after the middle of the last century—this was the presence of a permanent gibbet at the Gallow Lee, a dreary object to the wayfarer by night, when two or three malefactors swung there in chains, with the gleds and crows perching over them. It stood on rising ground, on the west side of the Walk, and its site is enclosed in the precincts of a villa once occupied by the witty and beautiful Duchess of Gordon. As the knoll was composed

of sand, much of it was carted away, and, with the ashes of the malefactors of centuries, converted into mortar, and used in the erection of the New Town. So far from being a knoll, the place is now a hollow. It is related that, every day while the carts were taking away the sand, the proprietor of the knoll stood regularly at the place receiving the money in return, and "every little sum he got was converted into liquor, and applied to the comfort of his inner man. A public-house was at length erected on the spot for his particular behoof; and, assuredly, as long as the Gallow Lee lasted this house did not want custom. Perhaps, familiar as the reader may be with stories of sots who have drunk away their last coin, he never before heard of this thing being done in so literal a manner."

It immediately adjoined the place known as Shrub Hill. Ordinary malefactors were hanged at the Cross in the Grassmarket, or on the shore of Leith; but the Gallow Lee was latterly the special place for the execution of witches, and for hanging in chains the bodies of those who had committed great crimes. Sometimes only a hand or other limb was gibbeted here, while the rest of the body was buried elsewhere. Among the most noted executions and gibbetings here, we may add the following to those which have been referred to incidentally elsewhere in our pages.—

Crawford of Drumsoy records that two criminals were burned to death here in 1570; and then he relates an execution at the same place in the autumn of the year, which made some excitement even in the Scotland of those days.

Mr. John Kelloe, minister of Spott, near Dunbar, being seized by a sudden remorse of conscience, came to Edinburgh, and judiciously made confession of a crime which otherwise would never have been proved against him. He had been married to a poor but very handsome and attractive girl, "very witty and fond, a very little woman, but well shap'd," before he got the benefice of Spott, after which he began to propose to himself a second marriage with the wealthy daughter of a laird, whose name Crawford omits, provided he could by any means rid himself of his first wife, to whom now he began to behave harshly and petulantly. To prepare the way for the execution of his design, and to conceal it when done, he suddenly began to disseminate in his treatment of her; his manner was full of tenderness, kindness, and delicacy.

"She who now thought herself the happiest of her sex," continues Crawford in his "Memoirs," written in 1705, "effusively strove to make him so too, and hastened her own ruin; for, upon a Sunday morning, as she was saying her prayers upon

her knees, he came softly behind her, put a rope (which he had kept all night in his pocket) about her neck, and after he had strangled her tied her up to an iron hook which a day or two before he had purposely nailed to the ceiling of the room. This done, he bolted his gate, crept out of his parlour window, slept demurely to church, and charmed his hearers with a most excellent sermon."

The murderer next invited two or three of his parishioners to sup with him, telling them casually, as it were, that "his wife was not well, and of late somewhat inclined to melancholy; that she had not come to kirk that day, but would be glad to see them at her house." On knocking at the gate, the Rev. Mr. Kelloe affected to be much astonished that there was no response. Ultimately he and his guests were obliged to make a forcible entrance, and the murdered wife was found hanging from the hook to which her corpse had been attached. The reverend incumbent of Spott now "feigned grief and counterfeited sorrow so much to the life that his neighbours almost forgot to mourn for the dead so much were they afraid of losing the living. However, these forged tears, by the mercy of God to this great offender, suddenly became real ones."

Tortured by conscience, after six weeks of misery he made a confession of his crime to the schoolmaster of Dunbar, according to Crawford—to Andrew Simpson, minister there, according to the "Historie of King James the Sext"—and after being convicted, on his own confession, at Edinburgh, he was conveyed to the Gallow Lee, on the 4th of October, and strangled. His corpse was then consumed by fire and the ashes scattered on the air. "Never did any man appear more penitent or less fearful of death. He was attended from the prison to the stake by three of the clergy, and by the way he rather instructed them than received any assistance from them."

A century or so later and we have some appalling accounts of the cremation of so-called witches at the terrible Gallow Lee.

In 1678 five were (mercifully) strangled first and burnt to ashes there, by sentence of the Lords; and other four, their companions, were burned at Painston Muir, in their own parish. The accusations against them were intimacy with the devil, dancing with him, renouncing their baptism, and being kissed by him, though his lips were icy cold, and his breath like damp air; taking a communion at his hands, when "the bread was like wafers, the drink sometimes blood and other times like black moss water," and much more to the same purpose, all of which is gravely recorded by Lord Fountain-

hall within thirty years of the time when Steele and Addison were writing in the *Spectator*!

The 10th of October, 1681, saw five unfortunate victims of misrule, named Garnock, Foreman, Russel, Ferrie, and Stewart, executed at the Gallow Lee, where their bodies were buried, while their heads were placed on the Cowgate Port. Some of their friends came in the night, and reverently lifting the remains, re-interred them in the West Churchyard. They had the courage also to take

half of the linen over them, and stuff the coffin with shavings." Many urged that the latter should be borne through all the chief thoroughfares; but Patrick Walker adds that instead, "we went out by the back of the [city] wall, in at the Bristo Port, and turned up to the churchyard [Greyfriars], where they were interred close to the Martyrs' tomb, with the greatest multitude of people, old and young, men and women, ministers and others, that I ever saw together."

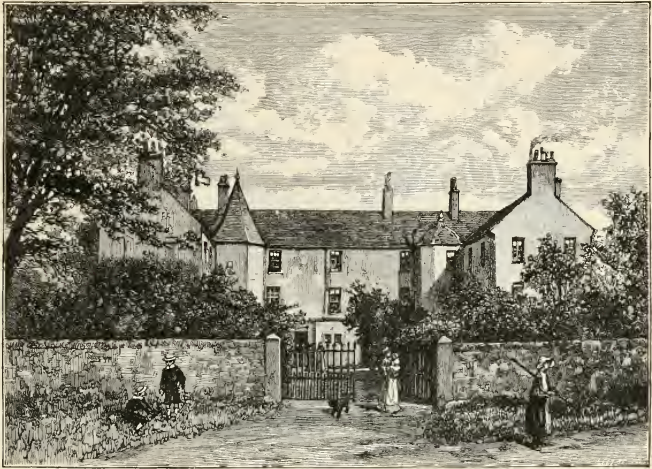


JOPPA FANS.

down the heads for the same purpose, but being scared they were obliged to enclose them in a box, which they buried in a garden at Lauriston. There they lay till the 7th of October, 1726, a period of forty-five years, when a Mr. Shaw, proprietor of the garden, had them exhumed. The resurrection of the ghastly relics of the Covenanting times made a great excitement in Edinburgh. They were rolled in four yards of fine linen and placed in a coffin. "Being young men, their teeth all remained," says Patrick Walker (the author of "*Biographia Presbyteriana*"). "All were witness to the holes in each of their heads which the hangman broke with his hammer; and according to the bigness of their skulls we laid their jaws to them, drew the other

On the 10th of January, 1752, there was taken from the Tolbooth, hanged at the Gallow Lee, and gibbeted there, a man named Norman Ross, whose remains were long a source of disgust and dismay to all wayfarers on the Walk. His crime was the assassination of Lady Baillie, a sister of Home the Laird of Wedderburn. A relation of this murder is given in a work entitled "*Memoirs of an Aristocrat*," published in 1838, by the brother of a claimant for the Earldom of Marchmont, a book eventually suppressed. The lady in question married Ninian Home, a dominie, but by failure of her brothers ultimately became heiress, and the dominie died before her.

Norman Ross was her footman, and secreted



BRUNSTANE HOUSE.

himself in her bedroom, "with the intention of carrying off a sum of money after she fell asleep. But the noise of opening her desk awoke her; he, for fear of detection, seized a knife which by accident lay there, and mangled her throat so dreadfully that she died next day. He then leaped from a window of the second storey, but fractured one of his legs so much in the fall that he was unable to walk, and sustained himself for several days, eating peas and turnips, until his hiding-place was discovered. He afterwards graced the gibbet in Leith Walk, where his body hung for many a long year."

In more than one instance on the King's birth-

day the effigy of "Johnnie Wilkes," that noted demagogue, Lord Mayor of London and English M.P., who made himself so obnoxious to the Scots, figured at the Gallow Lee. The custom, still prevalent in many parts of the country, and so dear to the Scottish schoolboy, of destroying his effigy with every indignity on the royal birthday, is first mentioned, we believe, in "Annals of the Reign of George III.," 1770.

But when only fields and green coppice lay between the city and the seaport, the gibbet at the Gallow Lee, with its ghastly additions, must have formed a gloomy object amid the smiling urban landscape.

CHAPTER XVI.

LEITH WALK (*concluded*).

East Side—Captain Haldane of the Tabernacle—New Road to Haddington—Windsor Street—Mrs. H. Siddons—Lovers' Loan—Greenside House—Andrew Macdonald, the Author of "Vivionda"—West Side—Sir J. Whiteford of that ilk—Gayfield House—Colonel Crichton—Prince Leopold—Lady Maxwell—Lady Nairne—Springfield—McCulloch of Ardwell and Samuel Foote.

In the beginning of the present century fields and nursery grounds chiefly bordered Leith Walk, though here and there blocks of houses—named

respectively Trotter's, Jollie's, Ronaldson's, and King's Buildings—had been erected, with long open intervals between them.

On the east side of the walk, overlooking the steep and deep Greenside ravine, the huge and hideous edifice named the "Tabernacle," was long the scene of the ministrations of the Rev. James Alexander Haldane, who there, for more than forty years, devoted himself, gratuitously, and with exemplary assiduity, to preaching the Gospel. He was the son of Captain James Haldane of Airthrey, a descendant of the family of Gleneagles, and his mother was a sister of Admiral Viscount Duncan.

He commenced life as a midshipman on board the *Duke of Montrose*, Indiaman, made four voyages to the East, and in his twenty-fifth year became captain of the *Melville Castle*, and was distinguished for his bravery amid many perils incident to life at sea. During the mutiny at Spithead, the spirit of the revolt was spread to the *Dutton*, a vessel alongside of Haldane's, by the captain of the former sending a man-of-war's boat to have some of his men arrested for insubordination. The mutiny broke out on a dark night—shots were fired, and a man killed. On this, the future pastor of the Tabernacle lowered a boat with an armed crew, and went off to the *Dutton*, the crew of which threatened him with death if he did not sheer off; but he boarded her, sword in hand, and, driving the mutineers forward, addressed them on the folly of their conduct, the punishment that was certain to follow, and eventually overcame them without more bloodshed.

Soon after this he resigned his command in the East India Company's Service, and meant to adopt the life of a country gentleman; but an intimacy with Mr. Black, minister of Lady Yester's, and Mr. Buchanan, of the Canongate Church, led to a graver turn of thought, and, resolving to devote his life to the diffusion of the Gospel, he sold his beautiful estate at Airthrey to Sir Robert Abercromby, and failing in a missionary plan he had formed for India, he began to preach at home, first at Gilmerston in 1797, and afterwards on the Calton Hill, where the novelty of a sea-captain addressing them collected not less than 10,000 persons on more than one occasion.

Eventually he became minister of the then recently erected Tabernacle on the east side of Leith Walk, and so named from Mr. Whitefield's places of worship. Eminent preachers from England frequently appeared here, and it was always crowded to excess. The seats were all free, and he derived no emolument from his office.

At the period he commenced his public career, towards the end of the last century, evangelical doctrine was at a low ebb, but through the instrumentality of Mr. Haldane and his brother, also a preacher, a considerable revival took place.

The Tabernacle has long since been converted into shops.

Immediately adjoining it on the south is a low square, squat-looking tower, with a façade in the Tudor style forming a new front on an old house, pierced with the entrance to Lady Glenorchy's Free Church, which stands immediately behind it.

Where now we find the New London Road, running eastward from Leopold Place to Brunton Place, Ainslie's plan of 1804 shows us in dotted line a "Proposed new road to Haddington," passing on the north a tolerably large pond, on the Earl of Moray's property near the Easter Road—a pond only filled up when Regent Place and other similar streets were recently built at Maryfield—and on the south the Upper Quarry Holes—hollows still traceable at the east end of the Royal Terrace Gardens. A street of some kind of buildings occupied the site of the present Elm Row, as shown by a plan in 1787; and in the *Caledonian Mercury* for 1812 a premium of three hundred guineas is offered for the best design for laying out in streets and squares, the lands in this quarter, on the east side of the walk, consisting of 300 acres.

Here now we find Windsor Street, a handsome thoroughfare, built of white freestone, in a simple but severe style of Greek architecture, with massive fluted columns at every doorway. No. 23, in the year 1827 became the residence of the well-known Mrs. Henry Siddons. Previously she had resided at No. 63, York Place, and No. 2, Picardy Place. Three years after she came to Windsor Street, her twenty-one years' patent of the old Theatre Royal, which she had carried on with her brother, W. H. Murray, as stage manager, came to a close, and on the 29th of March, 1830, this popular and brilliant actress took her farewell of the Edinburgh stage, in the character of Lady Towneley in *The Provoked Husband*, meaning to spend the remainder of her life in retirement, leaving the theatre entirely to Mr. Murray.

She was a beautiful woman, and a charming actress of a sweet, tender, and pathetic school.

When she took up her residence in Windsor Street the ground was nearly all meadow land, from there to Warriston Crescent, says Miss F. A. Kemble, in her recent "Reminiscences," which is rather a mistake; but she adds, "Mrs. Siddons held a peculiar position in Edinburgh, her widowhood, condition, and personal attractions combining to win the sympathy and admiration of its best society, while her high character and blameless conduct secured the respect and esteem of her theatrical subjects and the general public, with whom she was an object of almost affectionate personal regard, and

in whose favour, so long as she exercised her profession, she continued to hold the first place in spite of their temporary enthusiasm for the great London stars, who visited them at stated seasons. 'Our Mrs. Siddons' I frequently heard her called in Edinburgh, not at all with the idea of comparing her with the celebrated mother-in-law; but rather as expressing the kindly personal goodwill with which she was regarded by her own townsfolk who were proud and fond of her."

She was not a great actress, according to this writer, for she lacked versatility, or power of assumption in any part that was opposed to her nature or out of her power, and she was destitute of physical strength and weight for Shaksperian heroines generally; yet Rosalind, Viola, Imogen, and Isabel, had no sweeter exponents; and in all pieces that turned on the tender, soft, and faithful Mary Stuart, "she gave an unrivalled impersonation."

On leaving Edinburgh, after 1830, she carried with her the good wishes of the entire people, "for they had recognised in her not merely the accomplished actress, but the good mother, the refined lady, and the irreproachable member of society."

Northward of Windsor Street, in what was once a narrow, pleasant, and secluded path between thick hedgerows, called the Lovers' Loan, was built, in 1876, at a short distance from the railway station, the Leith Walk public school, at a cost of £9,000; it is in the Decorated Collegiate style, calculated to accommodate about 840 scholars, and is a good specimen of the Edinburgh Board schools.

In the Lovers' Loan Greenside House was long the property and the summer residence of James Marshal, W.S., whose town residence was in Milne Square, so limited were the ideas of locomotion and exaggerated those of distance in the last century. He was born in 1731, says Kay's Editor, and though an acute man of business, "was one of the most profound swearers of his day, so much so that few could compete with him." He died in the then sequestered house of Greenside in 1807.

In the year 1802 the ground here was occupied by Barker's "famous panorama," from Leicester Square, London, wherein were exhibited views of Dover, the Downs, and the coast of France, with the embarkation of troops, horse and foot, from ten till dusk, at one shilling a head, opposite the Botanical Garden.

Lower down, where we now find Albert, Falschaw, and Buchanan Streets, the ground for more than twenty years was a garden nursery, long the feu of Messrs. Eagle and Henderson, some of whose advertisements as seedsmen go back to nearly the middle of the last century.

At the foot of the Walk there was born, in 1755, Andrew Macdonald, an ingenious but unfortunate dramatic and miscellaneous writer, whose father, George Donald, was a market-gardener there. He received the rudiments of his education in the Leith High School, and early indicated such literary talents, that his friends had sanguine hopes of his future eminence, and with a view to his becoming a minister of the Scottish Episcopal communion he studied at the University of Edinburgh, where he remained till the year 1775, when he was put into deacon's orders by Bishop Forbes of Leith. On this account, at the suggestion of the latter, he prefixed the syllable *Mac* to his name. As there was no living for him vacant, he left his father's cottage in Leith Walk to become a tutor in the family of Oliphant of Gask, after which he became pastor of an Episcopal congregation in Glasgow, and in 1772 published "*Velina, a Poetical Fragment*," which is said to have contained much genuine poetry, and was in the Spenserian stanza.

His next essay was "The Independent," which won him neither profit nor reputation; but having written "*Vimonda, a Tragedy*," with a prologue by Henry Mackenzie, he came to Edinburgh, where it was put upon the boards, and where he vainly hoped to make a living by his pen. It was received with great applause, but won him no advantage, as his literary friends now deserted him. Before leaving Glasgow he had taken a step which they deemed alike imprudent and degrading. "This was his marrying the maid-servant of the house in which he lodged. His reception, therefore, on his return to Edinburgh from these friends and those of his acquaintances who participated in their feelings, had in it much to annoy and distress him, although no charge could be brought against the humble partner of his fortunes but the meanness of her condition." Thus his literary prospects, so far as regarded Edinburgh, ended in total disappointment; so, accompanied by his wife, he took him to the greater centre of London.

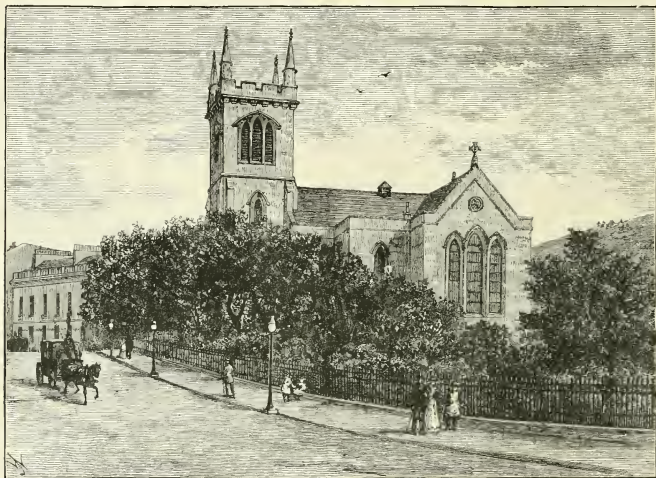
There the fame of "*Vimonda*" had preceded him, and Colman brought it out with splendour to crowded houses in the years 1787 and 1788; and now poor Macdonald's mind became radiant with hope of affluence and fame, and he had a pretty little residence at Brompton, then a sequestered place.

He next engaged with much ardour upon an opera, but made his subsistence chiefly by writing satirical papers and poems for the newspapers, under the signature of "Mathew Bramble." At last this resource failed him, and he found himself

on the verge of destitution ; and D'Israeli writes of him thus in his "Calamities of Authors" :—

"It was one evening I saw a tall, famished, melancholy man enter a bookseller's shop, his hat flapped over his eyes, his whole frame evidently feeble from exhaustion and utter misery. The bookseller inquired how he proceeded with his tragedy? 'Do not talk to me about my tragedy! Do not talk to me about my tragedy! I have, indeed, more tragedy than I can bear at home,' was

Now all the ground eastward of the Walk to the Easter Road is rapidly being covered by new streets, and the last of the green fields there has well-nigh disappeared. Between the North British Goods Station and Lorne Street the ground fronting the Walk belongs to the Governors of Heriot's Hospital, while the ground between the latter and the Easter Road is the property of the Trinity Hospital. The ground in these districts has been feued at from £105 to £120 per acre, for tene-



GREENSIDE CHURCH, FROM LEOPOLD PLACE.

his reply, and his voice faltered as he spoke. This man was 'Mathew Bramble'—Macdonald, the author of 'Vimonda,' at that moment the writer of comic poetry!"

D'Israeli then refers to his seven children, which, however, is an error, as he had but one child, whom, with his wife, he left in utter indigence, when—after the privations to which he had been subjected had a fatal effect on a naturally weak constitution—he died, in 1788, in the thirty-third year of his age. A volume of his sermons, published soon after his death, met with a favourable reception ; and in 1791 appeared his "Miscellaneous Works," in one volume, containing all his dramas, with "Probationary Odes for the Laureateship," and other pieces.

ments four storeys in height, at an average value each of from £1,800 to £2,000. Many of these streets are devoid of architectural features, and meant for the residence of artisans.

The Heriot feus have tenements valued at from £3,000 to £4,000, and contain houses of five and nine apartments, with ranges of commodious shops on the ground-floor. During the changes here the old burn of Greenside has also been dealt with ; and instead of meandering, as heretofore, towards where of old the Lower Quarry Holes lay—latterly in an offensive and muddy course—it is carried in a culvert, which will be turned to account as a main drain for the locality.

In the map of 1804 the upper part of Leith

Walk is shown edified from the corner of Picardy Place to where we now find Gayfield Square, which, when it was first erected, was called Gayfield Place. West London Street was then called Anglia Street, and its western continuation, in which old Gayfield House is now included, was not contemplated. North of this house is shown a large area, "Mrs. D. Hope's feu;" and between it and the Walk was the old Botanical Garden.

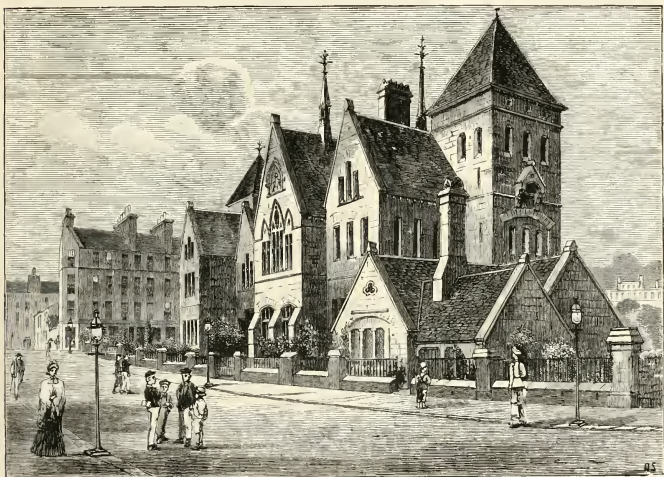
In 1783 Sir John Whiteford, Bart., of that ilk,

Gordon, relict of Sir Alexander Gordon of Lesmoir, Bart., died there.

Gayfield House is now a veterinary college.

In 1800 Sir John Wardlaw, Bart., of Pitreavie, resided in Gayfield Square; and there his wife, the daughter of Mitchell of Pittheadie (a ruined castle in Fifeshire), died in that year. He was a colonel in the army, and died in 1823, a lieutenant-colonel of the 4th West India Regiment.

No. 1, Gayfield Place, was long the residence of



BOARD SCHOOL, LOVER'S LOAN.

possessed and resided in a house "at the head of Leith Walk," which he advertised for sale in the papers of that year at the then yearly rent of £84. He died in Edinburgh in 1803, and his son succeeded to the title, which is now extinct. The latter's sister, Maria Whiteford, afterwards Mrs. Cranston, was the heroine of Burns's song, "The Lass o' Ballochmyle," her father being one of the poet's earliest and warmest patrons.

The Gayfield quarter seems to have been rather aristocratic in those days. In 1767, David, sixth Earl of Leven, who had once been a captain in the army, occupied Gayfield House, where in that year his sister, Lady Betty, was married to John, Earl of Hopetoun; and in the last year of the century Lady

a well-known citizen in his time, Patrick Crichton, whose father was a coachbuilder in the Canongate, and who, in 1805, was appointed lieutenant-colonel commandant of the 2nd Regiment of Edinburgh Local Militia. He had entered the army when young, and attained the rank of captain in the 57th Regiment, with which he served during the American war, distinguishing himself so much that he received the public thanks of the commander-in-chief. Among his friends and brother-officers then was Andrew Watson, whose brother George founded the Scottish Academy. When the war was over he retired, and entered into partnership with his father; and on the first formation of the Volunteers, in consequence of his great military expe-

rience, he was appointed captain of the East New Town Company, and inaugurated his new service by fighting a duel with a Dr. Bennet, whom he wounded, the dispute having occurred about some repairs on the doctor's chaise. "He was," says Kay's editor, "a fine manly-looking person, rather florid in complexion, exceedingly polite in his manners, and of gentlemanly attainments." He was treasurer of the city in 1795-6, and died at No. 1, Gayfield Square, in 1823. His son Archibald, born there, a High School boy, became physician to the Emperor Alexander of Russia in 1817; he was also physician to the Imperial Guard, was knighted by the Emperor, and paid a visit to his native city in 1823. He is referred to in our account of Princes Street.

In a house on the west side of the square lived Kincaid Mackenzie, in 1818-9; previously he had resided in No. 14, Dundas Street. In 1817 he was elected Lord Provost; and two years afterwards he entertained at his house in the square, Prince Leopold, afterwards King of the Belgians. He died suddenly, on the 2nd of January, 1830, when he was about to sit down to dinner.

In the common stair, No. 31, Campbell of Barchaldine had a house in 1811, at which time the square was still called Gayfield Place.

Lower down the Walk, on the same side, was the old Botanical Garden, the successor of the old Physic Garden that lay in the swampy valley of the North Loch, and the garden of Holyrood Palace.

Dr. John Hope, the professor of botany, appointed in 1768, used every exertion to procure a more favourable situation for a garden than the old one, and succeeded, about 1766, in obtaining such aid and countenance from Government as enabled him to accomplish the object he had so much at heart. "His Majesty," says Arnot, with laudable detail—Government grants being few for Scotland in those days—"was graciously pleased to grant the sum of £1,330 *is.* 2½*d.* for making it, and for its annual support £69 *8s.*; at the same time the magistrates and Town Council granted the sum of £25 annually for paying the rent of the ground."

The latter was five acres in extent, and the rapid progress it made as a garden was greatly owing to the skill and diligence of John Williamson, the head gardener. "The soil," says Arnot, "is sandy or gravelly." Playfair, in his "Illustrations of the Huttonian Theory," says of this garden that its ground, "after a thin covering is removed, consists entirely of sea-sand, very regularly stratified with layers of black carbonaceous matter in three lamellæ interposed between them. Shells, I be-

lieve, are rarely found in it; but it has every other appearance of a sea-beach."

By 1780 it was richly stocked with trees to afford good shelter for young and tender plants. In the eastern division was the school of botany, containing 2,000 species of plants, systematically arranged. A German traveller, named Frank, who visited it in 1805, praised the order of the plants, and says, "among others I saw a beautiful *Ferula asafetida* in full bloom. The gardens at Kew received their plants from this garden."

The latter was laid out under the immediate direction of Dr. Hope, who arranged the plants according to the system of Linnæus, to whom, in 1778, he erected in the grounds a monument—a vase upon a pedestal—inscribed:

LINNÆO POSUIT IO. HOPE.

He built suitable hothouses, and formed a pond for the nourishment of aquatic plants. These were all in the western division of the ground. The conservatories were 140 feet long. Bruce of Kinnaird, the traveller, gave the professor a number of Abyssinian plant seeds, among them the plant which cured him of dysentery. In a small enclosure the industrious professor had a plantation of the true rhubarb, containing 3,000 plants.

The greenhouse was covered by a *slated* roof, according to the *Scots Magazine*, in 1809; and as light was only admitted at the sides, the plants were naturally drawn towards them. "To remedy this radical defect," adds the writer, "a glass roof is necessary. The soil of this garden is by no means good; vast pains have been bestowed upon it to produce what has been done. The situation, which, at one period, may be admitted to have been favourable, is now indifferent, and is daily becoming worse, from the rapid encroachment of building, and the *blasting* effects of an iron-foundry on the opposite side of Leith Walk."

Some of the new walks here were laid out by Mr. John Mackay, said to be one of the most enthusiastic botanists and tasteful gardeners that Scotland had as then produced, and who died in 1802.

In 1814, on the death of Dr. Roxburgh, he was succeeded as superintendent of this garden by Dr. Francis Buchanan, author of several works on India, where, in 1800, he was chosen to examine the state of the country which had been lately conquered from Tippoo Sahib; he had also been surgeon to the Marquis of Wellesley, then Governor-General. He died in 1829, prior to which, as we have elsewhere related, this Botanical Garden had been abandoned, and all its plants removed without

injury to the new and splendid one at Inverleith Row.

Shrub Hill, the villa on a little eminence northward of the Botanical Gardens, in 1800 was the property of the dowager Lady Maxwell, and appears as such in the map of 1804. She was Lady Maxwell of Monreith, whose husband died in 1771, and whose second daughter Jane became Duchess of Gordon in 1767.

The Leith Directory for 1811 gives Lady Nairn a residence in Pilrig Street, but she must have held this title through Scottish courtesy, as the attained peerage was not restored by Act of Parliament till 17th June, 1824. She must have been Brabazon Wheeler, widow of Lieut.-Colonel John Nairn, who but for the attainer would have succeeded as fourth Lord Nairn.

Pilrig Free Church, at the north corner of this street and Leith Walk, was built in 1861-2, and is in the early Decorated Gothic style, with a double transept, and has a handsome steeple 150 feet in height.

The fine old but unused avenue of stately trees, that opened westward from the Walk to the old Manor House of Pilrig, has now given place to a street of workmen's houses, named after the proprietor, Balfour Street, and lower down, near the bottom of the Walk, is Springfield Street, named from an old row of houses to which was given the name of Springfield, the largest and centre one of which, about 1780, was the residence of McCulloch of Ardwell, a commissioner of the Scottish Customs, and a man famous in his time for hospitality, pleantry, and wit, and known as a spouter of half-random verses. "Here in some of the last years of his life," says Chambers, in 1869, "did Samuel Foote occasionally appear as Mr. McCulloch's guest—*Arcades ambo et respondere parati*. But the history of their intimacy is worthy of being particularly told, so I transcribe it from the recollection of a gentleman whose advanced age and family connections alone could have made us faithfully acquainted with circumstances so remote from our time."

It would appear that in the winter of 1774-5 Mr. McCulloch visited his country mansion of Ardwell (near Gatehouse in Kirkcudbright), which is still possessed by his descendants, in order to be present at an election, together with a friend named Mouat. After a week or two they set out on their return to Edinburgh, Mr. McCulloch bringing with him his infant son, familiarly known as "Wee Davie," and the trio, after quitting Dumfries, were compelled by a snowstorm to tarry at Moffat for the night. Early next morning they departed in a

chaise with four horses from the *King's Arms Inn*, at the same time that two strangers did so in another vehicle, and with difficulty amid the drifted snow they all reached the summit of Erickstone Brae, a lofty hill at the head of Clydesdale, along the side of which, above a most perilous declivity, the public road passes.

Further progress being impossible, a consultation was held, and they all resolved to return to Moffat; but, as wheeling the carriage round proved a dangerous operation, "Wee Davie" was wrapped up and laid on the snow till that was accomplished, and after reaching the inn Ardwell discovered that his two companions were Samuel Foote the celebrated player and another favourite son of Thalia. On reaching the inn, Foote entered it in no good humour—as he walked with difficulty, having lost a leg—and ordered breakfast, while his luggage was taken off the chaise; and after this was done, he found a written paper affixed to the panel. In some anger he demanded, "What rascal has been placarding this ribaldry on my carriage?" Then pausing, however, he read the following lines:—

"While Boreas his flaky storm did guide,
Deep covering every hill o'er Tweed and Clyde,
The North-wind god spied travellers seeking way,
Sternly he cried: 'Return your steps, I say;
Let not *one foot*, 'tis my behest, profane
The sacred snows which lie on Erickstone!'"

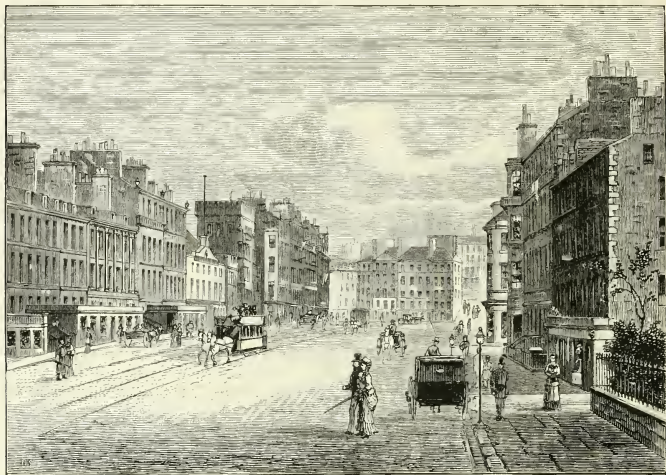
"I should like to know who wrote that," exclaimed Foote, with a smiling face; "be he who he may he is no mean hand at an epigram."

Ardwell came forward to apologise for his fun.

"My dear sir," said Foote, "no apology is necessary; I am fine game for every one, and I take any one for game when it suits me."

So an intimacy began which proved to be a lasting one, and the parties now joined at table, as they had to do for twenty days, till the storm abated, the snow cleared away, and they were enabled to end their journey at Edinburgh. From that time Foote in his writings always showed himself partial to Scotland and the Scots, and on every occasion when afterwards at the Theatre Royal, he set apart a night or two for a social meeting with McCulloch of Ardwell, at Springfield, on Leith Walk. "In the parlour, on the right hand side in entering the house, the largest of the row," says Chambers in 1869, "Foote, the celebrated wit of the day, has frequently been associated with many Edinburgh and Leith worthies, when and where he was wont to keep the table in a roar."

McCulloch of Ardwell died in 1794, in his fifty-third year. "Wee Davie" died thirty years afterwards at Cheltenham.



LEITH WALK, FROM GAYFIELD SQUARE, LOOKING SOUTH.

CHAPTER XVII.

LEITH—HISTORICAL SURVEY.

Origin of the Name—Boundaries of South and North Leith—Links of North Leith—The Town first mentioned in History—King Robert's Charter—Superiority of the Logans and Magistrates of Edinburgh—Abbot Ballantyne's Bridge and Chapel—Newhaven given to Edinburgh by James IV.—The Port of 1530—The Town Burned by the English.

LEITH, the sea-port of Edinburgh, lies between it and the Firth of Forth, but, though for Parliamentary purposes separate from it, it is to all intents an integral portion of the capital city. Of old the name was variously written, Leyt, Let, Inverleith, and the mouth of the Leith, and it is said to have been derived from the family of the first recorded proprietors or superiors, the Leiths, who in the reign of Alexander III. owned Restalrig and many extensive possessions in Midlothian, till the superiority passed by the marriage of the last of the Leiths into the family of the Logans. However, it seems much more probable that the family took their name from the river, which has its rise in the parish of Currie, at Kinleith, where three springs receive various additions in their progress, particularly at the village of Balerno, where they are joined by the Bavelaw Burn.

This stream, when its waters were pure, abounded

in fish—trout, loche or groundling, and the nine-eyed eel or river lamprey; and it must have contained salmon too, as in the *Edinburgh Herald* for August, 1797, we read of a soldier in the Caledonian Regiment being drowned in the Salmon Pool, in the Water of Leith, by going beyond his depth when bathing there.

In his "Historical Inquiries," Sir Robert Sibbald suggests that a Roman station of some kind existed where Leith now stands; but it has been deemed more probable, as the author of *Caledonia Romana* supposes, that from the main Roman road that went to Caer-almon (or Cramond) a path diverged by the outlying camp at Sheriff Hall to Leith, where Chalmers ("Caledonia," Vol. I.), records that "the remains of a Roman way were discovered, when one of the piers was being repaired;" and this is further supported by the fact that some Roman remains were found near the citadel in 1825. Still,

there is no proof that the shallow waters of the Leith, as they debouched upon the sands of what must have been on both sides an uncultured waste of links or moorland, ever formed a shelter for the galleys of Rome; and it is strange to think that there must have been a time when its banks were covered by furze and the bells of the golden broom, and when the elk, the red deer, and the white bull of Drumsheugh, drank of its current amid a voiceless solitude.

the gorge of the Low Calton, and descends Leith Walk till nearly opposite the old manor house of Pilrig; it then runs westward to the Water of Leith, and follows the latter downward to the Firth. The parish thus includes, besides its landward district, the Calton Hill, parts of Calton and the Canongate, Abbey Hill, Norton Place, Jock's Lodge, Restalrig, and the whole of South Leith.

"Except on the Calton Hill," says a statistical writer, "the soil not occupied by buildings is all



GAYFIELD HOUSE.

The actual limits of Leith as a town, prior to their definition in 1827, are uncertain.

South Leith is bounded on the north-east by the Firth of Forth, on the south by Duddingston and the Canongate, on the west by the parishes of the Royalty of Edinburgh, by St. Cuthbert's and North Leith. It is nearly triangular in form, and has an area of 2,265 acres. The boundary is traced for some way with Duddingston, by the Fishwives' Causeway, or old Roman Road; then it passes nearly along the highway between the city and Portobello till past Jock's Lodge, making a projecting sweep so as to include Parson's Green; and after skirting the royal parks, it runs along the north back of the Canongate, debouches through

susceptible of high cultivation, and has had imposed on it dresses of utility and ornament in keeping with its close vicinity to the metropolis. Irrigated and very fertile meadows, green and beautiful esplanades laid out as promenading grounds, neat, tidy, and extensive nurseries, elegant fruit, flower, and vegetable gardens, and the little sheet of Lochend, with a profusion of odoriferous enclosures, and a rich sprinkling of villas with their attendant flower-plots, render the open or unedified area eminently attractive. The beach, all the way from South Leith to the eastern boundary is not a little attractive to sea-bathers; a fine, clean sandy bottom, an inclination or slope quite gentle enough to assure the most timid, and a limpid roll

or ripple or burnished face of water, the very aspect of which is luxury in a summer day."

North Leith is bounded on the north by the Firth of Forth, on the south and east by the stream which gives its name to the whole locality, dividing it from South Leith, and on the south and west by St. Cuthbert's. It is oblong in form, and has an area of only 517 acres. Its surface is nearly a uniform level, and with the exception of some garden grounds is covered by streets and villas. Between North Leith and Newhaven the coast has been to a considerable extent washed away by the encroaching waves of the Firth, but has now received the aid of strong stone bulwarks to protect it from further loss.

The Links of North Leith, which lay along the coast, were let in 1595 at the annual rent of six merks, while those of South Leith were let at a rent of thirty, so the former must have been one-fifth of the extent of the latter, or a quarter of a mile long by three hundred yards in breadth. For many years the last vestiges of these have disappeared; and what must formerly have been a beautiful and grassy plain is now an irreclaimable waste, where not partially occupied by the railway and goods station, regularly flooded by the tide, and displaying at low water a thick expansion of stones and pebbles, washed free from mould or soil.

The earliest reference to Leith in history is in King David's famous charter to Holyrood, *circa* 1143-7, wherein he gives the water, fishings, and meadows to the canons serving God therein, "and Broctan, with its right marches; and that Inverlet which is nearest the harbour, and with the half of the fishing, and with a whole tithe of all the fishing that belongs to the church of St. Cuthbert."

This charter of King David is either repeated or quoted in all subsequent grants by charter, or purchases of superiority, referring to Leith; and by it there would seem to have been in that early age some species of harbour where the Leith joins the Firth of Forth; but there is again a reference to it in 1313, when all the vessels there were burned by the English during the war waged by Edward II., which ended in the following year at Bannockburn.

On the 28th of May, 1329, King Robert I. began all the future troubles of Leith by a grant of it to the city of Edinburgh, in the following terms:—

"Robert, by the grace of God King of Scots, to all good men of his land, greeting: Know ye that we have given, granted, and to perform let, and by this our present charter confirmed, to the burgesses of our burgh of Edinburgh, our foresaid burgh of Edinburgh, together with the port of Leith, mills, and their pertinents, to have and to hold, to the

said burgesses and their successors, of us and our heirs, freely, quietly, fully, and honourably, by all their right meithes and marches, with all the commodities, liberties, and easements which justly pertained to the said burgh in the time of King Alexander, our predecessor last deceased, of good memory; paying, therefore, the said burgesses and their successors, to us and our heirs, yearly, fifty-two merks sterling, at the terms of Whitsunday, and Martinmas in winter, by equal proportions. In witness whereof we have commanded our seal to be affixed to our present charter. *Testibus*, Walter of Twynham, our Chancellor; Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, Lord of Annandale and Man, our nephew; James, Lord of Douglas; Gilbert of Hay, our Constable; Robert of Keith, our Marischall of Scotland, and Adam Moore, knights. At Cardross, the 28th of May, in the twenty-fourth year of our reign." (Burgh Charters, No. iv.)

From the date of this document a contest for the right of superiority commenced, and till the present century Leith was never free from the trammels imposed upon it by the city of Edinburgh; and the town council, not content with the privileges given by Robert Bruce, eventually got possession of the ground adjacent to the harbour, on the banks of the river.

In those days the population of the infant port must have been very small. In the index of missing royal charters in the time of King Robert II., there is one to John Gray, Clerk Register, "of an tenement in Leith," and another to the monastery of Melrose of a tenement in the same place; and in 1357, among those who entered into an obligation to pay the ransom of King David II., then a prisoner of war in England, we find "William of Leith," no doubt a merchant of substance in his day. (Burgh Charters, No. vi.)

Thomas of Leith, or another bearing the same name, witnessed a charter of David, Earl of Orkney, in 1391.

Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig, a man of heartless, greedy, and rapacious character, began to contest the citizens' claim or right of superiority over Leith, and obliged them to take a concession of it from him by purchase or charter, dated the 31st of May, 1398; and to this document we have referred in a preceding chapter. Prior to this, says Maitland, the course of traffic was restricted by him "to the use of a narrow and inconvenient lane, a little beneath the Tolbooth Wynd, now called the Burgess Close."

As we have related in the account of Restalrig, Sir Robert Logan granted to the community of Edinburgh a right to the waste lands in the vicinity

of the harbour, for the erection of quays and wharfs and for the loading of goods, with the liberty to have shops and granaries, and to make all necessary roads thereto; but this grasping feudal baron afterwards sorely teased and perplexed the town council with points of litigation, till eventually he roused them to adopt a strong measure for satiating at once his avarice and their own ambition.

Bought over by them with a large sum of money drawn from the city treasury, Sir Robert Logan on the 27th of February, 1413, granted them an extraordinary charter, which has been characterised as "an exclusive, ruinous, and enslaving bond," restraining the luckless inhabitants of Leith from carrying on trade of any sort, from possessing warehouses or shops, from keeping inns for strangers, "so that nothing should be built or constructed on the said land (in Leith) in future, to the prejudice and impediment of the said community." The witnesses to this grant are George Lauder the Provost, and the Bailies, William Touris of Cramond, William of Edmondston, James Cant, Dean of Guild, John Clark of Lanark, Andrew Learmouth, and William of the Wood.

In 1428 King James I. granted a charter under his great seal, with consent of the community of Edinburgh, ordaining "that in augmentation of the fabrik and reparation of the port and harbour of Leith, there should be uplifted a certain tax or toll upon all ships and boats entering therein." This is dated from the Palace of Dunfermline, 31st December. (Burgh Records.)

In 1439 Patrick, abbot of Holyrood, granted to Sir Robert Logan and his heirs the office of bailie over the abbey lands of St. Leonards, "lyande in the town of Leith, within the barony of Restalrig, on the south half the water, from the end of the gret volut of William Logane on the east part to the common gate that passes to the ford over the water of Leith, beside the waste land near the house of John of Turing," etc. (Burgh Charters.)

Not content with the power already given them over their vassals in Leith, the magistrates of Edinburgh, after letting the petty customs and "haven siller" of Leith for the sum of one hundred and ten merks in 1485, passed a remarkable order in council:—"That no merchant of Edinburgh presume to take into partnership any indweller of the town of Leith, under pain of forty pounds to the Kirk wark, and to be deprived of the freedom (of the city) for ane zeare."

Three years before this King James III. had granted to them a charter containing a detail of the customs, profits, exactions, commodities, and revenues of the port and roadstead of Leith.

In 1497 the civic despots of Edinburgh obtained, on writ from the Privy Council, that "all manner of persons, quhilk are infectit, or has been infectit and uncurrif of the contagious plague, callit the grand gore, devoid red and pass furth of this towne, and compeir on the sandis of Leith, at ten hours before noon, and thair shall have boats reddie in the Haven, ordainit to thame be the officears, reddie furnished with victualles, to have them to the inche, there to remain quhill God provide for thair health." (Town Council Records.)

As regards Leith, a much more important event is recorded four years before this, when Robert Ballantyne, abbot of Holyrood, "with the consent of his chapter and the approbation of William, Archbishop of St. Andrews," first spanned the river by a solid stone bridge, thus connecting South and North Leith, holding the right of levying a toll therefor. It was a bridge of three arches, of which Lord Eldin made a sketch in 1779, and part of one of the piers of which still remains. Abbot Ballantyne also built a chapel thereby, and in his charter it is expressly stated, after enumerating the tithes and tolls of the bridge, "that the stipend of each of the two incumbents is to be limited to fifteen merks, and after the repairs of the said bridge and chapel, and lighting the same, the surplus is to be given to the poor."

This chapel was dedicated to St. Ninian the apostle of Galloway, and the abbot's charter was confirmed by King James IV. on the 1st June, 1493. He also established a range of buildings on the south side of the river, a portion of which, says Robertson, writing in 1851, "still exists in the form of a gable and large oven, at the locality generally designated 'the Old Bridge End.'"

The part in Leith whereon, it is said, the first houses were built in the twelfth century, is bounded on the south by the Tolbooth Wynd, on the west by the shore or quay, on the north by the Broad Wynd, and on the east by the Rotten Row, now called Water Lane. One of the broadest alleys in this ancient quarter is the Burgess Close, ten feet in width, and was the first road granted to the citizens of Edinburgh by Logan of Restalrig.

In the year 1501, all freemen of the city, to the number of twenty or so, were directed by the magistrates to accompany the water bailie when he proceeded to Leith to hold his water courts, such an escort being deemed necessary for the honour of the town, and the conservation of its rights and privileges. Three years after the city provided "pikkis, mattoks, and gavelokis" (*i.e.*, crowbars) for removing great stones from the shore

and cleaning the channel of the river at Leith. (Burgh Records.)

In 1510, on the 9th March, James IV. granted to the city of Edinburgh the port denominated the New Haven, which he had lately formed on the sea-coast, with the lands thereunto belonging, lying between the chapel of St. Nicholas at North Leith and the lands of Wardie Brae, with certain faculties and privileges; and by another charter of the same date he confirmed that by Logan of Restalrig, formerly mentioned.

ship laden with timber laid her cargo on the shore, as sold to the Provost and bailies; then came Robert Bartoun, of Overbarton, called the Controller, with a multitude of the men of Leith, and "masterfullie tuk the said tymmyr" from the treasurer and a bailie, which caused the Lords of Council to issue a decree as to the privileges of the city and the seaport, and that none but freemen were at liberty to buy from or sell to strangers at the said port in time to come.

Fresh disputes about similar affairs seem to have



HALFWAY HOUSE, LEITH WALK.

In the following year eight men, whose names are recorded, were sworn on the holy evangels as pioneers, to labour and serve the merchants at the port and haven of Leith, and to keep "the shore clear of middings, fulzie, and sic stufe."

In 1514 the tapsters and wine dealers in Leith were summoned before the magistrates of Edinburgh for injuring the privileges thereof by the sale of wine within the sea-port.

Three years after this we find the Laird of Restalrig entering a protest with regard to an arrestment made on the shore of Leith, and maintaining that it should not prejudice his rights as Baron of Restalrig. It would seem that in 1517 a Dutch

occurred between the same parties in 1522-3, and we find George, abbot of Holyrood, entering a protest that whatever took place between them it should not be to the prejudice of the Holyrood. (Burgh Records.)

In 1528 a vessel belonging to the town, called the Portuguese barque—most probably a prize captured by the famous fighting Bartons of Leith—was ordered to be sold to "thaise that will gif the maist penny thairfor"—i.e., to the highest bidder.

Two years afterwards Leith was afflicted by a pestilence, and all intercourse between it and the city was strictly forbidden, under pain of banishment from the latter for ever.

In 1543, when the traitorous Scottish nobles of what was named the English faction, leagued with Henry VIII. to achieve a marriage between his son Edward, a child five years of age, and the infant Queen of Scotland, the Earl of Lennox, who was at the head of the movement, attempted an insurrection, and, marching with all his adherents to Leith, offered battle between that town and Edinburgh to the Regent and Cardinal Beaton, who were at the head of the Scottish loyalists. Aware that

After taking soundings at Granton Craigs, the infantry were landed there by pinnaces, though the water was so deep "that a galley or two laid their snowtis (*i.e.* bows) to the craigs," at ten in the morning of Sunday, the 4th of May. Between 12 and 1 o'clock they marched into Leith, "and fand the tables covered, the dinnaris prepared, such abundance of wyne and victuallis besydes the other substances, that the lyck ritches were not to be found either in Scotland nor in England." (Knox.)



FILRIG FREE CHURCH AND LEITH WALK, LOOKING NORTH.

the forces of Lennox were superior in number to their own, they amused him with a pretended treaty till his troops began to weary, and dispersed to their homes; and Henry of England, enraged at the opposition to his avarice and ambition, resolved to invade Scotland in 1544.

In May the Earl of Hertford, with an army variously estimated at from ten to twenty thousand, on board of two hundred vessels, commanded by Dudley, Lord Lisle, suddenly entered the Firth of Forth, while 4,000 mounted men-at-arms came to Leith by land.

So suddenly was this expedition undertaken, that the Regent Arran and the Cardinal were totally unprepared to resist, and retired westward from the city.

Leith was pillaged, the surrounding country ravaged with savage and merciless ferocity. Craigmillar was captured, with many articles of value deposited there by the citizens, and Sir Simon Preston, after being taken prisoner, was—as a degradation—compelled to march on foot to London. How Hertford was baffled in his attempts on Edinburgh Castle and compelled to retreat we have narrated in its place. He fell back on Leith, where he destroyed the pier, which was of wood, pillaged and left the town in flames. After which he embarked all his troops, and sailed, taking with him the *Salamander* and *Unicorn*, two large Scottish ships of war, and all the small craft lying in the harbour.

The ballast of the war ships "was cannon-shot of iron of which we found in the town to the nombre of iii score thousand" according to the English account, which is remarkable, as the latter used stone bullets then, which were also used in the Armada more than forty years afterwards. The work from which we quote bears that it was "Imprynted at London, in Pawls Churchyarde, by Reynolde Wolfe, at the signe of ye Brazen Serpent, anno 1554." During this expedition Edward Clinton, Earl of Lincoln, whose armour is now preserved in the Tower of London, was knighted at Leith by the Earl of Hertford.

Scotland's day of vengeance came speedily after, when the English army were defeated with great slaughter at Ancrum, on the 17th of February, 1545.

After the battle of Pinkie Leith was pillaged and burnt again, with greater severity than before, and thirty-five vessels were carried from the harbour.

In 1551 an Englishman was detected in Leith selling velvets in small pieces to indwellers there, thereby breaking the acts and infringing the freedom of the citizens of Edinburgh, for which he was arrested and fined. Indeed, the Burgh Records of this time teem with the prosecution of persons breaking the burgh laws by dealings with the "un-

freemen" of the seaport; and so persistently did the magistrates of Edinburgh act as despots in their attempts to depress, annoy, and restrain the inhabitants, that, in the opinion of a local historian, there was only "one measure wanting to complete the destruction of the unhappy Leithers, and that was an act of the Town Council to cut their throats!"

In 1554 the Easter Beacon of Leith is referred to in the Burgh Accounts, and also payments made about the same time to Alexander, a quarrier at Granton, for stones and for Gilmerton lime, for repairs upon the harbour of Leith. These works were continued until October, 1555, and great stones are mentioned as having been brought from the Burghmuir.

The Queen Regent, Mary of Lorraine, granted the inhabitants of Leith a contract to erect the town into a Burgh of Barony, to continue valid till she could erect it into a Royal Burgh; and as a preparatory measure she purchased overtly and for their use, with money which they themselves furnished, the superiority of the town from Logan of Restalrig; but as she failed amid the turmoil of the time to fulfil her engagements, the people of Leith alleged that she had been bribed by those of Edinburgh with 20,000 merks to break them.

CHAPTER XVIII.

LEITH—HISTORICAL SURVEY (*continued*).

The Great Siege—Arrival of the French—The Fortifications—Re-capture of Inchkeith—The Town Invested—Arrival of the English Fleet and Army—Skirmishes—Opening of the Batteries—Failure of the Great Assault—Queen Regent's Death—Treaty of Peace—Relics of the Siege.

FROM 1548 to 1560 Leith, by becoming the fortified seat of the Court and headquarters of the Queen Regent's army and of her French auxiliaries, figured prominently as the centre of those stirring events that occurred during the bitter civil war which ensued between Mary of Lorraine and the Lords of the Congregation. Its port received the shipping and munitions of war which were designed for her service; its fortifications "enclosed alternately a garrison and an army, whose accoutrements had no opportunity of becoming rusted, and its gates poured forth detachments and sallying parties who fought many a fierce skirmish with portions of the Protestant forces on the plain between Leith and Edinburgh."

The bloody defeat at Pinkie, the ravage of the capital and adjacent country, instead of reconciling the Scots to a matrimonial alliance with England,

caused them to make an offer of their young Queen to the Dauphin of France, an offer which his father at once accepted, and he resolved to leave no means untried to enforce the authority of the dowager of James V., who was appointed Regent during the minority of her daughter. The flame of the Reformation, long stifled in Scotland, had now burst forth and spread over all the country; and the Catholic party would have been only a minority but for the influence of the Queen Regent and the presence of her French auxiliaries, who arrived in Leith Roads in June, 1548, in twenty-two galleys and sixty other ships, according to Calderwood's History.

Sir Nicholas de Villegaignon, knight of Rhodes, was admiral of the fleet, which, as soon as it left Brest, displayed, in place of French colours, the Red Lion of Scotland, as France and England were

then at peace. A small force under Monsieur de la Chapelle Biron had already preceded this main body, which consisted of between six and seven thousand well-trained soldiers, all led by officers of high rank and approved valour.

Andre de Montelambert, Sieur d'Esse, commanded the whole; 2,000 of these men were of the regular infantry of France, and were commanded by Coligny, the Seigneur d'Anelot, who for his bravery at the siege of Calais, afterwards was presented with the house of the last English governor, Lord Dunford. His father, Gaspard de Coligny, was a marshal of France in 1516. Gaspare di Strozzi, Prior of Capua, a Florentine cavalier (exiled by Alessandro I., Grand Duke of Tuscany), was colonel of the Italians; the Rhinegrave led 3,000 Germans; Octavian, an old cavalier of Milan, led 1,000 arquebussiers on horseback; Dunois was captain of the *Compagnies d'Ordonnance*; Brissac D'Etanges was colonel of the horse. Another noble armament, which was to follow under the Marquis d'Elbœuff, was cast away on the coast of Holland, and only 900 of its soldiers reached Scotland, under the Count de Martigues.

In the following year D'Esse was superseded in the command by Paul de la Barthe, Seigneur de Termes, a knight of St. Michael, who brought with him 100 cuirassiers, 200 horse, and 1,000 infantry. He was appointed marshal of France in 1555.

Prior to the arrival of these auxiliaries, Leith seems to have been completely an open town; but Andre de Montelambert, as a basis for future operations, at once saw the importance of fortifying it, dependent as he was almost entirely upon support from the Continent, and having a necessity for a place to retreat into in case of reverse; so he at once proceeded to enclose the seaport with strong and regular works, carried out on the scientific principles of the time.

As not a vestige of these works now remain, it is useless to speculate on the probable height or composition of the ramparts, which were most probably massive earthworks, in many places faced with stone, and must have been furnished with a *terre pleine* all round, to enable the garrison to pass and re-pass; and no doubt the work would be efficiently done, as the French have ever evinced the highest talent for military engineering.

The works erected then were of a very irregular kind, partaking generally of a somewhat triangular form, the smallest base of which presented to Leith Links on the eastward a frontage of about 2,000 feet from point to point of the flankers or bastions.

In the centre of this was one great projecting

bastion, 600 feet in length, in the line of the present Constitution Street.

Ramsay's Fort, usually called the first bastion, adjoined the river in the line of Bernard's Street with a curtain nearly 500 feet long, the second bastion terminating the frontage described as to the Links. The present line of Leith Walk would seem to have entered the town by St. Anthony's Port, between the third and fourth bastion.

A gate in the walls is indicated by Maitland as being at the foot of the Bonnington Road, near the fifth bastion, from whence the works extended to the river, which was crossed by a wooden bridge near the sixth bastion. Port St. Nicholas—so called from the then adjacent church—entered at the seventh bastion, which was flanked far out at a very acute angle, evidently to enclose the church and burying-ground; and from thence the fortifications, with a sea front of 1,200 feet, extended to the eighth bastion, which adjoined the Sand Port, near where the Custom House stands now. The two bastions at the harbour mouth would no doubt be built wholly of stone, and heavily armed with guns to defend the entrance.

Kincaid states that in his time some vestiges of a ditch and bastion existed westward of the citadel. Where the Exchange Buildings now stand there long remained a narrow mound of earth a hundred yards long and of considerable height, which in the last century was much frequented by the belles of Leith as a lofty and airy promenade, to which there was an ascent by steps. It was called the "Ladies' Walk," and was, no doubt, the remains of the work adjoining the second bastion of Andre de Montelambert.

The wall near the third bastion, when it became reduced to a mere mound of earth, formed for a time a portion of South Leith burying-ground. "An unfortunate and unthinking wight of a sea-captain," says Campbell, in his "History," "tempted, we presume, by the devil, once took it in his head to ballast his ship with this sacred earth. The consequence, tradition has it, of this sacrilegious act was, that neither the wicked captain nor his ship, after putting to sea, was ever heard of again."

Montelambert D'Esse could barely have had his fortifications completed when, as already noted, he was superseded in the command by a senior officer, Paul de la Barthe, the Seigneur de Termes, one of whose first measures was to drive the English out of Inchkeith, where a detachment of them had been occupying the old castle. The general operations of the French army at Haddington and elsewhere, after being joined by 5,000 Scottish troops under the Governor, lie apart from the history of Leith;

but the little warlike episode connected with Inchkeith forms a part of it.

In the rare view of Holyrood given at page 45 of Vol. II., Inchkeith is shown in the distance, with its castle, a great square edifice, having a round tower at each corner. The English garrison here were in a position which afforded them many advantages, and they committed many outrages on the shores of Fife and Lothian; and when it became necessary to dislodge them, M. de Biron, a French officer, left Leith in a galley to reconnoitre

to the island, and evident selection of the only landing-place, roused the suspicions of the garrison. Finding their intentions discovered, they made direct for the rock, and found the English prepared to dispute every inch of it with them.

Leaping ashore, with pike, sword, and arquebus, they attacked the English hand to hand, drove them into the higher parts of the island, where Cotton, their commander, and George Appleby, one of his officers, were killed, with several English gentlemen of note. The castle was captured, and



ROBERT BALLANTYNE'S BRIDGE, LEITH, 1779. (*After a Drawing by John Clerk of Eldin.*)

the island—the same galley in which, it is said, little Queen Mary afterwards went to France. The English garrison were no doubt ignorant of Biron's object in sailing round the isle, as they did not fire upon him.

Mary of Lorraine had often resorted to Leith since the arrival of her countrymen; and now she took such an interest in the expedition to Inchkeith that she personally superintended the embarkation, on Corpus Christi day, the 2nd of June, 1549. Accompanied by a few Scottish troops, the French detachment, led by Chapelle de Biron, De Ferrieres, De Gourdes, and other distinguished officers, quitted the harbour in small boats, and to deceive the English as to their intentions sailed up and down the Firth; but their frequent approaches

the English driven pell-mell into a corner of the isle, where they had no alternative but to throw themselves into the sea or surrender. In this combat De Biron was wounded on the head by an arquebus, and had his helmet so beaten about his ears that he had to be carried off to the boats.

Desbois, his standard-bearer, fell under the pike of Cotton, the English commander, and Gaspare di Strozzi, leader of the Italians, was slain. An account of the capture of this island was published in France, and it is alike amusing and remarkable for the bombast in which the French writer indulged. He records at length the harangues of the Queen Regent and the French leaders as the expedition quitted Leith, the length and tedium of the voyage, and the sufferings which the troops

underwent *at sea*, yet he adds, "our numbers amounted to 700, and with the loss of three we made ourselves masters of the island, defended by 800 English trained to war and accustomed to slaughter." The Queen Regent and Monluc, the Bishop of Valence, visited the island after its recapture, and, according to the French account, were rather regaled by the sight of 300 English corpses strewn about it.

The castle was afterwards demolished by order of

The French troops in Leith, being all trained veterans, inured to military service in the wars of Francis I. and Henry II., gave infinite trouble to the raw levies of the Lords of the Congregation, who began to blockade the town in October, 1559. Long ere this Mary, Queen of Scots, had become the bride of Francis of France; and her mother, who had upheld the Catholic cause so vigorously, was on her deathbed in the castle of Edinburgh.



LEITH HARBOUR ABOUT 1700. (From an Oil Painting in the Trinity House, Leith.)

the Scottish Parliament as useless, and nothing remains of it now but a stone, bearing the royal arms, built into the lighthouse; but the French troops in Leith conceived such high ideas of the excellent properties of the grass there, that all their horses were pastured upon it, and for ten years they always termed it "*L'isle des Chevaux*."

So pleased was Mary of Lorraine with the presence of her French soldiers in Leith, that—according to Maitland—she erected for herself "a house at the corner of Quality Wynd in the Rotten Row;" but Robertson states that "a general impression has existed that Queen Street was the site of the residence of the Queen Dowager." Above the door of it were the arms of Scotland and Guise.

The Lords of Congregation, before proceeding to extremities with the French, sent a summons, in the names of "their sovereign lord and lady, Francis and Mary, King and Queen of Scotland and France, demanding that all Scots and Frenchmen, of whatever estate or degree, depart out of the town of Leith within the space of twelve hours."

To this no answer was returned, so the Scottish troops prepared for an assault by escalade; but when they applied their ladders to the wall they were found to be too short, and the heavy fire of the French arquebusiers repelled the assailants with loss. These unlucky scaling-ladders had been made in St. Giles's Church, a circumstance which, curiously enough, is said to have irritated the

preachers, who though profound unbelievers in any kind of consecration, "publicly declared that God would not allow such wickedness and irreverence to pass unpunished, as it betokened contempt for the place where men assembled for divine service." The troops of the Congregation now imagined that the vengeance of Heaven impended over them, ready to burst on the first opportunity, for their iniquity in using a church as a carpenter's shop; and there was another alarming element in the ranks, a want of pay, which caused a disinclination to fight.

Queen Elizabeth had sent the Lords 4,000 crowns of the sun, but these had been abstracted from the bearer, at the sword's point, by that spirit of evil, James, Earl of Bothwell (the future Duke of Orkney), and now their troops became disheartened and disorderly. "The men of war," says Knox, "who were men without God or honesty, made a mutiny, because they lacked part of their wages; they had done the same in Linlithgow before, when they made a proclamation that they would serve any man to suppress the Congregation, and set up the mass again!"

In their desperation the Lords applied to England, and a meeting was held at Berwick between the Duke of Norfolk and their delegates, who were Lord James Stuart (the future Regent Moray), Lord Ruthven (one of Rizzio's assassins), James Wishart of Pittarow, and three others; and the treaty which the duke concluded with these Reformers was confirmed by the Queen of England. The alleged objects were, "the defence of the Protestant religion, of the ancient rights and liberties of Scotland, against the attempts of France to destroy them and make a conquest of that free kingdom—in effect, to crush completely the Catholic interest and the power of the House of Guise."

The French in Leith cared little for this treaty, as they were in daily expectation of fresh succours from France; but their scouting and ravaging detachments in Fife, under the Count de Martignies, General d'Oisel, the Swiss leader L'Abast, and others, were severely cut up by Kirkaldy of Grange, the Master of Lindsay, and other Protestant leaders; disasters followed fast, and before they could concentrate all their forces in Leith they suffered considerable loss in skirmishes by the way.

The Lords of the Congregation now ordered a general muster before the walls of Leith on the 30th of March, 1560, every man to come fully equipped for battle, with thirty days' provisions; and in conformity with the treaty referred to, on the 2nd of April there marched into Scotland an English force, consisting of 1,250 horse and 6,000

infantry, under a brave and experienced leader, Lord Grey de Wilton, warden of the East and Middle Marches of England.

Sir James Crofts was his second in command; Sir George Howard was general of the men-at-arms, or heavy cavalry, and Burnley Fitzpatrick was his lieutenant; Sir Henry Piercy led the demi-lances, or light horse; William Pelham was captain of the pioneers, Thomas Gower captain of the ordnance; the Lord Scrope was Earl Marshal. Many of these troops had served at the battle of Pinkie and in other affairs against Scotland.

Lord Grey's first halt was at Dunglas, where he encamped his infantry, while the English cavalry were peacefully cantoned in the adjacent hamlets.

The second day's halt was at Haddington. As they passed the royal castle of Dunbar the Queen's troops made a sally, an encounter took place, and some lives were lost. "The third day's march brought them to Prestonpans, where they met the Scottish leaders, and had an interview, which is, perhaps, the more important from the fact that we now find, for the first time in history, Scottish and English forces acting together as allies."

On the first of the same month an English fleet under Vice-Admiral William Winter, Master of Elizabeth's Ordnance, cast anchor in the roads to assist in the reduction of Leith. According to Lediard's "Naval History," he instantly attacked and made himself master of the French ships which were there at anchor, and blocked up Inchkeith. It was defended by a French garrison, which was soon reduced to the last extremity for want of provisions.

All this was done in defiance of the remonstrances of M. De Severre, the French ambassador at the Regent's court, who went on board the English fleet in the roads.

Lord Grey encamped at Restalrig, where he was joined by the Earls of Argyle, Montrose, and Glencairn; the Lords Boyd and Ochiltree; the prior of St. Andrews, and the Master of Maxwell, with 2,000 men. On this occasion the Town Council of Edinburgh contributed from the corporation funds £1,600 Scots, as a month's pay for 400 men to assist in the reduction of Leith—"a sum," says a historian, "which enabled each of these warriors to live at the rate of twopence-halfpenny a day."

The Queen Regent, whose dying condition rendered it impossible for her to expose herself to the hazards of a siege in Leith, retired into the castle of Edinburgh, where she daily and anxiously watched the operations of her Scottish enemies and their English allies. The French in Leith were now reduced to about 5,000 men, whose orders were to

defend the town "to the last of their blood and breath."

At their head was Pietro Strozzi, Lord of Epernay, a Florentine, who had been made a marshal of France five years before, and whose two brothers served in these Scottish wars—Gaspere, who was killed at Inchkeith, and Leon, who was prior of Capua and general of the galleys of France at the capture of St. Andrews.

Under Maréchal Strozzi were Mousieur Octavius, brother of the Marquis d'Elbœuff, a peer of the house of Lorraine, who led into Scotland some of the old *Bandes Françaises*, or Free Companies; the Comte de Martigues (afterwards Duc d'Estampes), a young noble of the house of Luxembourg; Captain the Sieur Jacques de la Brosse, one of the hundred knights of St. Michael; General d'Oisel, and many other French officers of high family and the highest spirit.

In those days the use of fire-arms had led to a great many alterations in military equipment; breast-plates were made thicker, in order to be bullet proof, and the tassettes attached to these were of one plate each; and many of the morions worn by the French and Italians were beautifully embossed; and carbines, petronels, and dragons (hence dragons) are frequently mentioned as among the fire-arms in use at this time; while the pike was still considered the "queen of weapons" for horse and foot.

Maréchal Strozzi ordered the tower of St. Anthony's Preceptory, near the Kirkgate, to be armed; cannon were accordingly swayed up to its summit. Holinshed says the English raised a mound, which they named Mount Pelham, on the south-east side of the town, and armed it with a battery of guns. Another to the south of this was named Mount Somerset, and both of them remain till the present day; and when the young grass is sprouting in spring, the zig-zags that led therefrom to the walls can often be distinctly traced in the Links.

Before Lord Grey got his men comfortably encamped at Restalrig, "in halls, huts, and pavilions," Strozzi had despatched 900 arquebusiers against him to check his advance.

Marching across the Links, this force took possession of the wooded eminence named Hawkhill, and a sharp conflict at once ensued with the English. For several hours the French fought gallantly, but were compelled, after severe loss, to fall back upon Leith, while the English took possession of Hawkhill, planted guns upon it, and advancing with caution and care under a cannonade, occupied all the rising ground extending to Hermi-

tage Hill, which completely commands town and Links on the east.

After this repulse, and before the siege formally commenced, the French resorted to a little treachery by sending a special messenger to Lord Grey requesting a brief truce, which he readily granted. On this, great numbers of them, previously instructed, issued from Leith, and thronged about the English camp at Restalrig, the Hawkhill, and elsewhere, as if merely actuated by curiosity. Ere long they became offensive in manner, and began to pick quarrels with English sentinels, who were not slow in retorting, and Lord Grey eventually ordered them instantly to retire. On this, they demanded whence came his right to order them off the ground of their mistress the Queen Regent of Scotland. They were told that if the truce had not been granted at their own request they would have been compelled to keep at a distance.

On this the French fired their carbines and petronels into the faces of those nearest them; volleys of oaths and outcries followed, and several Frenchmen who had been in concealment came to aid the pretended loungers in the *mêlée*, and soldiers were seen rushing to arms in all directions, without comprehending what the uproar was about; at last the French were again driven in, but with the loss of one hundred and forty men killed and seventeen taken prisoners. The loss of the English is not stated; but it was probably greater than that of the French, as they were taken by surprise.

The next event was a sally made by the Comte de Martigues on the English trenches, when, according to Keith, he spiked three pieces of cannon, put 600 men to the sword, and took Sir Maurice Berkeley prisoner.

Frequent and sanguinary sallies were thus made by the French to scour the trenches and retard their progress, till the English, instead of waiting patiently within them to repel such assaults, now resolved to become the aggressors, and whenever the French were seen to issue from the town, an equal force met them with sword and pike on the Links; and the bitterness and fury of these encounters were increased by the knowledge of those engaged that they were overlooked on either side by their respective comrades and commanders.

Elizabeth having despatched reinforcements to the allied camp—for such it was—before Leith, Lord Grey determined to press the siege with greater vigour, the more so as the town was already beginning to suffer from famine. On the 4th of May he set fire to the water-mills, and destroyed them, notwithstanding all the efforts of the French

to extinguish the flames. On the same day a grand assault was to be made.

By this time the batteries against the town were all in full play. Mount Pelham was distant 1,200 feet from the eastern curtain; Mount Somerset was distant only 600 feet; a third mound, Mount Falcon, near the river, and south-east of St. Nicholas's

called the Schole of Warre," which is full of curious details, and was published at London in 1565.

The detailed orders issued by Lord Grey for the assault on the 4th of May are very curious; they are preserved among the Talbot Papers, and contain the names of some of the earliest officers in the English army, and old Bands of Berwick.



PLAN OF LEITH, SHOWING THE EASTERN FORTIFICATIONS.

(Facsimile after Greenville Collins' "Great Britain's Coasting Pilot," London, 1693.)

church, was 300 feet distant from the fifth bastion, near where King Street is now.

After several days' cannonade from eight guns on Mount Somerset (now familiar to the children of Leith as the *Giant's Brae*), the steeple of St. Anthony, with its cannon and defenders, fell with a mighty crash, to the great exultation of the English, who contemplated the effects of their skill with silent wonder; and meanwhile Admiral Winter, having crept close in-shore, bombarded the town, by which many of the luckless inhabitants perished with the defenders. Thomas Churchyard, who accompanied the English in this expedition, wrote a poem called "The Siege of Leith, more often

"May 4th, 1560, vppone Saturday in the mornyng, at thri of the clock, God willinge, we shal be in readyness to give the assalte, in order as followithe, if other ympedyment than we knowe not of hyndre us not."

For the first assault (*i.e.*, column of stormers), Captain Rede, with 300 men; Captains Markham, Taxley, Sutton, Fairfax, Mallorye, the Provost Marshall, Captains Astone, Conway, Drury (afterwards Sir William and Marshal of Berwick), Berkeley, and Fitzwilliams, each with 200 men, and 500 arquebusiers, to be furnished by the Scots.

Thus 3,000 men formed the first column.

For the second were Captains Wade, Dackare,

Cornelle, Shelly, Littleton, Southworthe, and nine other officers, with 2,240 men.

To keep the field (*i.e.*, the Reserve), Captain Somersel, and eight other captains, with 2,400 men.

"Item ; it is ordered that the Vyce Admyrall of the Queen's Majesty's schippes shall, when a token is given, send Vc. (500) men out of the Navye into the haven of Leythe, to give an assaulte on the side of the towne, at the same instant when the assaulte shal be geveone on the breche."

Captain Vaughan was ordered to assault the town near Mount Pelham, and the Scots on the westward and seaward.

The assault was not made until the 7th of May, when it was delivered at seven in the morning on

dead they could find, and suspended the corpses along the sloping faces of the ramparts, where they remained for several days. The failure of the attempted storm did not very materially affect the blockade. On the contrary, the besiegers still continued to harass the town by incessant cannonading from the mounds already formed and others they erected. One of the former, Mount Falcon, must have been particularly destructive, as its guns swept the most crowded part of Leith called the Shore, along which none could pass but at the greatest hazard of death. Moreover, the English were barbarously and uselessly cruel. Before burning Leith mills they murdered in cold blood every individual found therein.

The close siege had now lasted about two months,



PROSPECT OF LEITH, 1693. (Reduced Facsimile after Greenville Coll ms.)

four quarters, but, for some reason not given, the fleet failed to act, and by some change in the plans Sir James Crofts was ordered, with what was deemed a sufficient force, to assail the town on the north side, at the place latterly called the Sand Port, where at low water an entrance was deemed easy.

For some reason best known to himself Sir James thought proper to remain aloof during the whole uproar of the assault, the ladders provided for which proved too short by half a pike's length ; thus he was loudly accused of treachery—a charge which was deemed sufficiently proved when it was discovered that a few days before he had been seen in conversation with the Queen Regent, who addressed him from the walls of Edinburgh Castle. The whole affair turned out a complete failure. English and Scots were alike repulsed by slaughter, "and singular as it may appear," says a writer, "the success of the garrison was not a little aided by the exertions of certain ladies, whom the French, with their usual gallantry to the fair sex, entertained in their quarters." To these fair ones Knox applies some pretty rough epithets.

The French now made a sally, stripped all the

without any prospect of a termination, though Elizabeth continued to send more men and more ships ; but the garrison were reduced to such dire extremities that for food they were compelled to shoot and eat all the horses of the officers and *gens d'armes*. Yet they endured their privations with true French *sang froid*, vowing never to surrender while a horse was left, "their officers exhibiting that politeness in the science of gastronomy which is recorded of the Maréchal Strozzi, whose *maître de cuisine* maintained his master's table with twelve covers every day, although he had nothing better to set upon it now and then except the quarter of a carrion horse, dressed with the grass and weeds that grew upon the ramparts."

The discovery, a few years ago, of an ancient well filled to its brim with cart-loads of horses' heads, near the head of the Links, was a singular but expressive monument of the resolution with which the town was defended.

The unfortunate Queen Regent did not live to see the end of these affairs. She was sinking fast. She had contemplated retiring to France, and had a commission executed at Blois by Francis

and Mary, constituting their uncle, René, Marquis d'Elbeuff, Regent of Scotland. She tried to arrange a treaty of peace, including Scotland, England, and France, but died ere it could be concluded, on the 10th June, 1560.

Fresh forces were now environing Leith. Sir James Balfour states that there were among them "12,000 Scots Protestants," under the Duke of Chatelerault, eleven peers, and 120 lesser barons; but all their operations at Leith had signally failed; thus Lethington, in one of his letters, acknowledged that its fortifications were so strong, that if well victualled it might defy an army of 20,000 men. In these circumstances negotiations for peace began. A commission was granted by Francis and Mary, joint sovereigns of Scotland, to John de Monluc, Bishop of Valence, Nicholas, Bishop of Amiens, the Sieurs de la Brosse, d'Oisel, and de Raudan, to arrange the conditions of a treaty to include Scotland, France, and England. It was duly signed at Edinburgh, but prior to it the French, says Rapin, offered to restore Calais if Elizabeth would withdraw her troops from before Leith. "But she answered that she did not value that *Fish-town* so much as the quiet of Britain."

It was stipulated that the French army should embark for France on board of English ships with bag and baggage, arms and armour, without molestation, and that, on the day they evacuated Leith Lord Grey should begin his homeward march; but, oddly enough, it was expressly stipulated that an

officer with sixty Frenchmen should remain in the castle of Inchkeith. It was also arranged that all the artillery in Leith should be collected in the market-place; that at the same time the artillery of the besiegers, piece for piece, should be ranged in an open place, and that every gun and standard should be conveyed to their respective countries.

On the 16th of July, 1560, the French troops, reduced now to 4,000 men, under Maréchal Strozzi, marched out of Leith after plundering it of everything they could lay their hands on, and embarked on board Elizabeth's fleet, thus closing a twelve years' campaign in Scotland. At the same hour the English began their march for the Borders, and John Knox held a solemn service of thanksgiving in St. Giles's.

In addition to the battery mounds which still remain, many relics of this siege have been discovered from time to time in Leith. In 1853, when some workmen were lowering the head of King Street, they came upon an old wall of great strength (says the *Edinburgh Guardian* of that year), and near it lay two ancient cannon-balls, respectively 6- and 32-pounders. In the *Scotsman* for 1857 and 1859 is reported the discovery of several skeletons buried in the vicinity of the batteries; and many human bones, cannon-balls, old swords, &c., have been found from time to time in the vicinity of Wellington Place. Two of the principal thoroughfares of Leith were said to be long known as *Les Deux Bras*, being so styled by the garrison of Mary of Lorraine.

CHAPTER XIX.

LEITH—HISTORICAL SURVEY (*continued*).

The Fortifications demolished—Landing of Queen Mary—Leith Mortgaged—Edinburgh takes Military Possession of it—a Convention—a Plague—James VI. Departs and Returns—Witches—Gowrie Conspiracy—The Union Jack—Pirates—Taylor the Water Poet—A Fight in the Harbour—Death of James VI.

BARELY was the treaty of peace concluded, than it was foolishly resolved by the Scottish government to demolish the fortifications which had been reared with such labour and skill, lest they might be the means of future mischief if they fell into the hands of an enemy; consequently, the following Order of Council was issued at Edinburgh 2nd July, 1560, commanding their destruction:—

"Forsameikle as it is naturlie knawyn how hurtful the fortifications of Leith hes been to this haille realme, and in especialle to the townes next adjacent thairunto, and how prejudiciall the same

shall be to the libertie of this haille countrie, in caiss strangears sall at any tyme hereafter intruse themselves thairin: For this and syck like considerations the Council has thocht expedient, and chargis Provost, Bailies and Council of Edinburgh to tak order with the town and community c^t the samen, and caus and compell thame to appoint a sufficient number to cast down and demolish the south part of the said towne, begynand at Sanct Anthonies Port, and passing westward to the Water of Leith, making the Blockhouse and curtain equal with the ground."

Thus the whole line of fortifications facing the city were levelled, but those on the east remained long entire; and considerable traces of them were only removed about the beginning of the eighteenth century.

On the 20th of August, 1560, Queen Mary landed at the town to take possession of the throne of her ancestors. The time was about eight in the morning, and Leith must have presented a different aspect than in the preceding year, when the cannon of the besiegers thundered against its walls. No vestige now remains of the pier which received her, though it must have been constructed subsequent to the destruction of the older one by the savage Earl of Hertford—the pier at which Magdalene of France, the queen of twenty summer days, had landed so joyously in the May of 1537.

The keys of St. Anthony's Port were delivered to Mary, who was accompanied by her three uncles—Claude de Lorraine, Duc d'Aumale, who was killed at the siege of Rochelle thirteen years after; Francis, Grand Prior of Malta, general of the galleys of France, who died of fatigue after the battle of Dreux; and René, Marquis d'Elbœuff, who succeeded Francis as general of the galleys. She was attended also by her "four Maries," whose names, as given by Bishop Leslie, were Fleming, Beaton, Livingstone, and Seaton, who had been all along with her in France. Buchanan in 1565 mentions five Maries, and the treasurer's account at the same date mentions *six*, including two whose names were Simperton and Wardlaw.

The cheers of the people mingled with the boom of cannon, and, says Buchanan, "the dangers she had undergone, the excellence of her mien, the delicacy of her beauty, the vigour of her blooming years, and the elegance of her wit, all joined in her recommendation."

As the genial Ettrick Shepherd wrote :—

"After a youth by woes o'ercast,
After a thousand sorrows past,
The lovely Mary once again
Set foot upon her native plain;
Kneeled on the pier with modest grace,
And turned to heaven her beauteous face
There rode the lords of France and Spain,
Of England, Flanders, and Lorraine;
While serried thousands round them stood,
From shore of Leith to Holyrood."

But Knox's thunder was growling in the distance, as he records that "the very face of heaven did manifestlie speak what comfort was brought to this country with hir—to wit, sorrow, dolour, darkness, and all impiety; for in the memory of man never was seyn a more dolorous face of the heaven than was at her arryvall the myst was so thick

that skairse mycht onie man espy another; and the sun was not seyn to shyne two days befor nor two days after!"

Four years after this the poor young queen, among other shifts to raise money in her difficulties, mortgaged the superiority of Leith to the city of Edinburgh, redeemable for 1,000 merks; and in 1566 she requested the Town Council by a letter to delay the assumption of that superiority; but she could only obtain a short indulgence to prevent the consequence of her hasty act falling on the devoted seaport.

In 1567, taking advantage of the general confusion of the queen's affairs, on the 4th of July the Provost, bailies, deacons, and the whole craftsmen of the city, armed and equipped in warlike array, with pikes, swords, and arquebuses, marched to Leith, and went through some evolutions, meant to represent or constitute the capture and conquest of the town, and formally trampled its independence in the dust. From the Links the magistrates finally marched to the Tolbooth, in the wynd which still bears its name, and on the stair thereof held a court, creating bailies, sergeants, clerks, and deemsters, in virtue of the infirmament made to them by the queen; and the superiority thus established was maintained, too often with despotic rigour, till Leith attained its independence after the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832.

During the contention between Morton and the queen's party, when the former was compelled with his followers to take shelter in Leith, where the Regent Mar had established his headquarters on the 12th of January, 1571, a convention, usually but erroneously called a General Assembly of the Kirk, was convened there, and sat till the 1st of February, and in it David Lindsay, minister of Leith, took a prominent part. The opening sermon on this occasion was lately repeated by Principal Lee. It is now extremely scarce, and is entitled thus :—

"Ane sermon preichit befor the Regent and nobilitie, in the Kirk of Leith, 1571, by David Fergussonne, minister of the Evangell at Dunfermlyne. The sermon approvit by John Knox, with my dead hand but glaid heart, praising God that of His mercy He lenis such light to His Kirk in this desolation."

M'Crie says that the last public service of Knox was the examination and approval of this sermon.

During the minority of James VI. Leith figured in many transactions which belong strictly to the general history of the realm; thus from November, 1571, till the August of the following year, it was the seat of the Court of Justiciary, and again in

1596-7. In 1578 an Act of Parliament was passed to prevent "the taking away of great quantities of victual and flesh from Leith, under the pretence of victualling ships." In the same year a reconciliation having been effected between the Earl of Morton and the nobles opposed to him, the Earls of Argyle, Montrose, Athole, and Buchan, Lord Boyd, and many other persons of distinction, dined with him jovially at an hostelry in Leith, kept by William Cant.

There was considerable alarm excited in Edinburgh, Leith, and along the east coast generally, by a plague which, as Moyes records, was brought from Dantzic by John Downy's ship, the *William of Leith*. By command of the Privy Council, the ship

was ordered, with her ailing and dead, to anchor off Inchcolm, to which place all afflicted by the plague were to confine themselves. The crew consisted of forty men, of whom the majority died. Proclamation had been made at the market-cross of every east coast town against permitting this fated crew to land. By petitions before the Council it appeared that William Downie, skipper in Leith, left a widow and eleven children; Scott, a mariner, seven. The survivors were afterwards removed to Inchkeith and the Castle of Inchgarvie, and the ship, which by leaks seemed likely to sink at her anchors, was emptied of her goods, which were stored in "the vows," or vaults, of St. Colm.

In 1584 Leith was appointed the principal market for herrings and other fish in the Firth of Forth.

Five years subsequent to this we find that the despotic magistrates of Edinburgh summoned nearly one half of their Leith vassals to hear themselves prohibited from the exercise of their various trades and from choosing their deacons in all time coming. They had previously thrust two unfortunate shoemakers into prison, one for *pretending* that he was elected deacon of the Leith Incorporation of the craft, and the other for acting as his officer; and we are told that, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the operatives, no attention was paid to their statements, and "they were proceeded against as a parcel of insolent and contumacious rascals;" and it was not until 1734 that the Incorporated

Trades of Leith were declared independent of those of Edinburgh by a decree of the Court of Session.

In October, 1589, James VI. embarked at Leith for Norway, impatient to meet his bride, Anne of Denmark, to whom he had been married by proxy. She had embarked in August, but her fleet had been detained by westerly gales, and there seemed little prospect of her reaching Scotland before the following spring. Though in that age a voyage to the Baltic was a serious matter in the fall of the year, James, undaunted, put to sea, and met his queen in Norway, where the marriage ceremony was performed again by the Rev. David Lindsay, of Leith, in the cathedral of St. Halvard at Christiania, and not at Upsala,

as some assert. After remaining for some months in Denmark, the royal pair on the 6th of May, landed at the pier of Leith (where the King's Work had been prepared for their reception), amid the booming of cannon, and the discharge of a mighty Latin oration from Mr. James Elphinstone.

It is remarkable that James, whose squadron came to anchor in the roads on the 1st of May, did not land at once, as he had been sorely beset by

the incantations of witches during his voyage; and it is alleged that the latter had declared "he would never have come safely from the sea had not his faith prevailed over their cantrips." They were more successful, however, with a large boat coming from Burntisland to Leith, containing a number of gifts for the young queen, and which they contrived to sink amid a storm, raised by the remarkable agency of a *christened cat*, when all on board perished.

In 1595 James wrote a letter at Holyrood, addressed to "the Bailies of Lethe," at the instance of William Henryson, Constable Depute of Scotland, interdicting them from holding courts to consider actions of slaughter, mulctation, drawing blood, or turbulence. (*Spald. Club Miscell.*) In the following year, by a letter of gift under the Privy Seal, he empowered the Corporation of Edinburgh to levy a certain tax during a certain period towards supporting and repairing the bulwark pier and port of Leith; and in a charter of *Novadamus*,



THE ARMS OF LEITH.

dated 15th March, 1603, among many enumerations, all in favour of Edinburgh, power is again given the magistrates to enlarge and extend the port towards the sea, with bulwarks on both sides of the river; and to build, strengthen, and fortify the

Andrew Sadler, through the agency, in the former case, of a little bag of black plaiding, wherein she put some grains of wheat, worsted threads of divers colours, hair, and nails of "mennis fingeris;" and in the latter case by a shirt dipped in a certain



GRANT'S SQUARE, 1851.* (After a Drawing by W. Channing.)

same in a substantial and durable manner for the safety of shipping.

As the sixteenth century was drawing to its close, the criminal records give many instances of the dark and gross superstition that had spread over the land even after the days of Knox. Thus, in 1597, Janet Stewart, in the Canongate, and Christian Livingstone, in Leith, were accused of witchcraft and casting spells upon Thomas Guthry and

well; for which alleged crimes they were sentenced to die on the Castle Hill, "thair bodies to be

* Grant's Square has entirely disappeared. "It was," writes Dr. Robert Paterson, "the square in which existed the old Parliament House, once occupied in Mary's time. The room in which the Parliament met must have been a spacious one, as when I remember it it was divided into numerous smaller rooms for poor tenants, but yet the carved oak panelling and the richly-decorated roof told of former magnificence. All has, however, now been cleared away, and replaced by a granary."

brunt in assis, and all thair moveable guidis to be escheat."

On the 6th of August, 1600, as Birrel tells us in his Diary, there came to Edinburgh tidings of the King's escape from the Gowrie Conspiracy, upon which the castle guns boomed from battery and tower; the bells clashed, trumpets were sounded and drums beaten; the whole town rose in arms, "with schutting of muskettis, casting of fyre workes and boynfyirs set furth," with dancing and such merriness all night, as had never before been seen in Scotland. The Earl of Montrose, Lord Chancellor, the Master of Elphinstone, Lord Treasurer, with other nobles, gathered the people around the market cross upon their knees, to give thanks to God for the deliverance of the King, who crossed the Firth on the 11th of the month, and was received upon the sands of Leith by the entire male population of the city and suburbs, all in their armour, "with grate joy, schutting of muskettis, and shaking of pikes."

After hearing Mr. David Lindsay's "orisione," in St. Mary's Church, he proceeded to the cross of Edinburgh, which was hung with tapestry, and where Mr. Patrick Galloway preached on the 124th Psalm.

In 1601 a man was tried at Leith for stealing grain by means of false keys, for which he was sentenced to have his hands tied behind his back and be taken out to the Roads and there drowned.

Birrel records that on the 12th July, 1605, the King of France's Guard mustered in all their bravery on the Links of Leith, where they were sworn in and received their pay; but this must have referred to some body of recruits for the *Ecosaise du Roi*, of which "Henri Prince d'Ecosse" was nominally appointed colonel in 1601, and which carried on its standards the motto, *In omni modo fidelis*. Exactly twenty years later another muster in the same place was held of the Scots Guards for the King of France, under Lord Gordon (son of the Marquis of Huntly), whose younger brother, Lord Melgum, was his lieutenant, the first gentleman of the company being Sir William Gordon of Pitlurg, son of Gordon of Kindroch. ("Gen. Hist. of the Earls of Sutherland.")

In the April of the year 1606 the Union Jack first made its appearance in the Port of Leith. It would seem that when the King of Scotland added England and Ireland to his dominions, his native subjects—very unlike their descendants—manifested, says Chambers, the utmost jealousy regarding their heraldic ensigns, and some contentions in consequence arose between them and their English neighbours, particularly at sea. Thus, on the 12th

April, 1606, "for composing of some differences between his subjects of North and South Britain travelling by seas, anent the bearing of their flags," the King issued a proclamation ordaining the ships of both nations to carry on their maintops the flags of St. Andrew and St. George interlaced; those of North Britain in their stern that of St. Andrew, and those of South Britain that of St. George.

In those days, whatever flag was borne, piracy was a thriving trade in Scottish and English waters, where vessels of various countries were often captured by daring marauders, their crews tortured, slaughtered, or thrown ashore upon lonely and desolate isles. Long Island, on the Irish coast, was a regular station for English pirate ships, and from thence in 1609 a robber crew, headed by two captains named Perkins and William Randall, master of a ship called the *Gryphound*, sailed for Scottish waters in a great Dutch vessel called the *Iron Prize*, accompanied by a swift pinnace, and for months they roamed about the Northern seas, doing an incredible deal of mischief, and they even had the hardihood to appear off the Firth of Forth.

The Privy Council upon this armed and fitted out three vessels at Leith, from whence they sailed in quest of the pirates, who had gone to Orkney to refit. There the latter had landed near the castle of Kirkwall, in which town they behaved barbarously, were always intoxicated, and indulged "in all manner of vice and villainy." Three of them, who had attacked a small vessel lying in shore, belonging to Patrick Earl of Orkney, were captured by his brother, Sir James Stewart (gentleman of the bed-chamber to James VI.), and soon after the three ships from Leith made their appearance, on which many of the pirates fled in the pinnace. A pursuit proving futile, the ships captured the *Iron Prize*, but not without a desperate conflict, in which several were killed and wounded. Thirty English prisoners were taken and brought to Leith, where—after a brief trial on the 26th of July—twenty-seven of them, including the two captains, were hanged at once upon a gibbet at the pier, three of them being reserved in the hope of their giving useful information. The Lord Chancellor, in a letter to James VI., written on the day of the execution, says that these pirates, oddly enough, had a parson "for saying of prayers to them twice a day," who deserted from them in Orkney, but was apprehended in Dundee, where he gave evidence against the rest, and would be reserved for the King's pleasure.

The next excitement in Leith was caused by the explosion of one of the King's large English ships

of war, which had been at anchor for six weeks in the Roads, and apparently with all her guns shotted.

About noon on the 10th December, 1613, an Englishman, who was in a "mad humour," says Calderwood, when the captain and most of the officers were on shore, laid trains of powder throughout the vessel, notwithstanding that his own son was on board, and blew her up. Balfour states that she was a 48-gun ship, commanded by a Captain Wood, that sixty men were lost in her, and sixty-three who escaped were sent to London.

Calderwood reduces the number who perished to twenty-four, and adds that the fire made all her ordnance go off, so that none dared go near her to render assistance.

In 1618 Leith was visited by Taylor, the Water Poet, and was there welcomed by Master Bernard Lindsay, one of the grooms of his Majesty's bed-chamber; and his notice of the commerce of the port presents a curious contrast to the Leith of the present day:—"I was credibly informed that within the compass of one year there was shipped away from that only port of Leith fourscore thousand boles of wheat, oats, and barley, into Spain, France, and other foreign parts, and every bole contains a measure of four English bushels; so that from Leith only hath been transported 320,000 bushels of corn, besides some hath been shipped away from St. Andrews, Dundee, Aberdeen, &c., and other portable towns, which makes me wonder that a kingdom so populous as it is, should nevertheless sell so much bread corn beyond the seas, and yet have more than sufficient for themselves."

In parochial and other records of those days many instances are noted of the capture of Scottish mariners by the pirates of Algiers, and of collections being made in the several parishes for their redemption from slavery. In the Register of the Privy Council, under date January, 1636, we find that a ship called the *John*, of Leith, commanded by John Brown, when sailing from London to La Rochelle, on the coast of France, fell in with three Turkish men-of-war, which, after giving him chase from sunrise to sunset, captured the vessel, took possession of the cargo and crew, and then scuttled her.

Poor Brown and his mariners were all taken to Salee, and there sold in the public market as slaves. Each bore iron chains to the weight of eighty pounds, and all were daily employed in grinding at a mill, while receiving nothing to eat but a little dusty bread. In the night they were confined in holes twenty feet deep among rats and mice, and because they were too poor—being only

mariners—to redeem themselves, they trusted to the benevolence of his Majesty's subjects. By order of the Council, a contribution was levied in the Lothians and elsewhere, but with what result we are not told.

In 1622 the usual excitements of the times were varied by a sea-fight in the heart of Leith harbour. On the 6th of June, in that year, the constable of Edinburgh Castle received orders from the Lords of Council to have his cannon and cannoniers in instant readiness, as certain foreign ships were engaged in close battle within gunshot of Leith.

A frigate belonging to Philip IV. of Spain, commanded by Don Pedro de Vanyornz, had been lying for some time at anchor within the harbour there, taking on board provisions and stores, her soldiers and crew coming on shore freely whenever they chose; but it happened that one night two vessels of war, belonging to their bitter enemies, the Dutch, commanded by Mynheer de Hantain, the Admiral of Zealand, came into the same anchorage, and—as the Earl of Melrose reported to James VI.—cast anchor close by Don Pedro.

The moment daylight broke the startled Spaniards ran up their ensign, cleared away for action, and a desperate fight ensued, nearly muzzle to muzzle. For two hours without intermission, the tiers of brass cannon from the decks of the three ships poured forth a destructive fire, and the Spaniards, repulsed by sword and partisan, made more than one attempt to carry their lofty bulwarks by boarding. The smoke of their culverins, matchlocks, and pistolettes enveloped their rigging and all the harbour of Leith, through the streets and along the pier of which bullets of all sorts and sizes went skipping and whizzing, to the terror and confusion of the inhabitants.

As this state of things was intolerable, the burghesses of the city and seaport rushed to arms and armour, at the disposal of the Lords of Council, who despatched a herald with the water bailie to command both parties to forbear hostilities in Scottish waters; but neither the herald's tabard nor the bailie's authority prevailed, and the fight continued with unabated fury till mid-day. The Spanish captain finding himself sorely pressed by his two antagonists, obtained permission to warp his ship farther within the harbour; but still the unrelenting Dutchmen poured their broadsides upon his shattered hull.

The Privy Council now ordered the Admiral Depute to muster the mariners of Leith, and assail the Admiral of Zealand in aid of the *Dunkerquer*; but the depute reported "that they were altogether unable, and he saw no way to enforce obedience

but by bringing ordonnance from the Castell to the shoare, to ding at them so long as they sould be within shot." (Melrose's Letter.)

Upon this the constable and his cannoniers, with a battery of guns, came with all speed down, by the Bonnington Road most probably, and took up a position on the high ground near the ancient chapel of St. Nicholas; but this aid came too late, for Mynheer de Hautain had driven the unfortunate Spanish frigate, after great slaughter, completely outside the harbour, where she grounded on a dangerous reef, then known as the Mussel Cape, but latterly as the Black Rocks.

There she was boarded by a party of Leith seamen, who hoisted a Scottish flag at her topmast-head; but that afforded her no protection, for the inexorable Dutchmen boarded her in the night, burned her to the water's edge, and sailed away before dawn.

Two years after this there occurred a case of "murder under trust, stouthrief, and piracie," of considerable local interest, the last scene of which was enacted at Leith. In November, 1624, Robert Brown, mariner in Burntisland, with his son, John Brown, skipper there, David Dowie, a burgess there, and Robert Duff, of South Queensferry, were all tried before the Criminal Court for slaying under trust three young Spanish merchants, and appropriating to themselves their goods and merchandise, which these strangers had placed on board John Brown's ship to be conveyed from the Spanish port

of San Juan to Calais three years before. "Beeing in the middis of the sea and far fra lande," runs the indictment, they threw the three Spaniards overboard, "ane eftir other in the raging seas," after which, in mockery of God, they "maid ane prayer and sang ane psalm," and then bore away for Middelburg in Zealand, and sold the property acquired—walnuts, chestnuts, and Spanish wines. For this they were all hanged, their heads struck from their bodies and set upon pikes of iron in the town of Leith, the sands of which were the scene of many an execution for piracy, till the last, which occurred in 1822, when Peter Heaman and François Gautiez were hanged at the foot of Constitution Street, within the floodmark, on the 9th of January, for murder and piracy upon the high seas.

On the 28th and 30th March, 1625, a dreadful storm raged along the whole east coast of Scotland, and the superstitious Calderwood, in his history, seems to connect it as a phenomenon with the death of James VI., tidings of which reached Edinburgh on that day. The water in Leith harbour rose to a height never known before; the ships were dashed against each other "broken and spoiled," and many skippers and mariners who strove to make them fast in the night were drowned. "It was taken by all men to be a forerunner of some great alteration. And, indeed, the day following—to wit, the last of March—sure report was brought hither from Court that the King departed this life the Lord's day before, the 27th of March."

CHAPTER XX.

LEITH—HISTORICAL SURVEY (*continued*).

Sir William Monson's Suggestions—Leith Re-fortified—The Covenant Signed—The Plague—The Cromwellians in Leith—A Mutiny—Newspapers Printed in the Citadel—Tucker's Report—English Fleet—A Windmill—English Pirates Hanged—Citadel seized by Brigadier Mackintosh—Hessian Army Lands—Highland Mutinies—Paul Jones—Prince William Henry.

CHARLES I. was proclaimed King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, at the Cross of Edinburgh and on the shore at Leith, where Lord Balmerino and the Bishop of Glasgow attended with the heralds and trumpeters.

The events of the great Civil War, and those which eventually brought that unfortunate king to the scaffold, lie apart from the annals of Leith, yet they led to the re-fortifying of it after Jenny Geddes had given the signal of resistance in St. Giles's in July, 1637, and the host of the Covenant began to gather on the hills above Dunse.

Two years before that time we find Vice-Admiral

Sir William Monson, a distinguished English naval officer who served with Raleigh in Elizabeth's reign in many expeditions under James VI., and who survived till the time of Charles I., urging in his "Naval Tracts" that Leith should be made the capital of Scotland!

"Instead of Edinburgh," he wrote, "which is the supreme city, and now made the head of justice, whither all men resort as the only spring that waters the kingdom, I wish his Majesty did fortify, strengthen, and make impregnable, the town of Leith, and there to settle the seat of justice, with all the other privileges Edinburgh enjoys, referring it to the



VIEW OF LEITH, FROM THE EASTERN ROAD, 1751. (After Paul Sandby.)

choice of the inhabitants whether they will make their dwelling where they do or remove to Leith, where they shall enjoy the same liberties they did in Edinburgh. His Majesty may do it out of these respects : Leith is a maritime town, and with some great labour and charge in conveying their merchandise to Edinburgh, which no man but will find conveniency in ; Leith is a sea town, whither ships resort and mariners make their dwelling, and the Trinity House being settled there lies more convenient for transportation and importation, it being the port town of Edinburgh, and in time of war may cut off all provisions betwixt the sea and Edinburgh, and bring Edinburgh to the mercy of it."

Sir William took a seaman's view in this suggestion ; but we may imagine the dire wrath it would have occasioned in the municipality of Edinburgh.

At the prospect of an invasion from England, the restoration of the fortifications of Leith went on with great spirit. "The work was begun and carried on with infinite alacrity," says Arnot, "not only mercenaries, but an incredible number of volunteers, gentry, nobility—nay, even ladies themselves, surmounting the delicacy of their sex and the reserve so becoming them—put their hands to the work, happy if at any expense they could promote so pious a cause."

At least a thousand men were employed on these works ; the bastions, says Principal Baillie, were strong and perfect, and armed with "double cannon."

And necessary indeed seemed their national enthusiasm, when early in May, 1639, the servile Marquis of Hamilton arrived in Leith Roads with 5,000 troops on board a fleet of twenty sail, with orders to attack Edinburgh and its seaport, "to infest the country by sea," says Lediard, "to hinder its trade, and make a descent upon the land." He threatened bombardment ; but the stout hearts of the Covenanters never failed them, and the work of fortification went on, while their noble army—for a noble one it was then—anticipated the king by marching into England at the sword's point, and compelling him to make a hasty treaty and hurry to Edinburgh in a conciliatory mood, where, as Guthrie says, "he resigned every branch of his prerogative, and scarcely retained more than the empty title of sovereignty."

In October, 1643, the Covenant was enthusiastically subscribed by the inhabitants of Leith, the pastor and people standing solemnly with uplifted hands. This took place at Leith, as the parish register shows, on the 26th, and at Restalrig on Sunday the 29th.

In that month, the Earl of Leven, at the head of 20,000 men, again entered England, but to form a junction with Cromwell against the king ; and while the strife went on the plague broke out in Edinburgh and Leith in 1645.

In the latter town about 2,320 persons, constituting perhaps one-half of the entire population, were swept away within eight months by this scourge of those ante-sanitation times. As the small churchyards were utterly deficient in accommodation for the dead, many of them were buried in the Links and on the north side of the road leading to Hermitage Hill. Till very recent times masses of half-decayed bones, wrapped in the blankets in which the victims perished, have been dug up in the fields and gardens about Leith.

This scourge broke out on the 19th of May in King James's hospital in the Kirkgate. In Restalrig there died 160 ; in the Craigend, 155—the total number of victims in the whole parish was generally estimated at 2,736, but the accounts vary. In 1832 great quantities of their remains were laid bare near Wellington Place—among them a cranium which bore traces of a gunshot wound. ("Antiquities of Leith.")

So fearful were the double ravages of the plague and an accompanying famine, that Parliament, believing the number of the dead to exceed that of the living, empowered the magistrates to seize for the use of survivors all grain that could be found in warehouses or cellars, and to make payment therefor at their convenience, and to find means of making it by appeals to the humanity of their landward countrymen.

Nicoll in his Diary records, under date 25th July, 1650—the day after Cromwell was repulsed in his attack upon Leslie's trenches—that the whole Scottish army, to the number of 40,000 men, was convened or mustered on the Links of Leith, to undergo a process called "purging," *i.e.*, the dismissal from its ranks of all officers and men who were obnoxious in any way to the clergy. The result of this insane measure, when almost within range of Cromwell's cannon, was that "above the half of thame" were disbanded and sent to their homes. Then after Charles II. had been feasted in the Parliament House, on the 1st of August he came to Leith, and took up his residence in Lord Balmerino's house near the Kirkgate.

Nicoll also records that a soldier of Leslie, being discovered in correspondence with the enemy, on being made prisoner strangled himself in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh ; after that his body was gibbeted between the city and Leith, "quhair he yet hangs to the terror of othisis."

The remainder of this army—the “godly men”—eventually marched into England, and were cut to pieces at the battle of Worcester.

After the battle of Dunbar, when Cromwell took possession of Edinburgh and Leith, he seems to have found a necessity for enforcing discipline among his “godly soldiers,” some of whom, as Nicoll records, were scourged through the streets by the provost-marshal’s men from the Stone Cross to the Nether Bow and back again, for plundering houses; others were pilloried at the cross or the wooden mare with pint-stoups at the neck and muskets at the foot, for drunkenness; and in the history of the Coldstream Guards it is stated that a drummer of Colonel Pride’s regiment was tried for killing another soldier, and by sentence of a court-martial shot “against the cross in Edinburgh.”

In the administration of justice Nicoll relates that many Scottish suitors laid their cases before a committee of Cromwellian officers sitting in Leith, and cases that had been standing over for sixteen years were disposed of with such military celerity that some of the said suitors declared that they found “mair love and kyndness towards thame by their supposed enneyemies than of their awin countrymen and friends.” But the troops, under General Lambert, subjected Leith to a monthly assessment of £22 sterling, besides a proportion of the £2,400 Scots levied upon Edinburgh and its vicinity.

When Cromwell returned to England he left General Monk commander of his forces in Scotland, where only the goodwill and coalition of the people would have enabled so small a force to remain unmolested. For a time the latter took up his quarters in Leith, and while he was resident he induced some English families of considerable wealth and of great commercial enterprise to settle there.

The *Mercurius Politicus*—the rare volumes of which are preserved in the Advocates’ Library—records that in October, 1652, there was a dangerous mutiny among Monk’s garrison in Leith, in consequence of deductions from their pay to form a store. Four were condemned to be hanged, but were ordered to cast lots to the end that one only should die; but the entire female population petitioned for the life of him on whom the lot fell, and he was spared in consequence.

In the preceding year, by a court-martial, he had the wife of Lieutenant Emerson whipped through the streets for profligacy, and shipped off to London. (“Coldstream Guards.”)

In 1656 Monk set about the erection of a citadel in North Leith, on the site of St Nicholas’ Church,

which he demolished entirely for that purpose. It had been ordered by Cromwell in 1653, was pentagonal in form, and entirely faced with hewn stone. It had five bastions, and barracks inside, and the house above the arch, or principal east entrance, which still remains, is traditionally said to have been portion of his residence. An iron helmet, or “Cromwell pot,” was found here in a mound of rubbish, and presented to the Museum of Antiquities in 1833.

The vexatious controversy about the superiority of Leith having been again agitated, on the 5th of May, 1656, the Town Council of Edinburgh granted to General Monk £5,000 towards the erection of his citadel on the conditions that the city should retain the superiority, and he should not retain the old French fortifications. Thus, though the English commercial men whom he had invited to settle in Leith gave an impulse to the mercantile spirit of the port, they felt painfully the restrictions imposed upon them by the dominant Town Council of Edinburgh, and though they had a Republican government to appeal to, they failed to extricate the inhabitants from any portion of their ancient thralldom.

In Scotland a very important advance under the Commonwealth was the introduction of newspapers. Among these were *A Diurnal of Passages and Affairs, a Reprint at Leith of a Paper published at London*, commenced in November, 1652; *The Mercurius Politicus* was issued from the citadel in the following year, with the motto from Horace, *Ita vertere seria: Printed at London and Reprinted at Leith*. This journal varied from eight to sixteen quarto pages.

A very rare work, entitled “The Survey of Polycys, or a Free Vindication of the Commonwealth of England against Salmasius and other Royalists, by Peter English,” is supposed by Bishop Russell of Leith, in his “Life of Cromwell,” to have issued from the same press in the citadel in 1653.

In 1655 there came to Scotland Mr. Thomas Tucker, Registrar to the Commissioners of Excise, sent by Cromwell’s Council of State, to assist in settling the customs in that country, and his report, which is included among the earliest issues of the Bannatyne Club, though verbose and dreary, is very interesting, from the picture of the trade of the kingdom at that time. Of course, like any Englishman of his own or later times, his views were jaundiced and far from flattering.

Leith claimed much of his attention. He describes it as a small town, fortified, with a convenient tidal harbour, with a quay of good length for land-

ing goods. He accused Edinburgh of an unreasonable jealousy of its seaport, and invited the inhabitants of that city "to descend from their proud hill into the more fruitful plains (of Leith?) to be filled with the fatness and fulness thereof."

at the same time the Trained Bands of Leith mustered in arms to attend the great military funeral of the Marquis of Montrose.

In 1667 the English fleet of Sir Jeremiah Smythe, a brave admiral who afterwards defeated the Dutch,



LAME'S CLOSE, ST. GILES'S STREET, 1850. (After a Drawing by W. Channing.)

After this declamation it was rather disappointing to find—if Mr. Tucker's report be a true one—that all the shipping in "the principal port of Scotland" consisted only of some twelve or fourteen vessels, "two or three whereof are of only two or three hundred tons apiece, the rest small vessels for carrying salt."

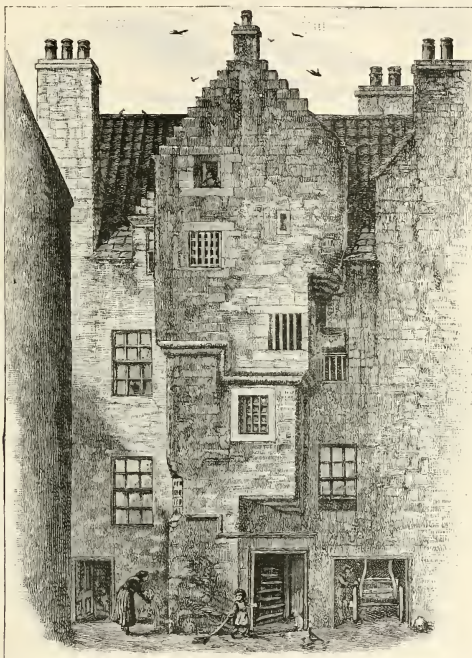
At the Restoration orders were given to destroy the citadel; but these were not put in force, and

came to anchor in the Roads, and saluted the Scottish flag. The guns of the Castle, Leith, and Burntisland, responded. The admiral was in search of the Dutch fleet under Van Ghendt, which had been in the Firth a few days before, menacing Edinburgh and Leith.

In March, 1679, the constables of South and North Leith, in common with those of the city and Canongate, "and wholl suburbs of the good town

of Edinburgh," by order of the Privy Council and magistrates, were ordered to make up lists of all the dwellers in these districts, while nightly lists of all lodgers were to be furnished by the bailies to the captain of the City Guard.

"was a profane, cruel wretch, and used them barbarously, stowing them up between decks, where they could not get up their heads except to sit or lean, and robbing them of many things their friends sent for their relief. They never were in such



OLD HOUSE IN WATER'S CLOSE, 1879. (After a Sketch by J. Romilly Allen.)

The November of the same year saw those poor victims of a dire system of misrule, the Covenanters, who had been for months penned up like wild animals in the Greyfriars' Churchyard, Edinburgh, marched through Leith. To the number of 257, who had refused the bond, they were on the 15th shipped on board an English vessel for transportation to Barbadoes, there to be sold as slaves!

The captain, says the Rev. Mr. Blackadder,

strait and peril, particularly through drought, as they were allowed little or no drink, and pent up together till many of them fainted and were almost suffocated." This was in Leith Roads, and in sight of the green hills of Fife and Lothian, on which they were looking their last.

Their ship was cast away among the Orkneys; the hatches were battened down; 200 perished with her, while the captain and seamen made their

escape by a mast that fell between the wreck and the shore.

In 1692 Leith possessed twenty-nine ships, having a tonnage of 1,702 tons.

Six years later saw the ill-fated Darien Expedition sail from its port on the 26th of July, consisting of four frigates—the *Rising Sun*, Captain Gibson; the *Companies' Hope*, Captain Miller; the *Hamilton*, Captain Duncan; the *Hope*, of Borrow-tounness, Captain Dalling—having on board 1,200 men, exclusive of 300 gentlemen volunteers, with a great quantity of cannon and other munition of war. They must have gone “North about,” as their final departure to the scene of their valour, sufferings, and destruction was from Rothesay Bay on the 24th September, 1699.

In the last year of the seventeenth century the proprietors of the Glass Works at Leith made a strong complaint to the Scottish Privy Council concerning a ruinous practice pursued by the proprietors of similar works at Newcastle of sending great quantities of their goods into Scotland. These English makers had lately landed—it was stated in the February of 1700—no less than two thousand six hundred dozen of bottles at Montrose, thus overstocking the market; and on their petition the Lords of the Privy Council empowered the Leith Glass Company to seize all such English wares and bring them in for his Majesty's use.

In July, 1702, a piteous petition from Leith was laid before the Lords of Council, stating that “It had pleased the great and holy God to visit this town, for their heinous sins against Him, with a very sudden and terrible stroke, which was occasioned by the firing of thirty-three barrels of powder, which dreadful blast, as it was heard even at many miles distance with great terror and amazement, so it hath caused great ruin and desolation in this place.” By this explosion seven or eight persons were killed on the spot, the adjacent houses had their roofs blown off, their windows destroyed, and were reduced to ruinous heaps, while portions of their timber were carried to vast distances. “Few houses in the town did not escape some damage, and all this in a moment of time; so that the merciful conduct of Divine Providence hath been very admirable in the preservation of hundreds of people whose lives were exposed to manifold dangers, seeing that they had not so much previous warning as to shift a foot for their own preservation, much less to remove their plenshing.”

The petition alleged that damage had been done to the amount of £36,936 Scots “by and attour,” the injuries done to several back-closets and lofts, household furniture, and merchants' goods. The

proprietors of the houses wrecked were, for the most part, unable to repair them; thus the petitioners entreated permission to make a charitable collection throughout the kingdom at the doors of the churches; and the Lords granted their prayer.

Two years after the Lords had to adjudicate upon a case of trade despotism. In the January of 1704, Charles, Earl of Hopetoun, stated that during his minority his guardians had built a windmill in Leith for the purpose of grinding and refining the ore from his mines in the Leadhills of Lanarkshire; but the mill had been unused until now, and was found to require repair. John Smith, who had set up a saw-mill in Leith, being the only man able to do this kind of work, was employed by the Earl to repair his windmill; but the wright-burgesses of Edinburgh arose in great wrath, and with violence interfered with the work, on the ground that it was a violation of their privileges as a corporation, although not one of them had been bred to the work in question, “or had any skill therein.”

Indeed, it was shown that some part of the work done by them had to be taken down as useless. The Earl argued that it was plainly to the public detriment if such a work was brought to a standstill; and the Council, adopting his views, gave him a protection against the irate wrights of Edinburgh.

In the year 1705 Leith was the scene of those stormy episodes connected with the execution of the captain and two seamen of the English ship *Worcester*.

The oppressive clauses of an Act of the English Parliament concerning the proposed union had roused the pride of the Scots to fever heat, and tended to alienate the minds of many who had been in favour of the measure; and the incidents referred to occurred just at a time to exasperate the mutual jealousies of both countries.

The Darien Company, notwithstanding the ruin that had befallen their enterprise, still traded with the East, and at this time one of their vessels, called the *Annandale*, being seized in the Thames, was sold by the English East India Company, to whom the owners applied in vain for restitution or repayment.

Shortly afterwards the *Worcester*, an English East Indiaman, requiring repairs, put into Burntisland, where she was at once seized by way of reprisal. Meanwhile some of her crew, when in liquor, had let fall in their irritation some unguarded admissions which led to a suspicion that they had captured a Darien ship in Eastern waters, and murdered her captain and entire crew; and this suspicion was

the further strengthened by the fact that the *Speedy Return*, a Scottish ship, had been absent unusually long, and the rumours regarding her fate were very much akin to the confessions of the crew of the *Worcester*.

A report of these circumstances having reached the Privy Council, the arrest was ordered of Captain Green and thirteen of his crew on charges of piracy and murder. The evidence produced against them would scarcely be held sufficient by a jury of the present day to warrant a conviction; but the Scots, in their justly inflamed and insulted spirit, viewed the matter otherwise, and a sentence of death was passed. This judgment rendered many uneasy, as it might be an insuperable bar to the union, and even lead to open strife, as the relations in which the two countries stood to each other were always precarious; and even Macaulay admits "that the two kingdoms could not possibly have continued another year on the terms on which they had been during the preceding century." The Privy Council were thus reluctant to put the sentence into execution, and respite the fourteen Englishmen; but there arose from the people a cry for vengeance which it was impossible to resist. On the day appointed for the execution, the 11th of April, the populace gathered in vast numbers at the Cross and in the Parliament Square; they menaced the Lords of the Council, from which the Lord Chancellor chanced to pass in his coach. Some one cried aloud that "the prisoners had been reprieved." On this the fury of the people became boundless; they stopped at the Tron church the coach of the Chancellor—the pitiful Earl of Seafield—and dragged him out of it, and had he not been rescued and conveyed into Mylne Square by some friends, would have slain him; so, continues Arnot, it became absolutely necessary to appease the enraged multitude by the blood of the criminals. This was but the fruit of the affairs of Darien and Glencoe. Now the people for miles around were pouring into the city, and it was known that beyond doubt the luckless Englishmen would be torn from the Tolbooth and put to a sudden death.

Thus the Council was compelled to yield, and did so only in time, as thousands who had gathered at Leith to see the execution were now adding to those who filled the streets of the city, and at eleven in the forenoon word came forth that three would be hanged—namely, Captain Green, the first mate Madder, and Simpson, the gunner.

According to *Analecta Scotica* they were brought forth into the seething masses, amid shouts and execrations, under an escort of the Town Guard, and marched on foot through the Canongate to the

Water Port of Leith, where a battalion of the Foot Guards and a body of the Horse Guards were drawn up. "There was the greatest confluence of people there that I ever saw in my life," says Wodrow; "for they cared not how far they were off so be it they saw."

The three were hanged upon a gibbet erected within high-water mark, and the rest of the crew, after being detained in prison till autumn, were set at liberty; and it is said that there were afterwards good reasons to believe that Captain Drummond, whom they were accused of slaying on the high seas, was alive in India after the fate of Green and his two brother officers had been sealed. (Burton's "Crim. Trials.")

On the site of the present Custom House was built the *Fury* (a line-of-battle ship, according to Lawson's "Gazetteer") and the first of that rate built in Scotland after the Union.

In 1712 the first census of Edinburgh and Leith was taken, and both towns contained only about 48,000 souls.

The insurrection of 1715, under the Earl of Mar, made Leith the arena of some exciting scenes. The Earl declined to leave the vicinity of Perth with his army, and could not co-operate with the petty insurrection under Forster in the north of England, as a fleet under Sir John Jennings, Admiral of the White, including the *Royal Anne*, *Pearl*, *Phoenix*, *Dover Castle*, and other frigates, held the Firth of Forth, and the King's troops under Argyle were gathering in the southern Lowlands. But, as it was essential that a detachment from Mar's army should join General Forster, it was arranged that 2,500 Highlanders, under old Brigadier Mackintosh of Borlum—one of the most gallant and resolute spirits of the age—should attempt to elude the fleet and reach the Lothians.

The brigadier took possession of all the boats belonging to the numerous fisher villages on the Fife coast, and as the gathering of such a fleet as these, with the bustle of mooring and provisioning them, was sure to reveal the object in view, a clever trick was adopted to put all scouts on a false scent.

All the boats not required by the brigadier he sent to the neighbourhood of Burtisland, as if he only waited to cross the Firth there, on which the fleet left its anchorage and rather wantonly began to cannonade the fort and craft in the harbour. While the ships were thus fully occupied, Mackintosh, dividing his troops in two columns, crossed the water from Elie, Pittenweem, and Crail, twenty miles eastward, on the nights of the 12th and 13th October, without the loss of a single boat, and landed

on the coast of East Lothian, from whence the way to England was open and free.

But the daring Mackintosh suddenly conceived a very different enterprise. The troops under him were all picked men, drawn from the regiments of the Earls of Mar and Strathmore, of Lord Nairn, Lord Charles Murray, and Logie-Drummond, with his own clan the Mackintoshes. With these he conceived the idea of capturing Edinburgh, then only seventeen miles distant, and storming the Castle. But the Provost mustered the citizens, placed the City Guard, the Trained Bands, and the Volunteers, at all vulnerable points, and sent to Argyle, then at Stirling, on the 14th October, for aid.

At ten that night the Duke, at the head of only 300 dragoons mounted on farm horses, and 200 infantry, passed through the city just as the Highlanders, then well-nigh worn out, halted at Jock's Lodge.

Hearing of the Duke's arrival, and ignorant of what his forces might be, the brigadier wheeled off to Leith, where his approach excited the most ludicrous consternation, as it had done in Edinburgh, where, Campbell says in his History, "the approach of 50,000 cannibals" could not have discomposed the burghesses more. Mackintosh entered Leith late at night, released forty Jacobite prisoners from the Tolbooth, and took possession of the citadel, the main fortifications of which were all intact, and now enclosed several commodious dwellings, used as bathing quarters by the citizens of Edinburgh.

How Argyle had neglected to garrison this strong post it is impossible to conjecture; but "Old Borlum"—as he was always called—as gates were wanting, made barricades in their place, took eight pieces of cannon from ships in the harbour, provisioned himself from the Custom House, and by daybreak next morning was in readiness to receive the Duke of Argyle, commander of all the forces in Scotland.

At the head of 1,000 men of all arms the latter approached Leith, losing on the way many volunteers, who "silently slipped out of the ranks and returned to their own homes." He sent a message to the citadel, demanding a surrender on one hand, and threatening no quarter on the other. To answer this, the Laird of Kynachin appeared on the ramparts, and returned a scornful defiance. "As to surrendering, they laughed at it; and as to assaulting them, they were ready for him; they would neither give nor take quarter; and if he thought he was able to force them, he might try his hand."

Argyle carefully reconnoitred the citadel, and,

with the concurrence of his officers, retired with the intention of attacking in strength next day; but Borlum was too wary to wait for him. Resolving to acquaint Mar with his movements, he sent a boat across the Firth, causing shots to be fired as it left Leith to deceive the Hanoverian fleet, which allowed it to pass in the belief that it contained friends of the Government; and at nine that night, taking advantage of a cloudy sky, he quitted the citadel with all his troops, and, keeping along the beach, passed round the head of the pier at low water, and set out on his march for England. Yet, though the darkness favoured him, it led to one or two tragic occurrences. Near Musselburgh some mounted gentlemen, having fired upon the Highlanders, led the latter to believe that all horsemen were enemies; thus, when a mounted man approached them alone, on being challenged in Gaelic, and unable to reply in the same language, he was shot dead.

The slain man proved to be Alexander Malloch, of Moultray's Hill, who was coming to join them. "The brigadier was extremely sorry for what had taken place, but he was unable even to testify the common respect of a friend by burying the deceased. He had only time to possess himself of the money found on the corpse—about sixty guineas—and then leave it to the enemy."

The advance of Mar rendered Argyle unable to pursue Borlum, who eventually joined Forster, shared in his defeat, and would have been hanged and quartered at Tyburn, had he not broken out of Newgate and escaped to France.

A few days after his departure from Leith, the Trained Bands there were ordered to muster on the Links, to attend their colours and mount guard, "at tuck of drumme, at what hour their own officers shall appoint, and to bring their best armes along with them."

There is a curious "dream story," as Chambers calls it in his "Book of Days," connected with Leith in 1731, which Lady Clerk of Penicuik (*née* Mary Dacre, of Kirkclinton in Cumberland), to whom we have referred in our first volume, communicated to *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1826. She related that her father was attending classes in Edinburgh in 1731, and was residing under the care of an uncle—Major Griffiths—whose regiment was quartered in the castle. The young man had agreed to join a fishing party, which was to start from Leith harbour next morning. No objection was made by Major or Mrs. Griffiths, from whom he parted at night. During her sleep the latter suddenly screamed out: "The boat is sinking—oh, save them!" The major awoke her, and said:

"Are you uneasy about that fishing-party?" "No," she replied, "I had no thought of it." After she had been asleep about an hour, she again exclaimed, in a dreadful fright: "I see the boat—it is going down!" Again the major awoke her, on which she said the second dream must have been suggested

Chambers conceives that, unlike many anecdotes of this kind, Lady Clerk's dream-story can be traced to an actual occurrence, which he quotes from the *Caledonian Mercury* of 1734, and that the old lady had mistaken the precise year.

In 1740—for the first time, probably, since the



THE OLD TOLBOOTH, 1820. (After Storer.)

by the first. But no rest was to be obtained by her, for again the dream returned, and she exclaimed, in extreme agony: "They are gone!—the boat is sunk!" Then she added: "Mr. Dacre must not go, for I feel that, should he go, I should be miserable till his return." In short, on the strength of her treble dream, she induced their nephew to send a note of apology to his companions, who left Leith, but were caught in a storm, in which all perished.

days of Cromwell—we find regular troops quartered in Leith, when General Guest, commanding in Scotland, required the magistrates to find billets in North and South Leith for certain companies of Brigadier Cornwallis's regiment, latterly the 11th Foot.

Previous to 1745, the only place where troops could be accommodated in a body at Leith was in the old Tolbooth. About that time, Robert Douglas,

of Brockhouse, contracted with the corporation to provide accommodation for soldiers. His agreement was to quarter three companies of infantry "in the back land in Leith, at Coatfield Gutter, and up the back vennel, where the lane leadeth to the Links," for which he was to be paid by the town four shillings per week for every man, on finding sufficient bedding, coals, and candles; but the speculation did not prove remunerative, and much litigation ensued, without consequences (Robertson).

On the 8th of February, 1746, when Cumberland was on his march to the north from Perth, the armament of 5,000 Hessian troops, under his brother-in-law the Prince of Hesse, arrived in Leith Roads to assist in the suppression of the Jacobite clans. He landed that night at the harbour, attended by the Earl of Crawford (so famous in the wars of George II.), by a son of the Duke of Wolfenbützel, and other persons of distinction; and was taken to Holyrood, under a salute from the Castle. On the 15th the Duke of Cumberland was to pay him a formal visit, and they held a council of war in Milton House, after which the Duke set forth again, leaving the Prince of Hesse to follow.

Many public persons flocked to welcome the latter, and the ministers of Edinburgh and Leith, we are told, poured forth torrents of vituperation on "the Pretender and his desperate mob," for which, to their astonishment, they were sharply rebuked by the Prince, "with the sternest air he could assume;" and he told them that Prince Charles was no pretender, but the lawful grandson of James VII., as all men knew; and that it was "very indecent and ill-mannered in a gentleman, and base and unworthy in a clergyman, to use reproachful and opprobrious names" (*Constable's Miscel.*, vol. xvi.). At a supper a Whig gentleman made a remark derogatory of Prince Charles, "to which his Serene Highness replied with great warmth: 'Sir, I know it to be false. I am personally acquainted with him; he has many great as well as good qualities, and is inferior to few generals in Europe. We made two campaigns together, and he richly deserves the character the Duke of Berwick gave him from Gaeta to the Duke of Fitzjames.'"

The Hessian army won the esteem of the people of Edinburgh and Leith, and were the first to introduce the use of *black rappee* into this country; but it soon began the march northward, to uphold the House of Hanover in the Highlands.

The utterly defenceless state in which the coast of Scotland was left after the Union caused alarms to be very easily created in time of war. Hence, in July, 1759, the appearance of two large ships in the Firth of Forth, standing off and on, with Dutch

colours flying, brought the cavalry in the Canon-gate, and the infantry in the castle, under arms, with a train of cannon, for the security of Leith, where every man armed himself with whatever came to hand. Why these ships displayed Dutch colours we are not told, but they proved to be the *Swam* and one of our own sloops of war, full of impressed men, going south from the Orkney Isles.

Four years afterwards peace was proclaimed with France and Spain, by sound of trumpet by the heralds, escorted by Leighton's Regiment (the 32nd Foot), which fired three volleys of musketry. The ceremony was performed in four places—at the gates of the castle and palace, the market cross, and the Shore of Leith.

In 1771 Arnot mentions that the latter was very ill-supplied with water, and that, as the streets were neither properly cleaned nor lighted, an Act of Parliament was passed in that year, appointing certain persons from among the magistrates and inhabitants of Edinburgh, the Lords of Session, and Leith Corporation, commissioners of police, empowering them to put this Act in execution by levying a sum not exceeding sixpence in the pound upon the valued rent of Leith. "The great change upon the streets of Leith," he adds, "which has since taken place, shows that this act has been judiciously prepared and attentively executed."

Before the great consternation excited in Leith by the advent of Paul Jones the town was greatly disturbed by two mutinies among the Highland troops.

In 1778, the West Highland Fencibles, who had recently brought with them to Edinburgh Castle sixty-five French prisoners, resented bitterly some innovations on their ancient Celtic garb—particularly the cartridge-box—which they oddly alleged "no Highland regiment ever wore before;" and, by a preconcerted plan, the whole battalion, when paraded on the Castle Hill, simultaneously tore them from their shoulders and flung them contemptuously on the ground, refusing to wear them. A few days after this, the general commanding, having made his own arrangements, marched four companies of the corps to Leith, where they were surrounded by the 10th Light Dragoons—now Hussars—and compelled at the point of the sword to accept the pouches, which were piled up on the Links before them. By a drum-head court-martial held on the spot, several of the ringleaders were tried and flogged, after which the remainder were marched to Berwick.

Meanwhile, a company which formed the guard in the Castle, on hearing of this, openly revolted, lowered the portcullis, drew up the bridge, loaded

the battery guns facing the city—which was filled with consternation—while a rather helpless force of cavalry took possession of the Castle Hill. The crisis was, indeed, a perilous one, as the vaults of the fortress were full of French and Spanish prisoners of war, while a French squadron was cruising off the mouth of the Forth, and had already captured some vessels. Next day the company capitulated, all save one, who, with his claymore, assailed an officer of the 10th, who struck him down and had him made a prisoner.

The cavalry occupied the fortress until the arrival of Lord Lennox's regiment, the 26th or Cameronians, when a court-martial was held. One Highlander was sentenced to be shot, and another to receive a thousand lashes; but both were forgiven on condition of serving beyond the seas in a battalion of the line.

Another mutiny occurred in the April of the following year.

Seventy Highlanders enlisted for the 42nd and 71st (then known as the Master of Lovat's Regiment) when marched to Leith, refused to embark, a mischievous report having been spread that they were to be draughted into a Lowland corps, and thus deprived of the kilt; and so much did they resent this, that they resolved to resist to death. On the evening they reached Leith the following despatch was delivered at Edinburgh Castle by a mounted dragoon:—

“To Governor Wemyss, or the Commanding Officer of the South Fencible Regiment.

“Headquarters, April, 1779.

“SIR,—The draughts of the 71st Regiment having refused to embark, you will order 200 men of the South Fencibles to march immediately to Leith to seize these mutineers and march them prisoners to the castle of Edinburgh, to be detained there until further orders.—I am, &c.,

“JA. ADOLPHUS OUGHTON.”

In obedience to this order from the General Commanding, three captains, six subalterns, and 200 of the Fencibles under Major Sir James Johnstone, Bart., of Westerhall, marched to Leith on this most unpleasant duty, and found the seventy Highlanders on the Shore, drawn up in line with their backs to the houses, their bayonets fixed, and muskets loaded. Sir James drew up his detachment in such a manner as to render escape impossible, and then stated the positive orders he would be compelled to obey.

His words were translated into Gaelic by Sergeant Ross, who acted as interpreter, and who, after some expostulation, turned to Sir James,

saying that all was over—his countrymen would neither surrender nor lay down their arms. On this Johnstone gave the order to prepare for firing—but added, “*Recover arms.*”

A Highlander at that moment attempted to escape, but was seized by a sergeant, who was instantly bayoneted, while another, coming to the rescue with his pike, was shot. The blood of the Fencibles was roused now, and they poured in more than one volley upon the Highlanders, of whom twelve were shot dead, and many mortally wounded. The fire was returned promptly enough, but with feeble effect, as the Highlanders had only a few charges given to them by a Leith porter; thus only two Fencibles were killed and one wounded; but Captain James Mansfield (formerly of the 7th or Queen's Dragoons), while attempting to save the latter, was bayoneted by a furious Celt, whose charge he vainly sought to parry with his sword. A corporal shot the mutineer through the head: the Fencibles—while a vast crowd of Leith people looked on, appalled by a scene so unusual—now closed up with charged bayonets, disarmed the whole, and leaving the Shore strewn with dead and dying, returned to the Castle with twenty-five prisoners, and the body of Captain Mansfield, who left a widow with six children, and was interred in the Greyfriars churchyard.

The scene of this tragedy was in front of the old Ship Tavern and the tenement known as the Britannia Inn.

After a court-martial was held, on the 29th of May, the garrison, consisting of the South and West Fencibles and the cavalry, paraded on the Castle Hill, in three sides of a hollow square, facing inwards. With a band playing the dead march, and the drums muffled and craped, three of these Highland recruits, who had been sentenced to death, each stepping slowly behind his open coffin, were brought by an escort down the winding pathway, under the great wall of the Half-moon Battery, and placed in the open face of the square by the Provost-marshal. They were then desired to kneel, while their sentence was read to them—Privates Williamson and MacIvor of the Black Watch, and Budge of the 71st—to be *shot to death!*

The summer morning was bright and beautiful; but a dark cloud rested on every face while the poor prisoners remained on their knees, each man in his coffin, and a Highland officer interpreted the sentence in Gaelic. They were pale and composed, save Budge, who was suffering severely from wounds received at Leith, and looked emaciated and ghastly. Their eyes were now bound up, and the firing party were in the act of taking aim at the

prisoners, who were praying intently, when Sir Adolphus Oughton stepped forward, and, displaying pardons, exclaimed, "Recover arms."

"Soldiers," he added, "in consequence of the distinguished valour of the Royal Highlanders, to which two of these unfortunates belong, his Majesty has been graciously pleased to forgive them all."

So solemn and affecting was the scene that the prisoners were incapable of speech. Reverently lifting their bonnets, they endeavoured to express

engaged in commercial speculations by which he realised a considerable sum of money, and adopting the cause of the revolted colonists in America, was appointed first lieutenant of the *Alfred*, on board of which, to use his own words, "he had the honour to hoist with his own hands the flag of freedom, the first time it was displayed in the Delaware." After much fighting in many waters, he obtained from the French Government command of the *Duras*, a 42-gun ship, which he named



ST. NINIAN'S CHURCH.

their gratitude, but their voices failed them, and, overcome by weakness and the revulsion of feeling, the soldier of the 71st sank prostrate on the ground. More than forty of their comrades who were shot, or had died of mortal wounds, were interred in the old churchyard of St. Mary's at Leith, and a huge grassy mound long marked the place of their last repose.

The next source of consternation in Leith was the appearance of the noted Paul Jones, with his squadron, in the Firth in the September of the same year.

This adventurer, whose real name was John Paul, son of a gardener in Kirkcudbright, became a seaman about 1760, and as master and supercargo

Le Bon Homme Richard, and leaving St. Croix with a squadron of seven sail (four of which deserted him on the way), he appeared off Leith with three, including the *Pallas* and the *Vengeance*. It was on the 16th of September that they were seen working up the Firth by long tacks, against a stormy westerly breeze, but fully expecting, as he states, "to raise a contribution of £200,000 sterling on Leith, where there was no battery of cannon to oppose our landing."

Terror and confusion reigned supreme in Leith, yet, true to their old instincts, the people made some attempt to defend themselves. Three ancient pieces of cannon, which had long been in what was called the Naval Yard, drawn by sailors

with the aid of handspikes, were conveyed across the old bridge to North Leith and posted on a portion of the citadel, forming a battery that might have proved exceedingly perilous to those who worked it. A few brass field pieces, manned by artillerymen, were posted farther westward, and arms were supplied to the incorporated trades from Edinburgh. All eyes were now turned on the enemy's ships, from which the manned boats and

means of a cutter that had watched our motions that morning, and as the wind continued contrary (though more moderate in the evening), I thought it impossible to pursue the enterprise with a good prospect of success, especially as Edinburgh, where there is always a number of troops, is only a mile distant from Leith, therefore I gave up my project."

He bore away, and soon after fought his victorious battle off Flamborough Head.



PAUL JONES.

pinnaces were hourly expected; but, thanks to the west wind, Leith was saved.

"We continued working to windward of the Firth," says Jones, in his narrative, "without being able to reach the Roads of Leith till the morning of the 17th, when being almost within cannon shot of the town, and having everything in readiness for the descent, a very severe gale of wind came on, and obliged us to bear away after having endeavoured for some time to withstand its violence. The gale was so severe that one of the prizes taken on the 14th (the *Friendship* of Kirkcaldy) was sunk to the bottom, the crew being with difficulty saved. As the clamour by this time reached Leith by

It was evident that the age of miracles was not past at that time, as it was openly asserted that Mr. Sheriff, the secession minister of Kirkcaldy, by his prayers, "assisted, with God's help, in raising the wind" ("Life of Paul Jones," by the Registrar of the U. S. Navy, &c., &c.).

Attention having thus been drawn to the defenceless state of the town, a battery—now rendered utterly useless by encroaching houses and docks—was built to the eastward of Bathfield. Originally it was only a rampart armed with nine guns facing the water, as a protection during the American War; but in later years the works were added to: spacious artillery barracks were built, with a

park and ample stabling; and there are always two batteries, with guns and horses, stationed there now.

Here, on the 6th October, 1781, trial was made of a 100-pounder carronade, which in those days—when Woolwich “infants” were unknown—excited the greatest wonder; and on this occasion there were present the Duke of Buccleuch, the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, Lord Advocate, and Captain John Fergusson, R.N., who died an admiral.

In the same year, the fleet of Admiral Sir Peter Parker, consisting of fifteen sail of the line and many frigates, the Jamaica squadron, and a convoy of 600 merchantmen, lay for two months in Leith Roads, having on board more than 20,000 seamen and marines; and so admirably were the markets of the town supplied, that it is noteworthy this addition to the population did not raise the prices one farthing.

Five years subsequently Commodore the Hon. John Leveson Gower's squadron anchored in the Roads in July. Among the vessels under his command was the *Helen* frigate of forty guns, commanded by Captain Keppel, and the third lieutenant of which was the young Prince William Henry, the future William IV. The squadron was then on a cruise to the Orkneys and Hebrides.

In 1788 a paddle-ship of remarkable construction, planned by Patrick Miller of Dalswinton, and called the *Experiment* (the forerunner of the steam-boat), was launched from the yard of Messrs. Allan and Stewart, ship-builders, at Leith. In the *Edinburgh Magazine* she is described as being a species of double ship, built something like the South Sea prahs, but larger, being ninety feet long, with other dimensions in proportion. She was provided with wheels for working in calm weather.

She made her trial trip in September. “She went out of the harbour about mid-day, and was at first moved along by the wheels with considerable velocity. When she got a little without the pier-head, they hoisted their stay-sails and square-sails, and stood to the westward; but, her masts and sails being disproportionate to the weight of the

hull, she did not go through the water so fast as was expected.”

Another feature that impeded her progress considerably was a netting across her bows for the purpose of preventing loose wreck getting foul of the wheels, and the steering machine, between the two rudders, was found to be of little use. When these were removed her speed increased. Those who managed this peculiar craft went half-way over the Firth, and then tacked, but, as the ebb-tide was coming down and the wind increasing, they anchored in the Roads.

Weighing with the next flood, notwithstanding that the wind blew right out of the harbour, by means of their wheels and stay-sails they got in and moored her at eleven at night. A number of gentlemen conversant with nautical matters accompanied her in boats. Among others were Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, and Captain Inglis of Redhall, afterwards one of Nelson's officers.

In the same month and year the drawbridge of Leith was founded. The stone was laid by Lord Haddo, in the absence of Lord Elcho, Grand Master of Scotland, accompanied by the magistrates of Edinburgh and the Port, who, with the lodges and military, marched in procession from the Assembly Rooms in Leith. The usual coins and plate of silver were placed in the base of the east pier. “The drawbridge,” says a print of the time, “will be of great benefit to the trade of Leith, as any number of ships will be able to lie in safety, which in storms and floods they could not do before when the harbour was crowded.”

In 1795 was established the corps of Royal Leith Volunteers, who received their colours on the Links on the 26th of September. A detachment of the Royal Edinburgh Volunteers kept the ground. The colours were presented by the Lord Lieutenant to Captain Bruce, of the corps, brother to Bruce of Kennet; and in 1797 120 ship-captains of Leith—to their honour be it recorded in that time of European war and turmoil—made a voluntary offer to serve the country in any naval capacity that was suitable to their position.

CHAPTER XXI.

LEITH—HISTORICAL SURVEY (*continued*).

A Scottish Navy—Old Fighting Mariners of Leith—Sir Andrew Wood and the *Yellow Caravel*—James III. slain—James IV. and Sir Andrew—Double Defeat of the English Ships—John, Robert, and Andrew Barton—Their Letters of Marque against the Portuguese—James IV. and his Sailors—A Naval Review.

AND now, before giving the history of more modern Leith, we must refer to some of her brave old fighting merchant mariners, who made her famous in other years.

"As the subject of the Scottish navy," says Pinkerton, "forms a subject but little known, any anecdotes concerning it become interesting;" and, fortunately for our purpose, most of these have some reference to the ancient port of Leith.

Though the formation of a Scottish navy was among the last thoughts of the great king Robert Bruce, when, worn with war and years, he lay dying in the castle of Cardross, it was not until the reigns of James III. and IV. that Scotland possessed any ships for purely warlike purposes. Nevertheless, she was rich in hardy mariners and enterprising merchants; and an Act of Parliament during the reign of the latter monarch refers to "the great and innumerable riches yat is tint in fault of shippis and busses," or boats to be employed in the fisheries.

In 1497 an enactment was made that vessels of twenty tons and upwards should be built in all the seaports of the kingdom, while the magistrates were directed to compel all stout vagrants who frequented such places to learn the trade of mariners, and labour for their own living.

Among the merchants and the private traders James IV. found many men of ability, bravery, and experience, such as Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, the two Bartons (John and Robert), Sir Alexander Mathieson, William Meremonth, all merchants of Leith; and Sir David Falconer, of Borrowstounness. William Brownhill, who never saw an English ship, either in peace or war, without attacking and taking her if he was able, and various other naval adventurers of less note were sought out by James III. and treated with peculiar favour and distinction. But it was in the reign of his father that Sir Andrew Wood, who has been called the "Scottish Nelson" of his day, made his name in history, and to him we shall first refer.

Under that unfortunate monarch Scotland's commerce was beginning to flourish, notwithstanding the restraint so curiously laid upon maritime enterprise by the Act that restricted sailing from St. Jude's Day till Candlemas, under a penalty; and in 1476 we read of the "great ship" of James Kennedy,

which Buchanan states "to have been the largest that ever sailed the ocean," but was wrecked upon the coast of England and destroyed by the people.

During the reign of James III., the fighting merchant of Leith, Sir Andrew Wood, bore the terror of his name through English, Dutch, and Flemish waters, and in two pitched battles defeated the superior power of England at sea. As he was the first of his race whose name obtained eminence, nothing is known of his family, and even much of his personal history is buried in obscurity. Dr. Abercrombie, in his "Martial Achievements," supposes him to have been a cadet of the Bonnington family in Angus, and he is generally stated to have been born about the middle of the fifteenth century at the old Kirktown of Largo, situated on the beautiful bay of the same name.

Wood appears to have been during the early part of the reign of James III. a wealthy merchant in Leith, where at first he possessed and commanded two armed vessels of some 300 tons each, the *Yellow Caravel* and *Flower*, good and strong ships, superior in equipment to any that had been seen in Scotland before, so excellent were his mariners, their arms, cannon, and armour. According to a foot-note in Scott of Scotstarvit's work, "he had been first a skipper at the north side of the bridge of Leith, and being pursued, mortified his house to Paul's Work (in Leith Wynd) as the register bears."

It would appear that the vessel called the *Yellow Caravel* was formerly commanded by his friend John Barton (of whom more elsewhere), as in the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer the following note occurs by the editor:—

"In March 1473-4 the accounts contain a notice of a ship which a cancelled entry enables us to identify with the King's *Yellow Caravel*, afterwards rendered famous under the command of Sir Andrew Wood in naval engagements with the English." The editor also states that in the "Account of the Chamberlain of Fife" he had found another entry concerning a delivery to John Barton, master of the King's *Caravel*, under date 1475. "This last entry," says an annotator, "being deleted, however shows that there must have been some mistake as to whom the corn was delivered, John Barton being probably sailing one of his own ships. During

the reign of James III. there were two or three vessels called "royal," and among them often appears the name of this famous *Yellow Caravel*, latterly called Admiral Wood's ship, as if it were his own private, and at other times a royal, vessel. The supposition has been that she belonged originally to either Wood or Barton, who sold her to King James.

Wood had been a faithful servant to the latter, says Scotstarvit, and was knighted by him in 1482,

have taken place in 1481. Prior to 1487 Sir Andrew Wood is supposed to have relinquished commerce for the king's service, and to have married a lady, Elizabeth Lundie (supposed to be of the Balgonie family), by whom he had several sons, two of whom became men of eminence in after years.

Thus, from being a merchant skipper of North Leith, he became an opulent and enterprising trader by his own talent and the course of public



LEITH HARBOUR, 1829. (After Shepherd.)

when there was granted to him (Alexander Duke of Albany being then Lord High Admiral) a *tack* of the estate of Largo to keep his ship in repair, and on the tenure that he should be ready at the call of the King to pilot and convey him and the queen to the shrine and well of St. Adrian in the Isle of May. James afterwards gave him the heritage of the estate on which he had been born by a charter under the Great Seal, which recites his good service by sea and land. This was confirmed by James IV. in 1497, with the addition that one of his most eminent deeds of arms had been his successful defence of the castle of Dumbarton against the English navy, an exploit buried in obscurity, and which Pinkerton suggests must

events, "a brave warrior and skilful naval commander," says Tytler, "an able financialist, intimately acquainted with the management of commercial transactions, and a stalwart feudal baron, who, without abating anything of his pride or his prerogative, refused not to adopt in the management of his estates those improvements whose good effects he had observed in his travels over various parts of the continent."

He was blunt in manner yet honest of purpose, and most loyal in heart to his royal master, James III.; and when the troubles of the latter began in his fierce war with the lawless, proud, and turbulent Scottish barons—troubles that ended so tragically after the terrible battle of Sauchieburn in

1488—he embarked in one of Sir Andrew's ships then anchored in the Roads of Leith, and landed from it in Fifeshire. As the Admiral had been lying there for some time, intending to sail to Flanders, the Barons, now in arms against the Crown, spread a report that James had fled, surprised the castle of Dunbar, furnished themselves with arms and ammunition out of the royal arsenal, "and," says Abercrombie, "overran the three Lothians and the Merse, rifling and plundering all honest men."

In April, 1488, the king re-crossed the Forth in the admiral's ship, and, marching past Stirling, pitched his standard near Blackness, where his army mustered thirty thousand, and some say forty thousand, strong, but was disbanded after an indecisive skirmish. Fresh intrigues ensued that belong to general history; two other armies, in all amounting to nearly seventy thousand men, took the field. James III. had no alternative but to take flight in the ships of Wood, then cruising in the Forth, or to resort to the sword on the 11th June, 1488.

His army took up a position near the Burn of Sauchie, while "Sir Andrew Wood, attending to the fortune of war, sailed up the silver windings of the beautiful river with the *Flower* and *Yellow Caravel*, and continued during the whole of that cloudless day to cruise between dusky Alloa and the rich Carse of Stirling, then clothed in all the glory of summer." On the right bank of the river he kept several boats ready to receive the king if defeat—as it eventually did—fell upon him, and he often landed, with his brothers John and Robert and a body of men, to yield any assistance in his power.

While attempting to reach the ships James was barbarously slain, and was lying dead in a mill that still stands by the wayside, when rumour went that he had reached the *Yellow Caravel*. Thus Wood received a message in the name of the Duke of Rothesay (afterwards James IV.), as to the truth of this story; but Sir Andrew declared that the king was *not* with him, and refused to go on shore, when invited, without hostages for his own safety.

The Lords Fleming and Seaton came on board in this capacity, and landing at Leith the admiral was conducted to the presence of the Prince, who was then a captive and tool in the hands of the rebels, and only in his sixteenth year. Wood was arrayed in handsome armour, and so dignified was he in aspect, and so much did he resemble the king his master, that the Prince, who had seen little of the latter, shed tears, and said, timidly—

"Sir, are *you* my father?"

Then this true old Scottish mariner, heedless of

the titled crowd which regarded him with bitter hostility, and touched to the heart by the question, also burst into tears, and said—

"I am not your father, but his faithful servant, and the enemy of all who have occasioned his downfall!"

"Where is the king, and who are those you took on board after the battle?" demanded several of the rebel lords.

"As for the king, I know nothing of him. Finding our efforts to fight for or to save him vain, my brother and I returned to our ships." He added, says Buchanan, "that if the king were alive he would obey none but him; and that if slain, he would revenge him!"

He then went off to the ships, but just in time to save the hostages, whom his impatient brothers were about to hang at the yard-arm. The lords now wanted the mariners of Leith to arm their ships, and attack Wood; but, to a man, they declined.

In the early part of 1489 Henry of England, to make profit out of the still disturbed state of Scotland, sent five of his largest ships to waste and burn the sea-coast villages of Fife and the Lothians; and the young James IV., in wrath at these proceedings, requested Sir Andrew Wood to appear before the Privy Council and take measures to curb the outrages of the English.

He at once undertook to attack them; but James, as they outnumbered him by three, advised him to equip more vessels.

"No," he replied, "I shall only take my own two—the *Flower* and the *Yellow Caravel*."

Accordingly, with the first fair wind on a day in February, he dropped down the Firth, and found the plunder-laden English vessels hovering off Dunbar, and which Tytler surmises to have been pirates, as they came in time of truce. Wood at once engaged them, and after an obstinate conflict, of which no details are preserved, he brought them all prizes into Leith. He presented their captains to the young king, who now further rewarded him on the 11th March, 1490, with the lands of Balbegneth, the superiority of Inchkeith, the lands of Dron and Newbryn; and by a charter under the Great Seal, 18th May, 1491, he granted to Sir Andrew Wood "license to build a castle at Largo with gates of iron as a reward for the great services done and losses sustained by the said Andrew, and for those services which there was no doubt he would yet render." This castle, fragments of which yet remain, he appears to have built, with some adjacent houses, by the hands of English pirates whom he had captured at sea; and the coat

armorial he adopted was *argent*, a tree *or*, with two ships under sail.

It was still time of truce when Henry, mortified by the defeat of his five ships, exhorted his most able seamen "to purge away this stain cast on the English name," and offered the then noble pension of £1,000 per annum to any man who could accomplish Wood's death or capture; and the task was taken in hand by Sir Stephen Bull (originally a merchant of London), who, with three of Henry's largest ships manned by picked crews, and having on board companies of crossbowmen, pikemen, and many volunteers of valour and good birth, sailed from the Thames in July, 1490, and entering the Firth of Forth, came to anchor under the lee of the Isle of May, there to await the return of Wood from Sluys, and for whose approach he kept boats scouting to seaward.

On the morning of the 18th of August the two ships of Wood hove in sight, and were greeted with exultant cheers by the crews of Bull, who set some runlets of wine abroach, and gave the orders to unmoor and clear away for battle.

Wood recognised the foe, and donning his armour, gave orders to clear away too; and his brief harangue, modernised, is thus given by Lindsay of Pitscottie and others:—

"My lads, these are the foes who would convey us in bonds to the foot of an English king, but by your courage and the help of God they shall fail! Repair every man to his station—charge home, gunners—cross-bowmen to the tops—two-handed swords to the fore-rooms—lime-pots and fire-balls in the tops! Be stout, men, and true for the honour of Scotland and your own sakes. Hurrah!" Shouts followed, and stoups of wine went round.

His second in command was Sir David Falconer, who was afterwards slain at Tantallon. The result of the battle that ensued is well known. It was continued for two days and a night, during which the ships were all grappled together, and drifted into the Firth of Tay, where the English were all taken, and carried as prizes into the harbour of Dundee. Wood presented Sir Stephen Bull and his surviving officers to James IV., who dismissed them unransomed, with their ships, "because they fought not for gain, but glory," and Henry dissembled his rage by returning thanks.

For this victory Wood obtained the sea town as well as the nether town of Largo, and soon after his skilful eye recommended the Bay of Gourcock to James as a capable harbour. In 1503 he led a fleet against the insurgent chiefs of the Isles. His many brilliant services lie apart from the immediate history of Leith. Suffice it to say that he was pre-

sent at the battle of Linlithgow in 1526, and wrapped the dead body of Lennox in his own scarlet mantle. Age was coming on him after this, and he retired to his castle of Largo, where he seems to have lived somewhat like old Commodore Truncheon, for there is still shown the track of a canal formed by his order, on which he was rowed to mass daily in Largo church in a barge by his old crew, who were all located around him. He is supposed to have died about 1540, and was buried in Largo church. One of his sons was a senator of the College of Justice in 1562; and Sir Andrew Wood, third of the House of Largo, was Comptroller of Scotland in 1585.

Like himself, the Bartons, the shipmates and friends of Sir Andrew, all attained high honour and fame, though their origin was more distinguished than his, and they were long remembered among the fighting captains of Leith.

John Barton, a merchant of Leith in the time of James III., had three sons: Sir Andrew, the hero of the famous nautical ballad, who was slain in the Downs in 1511, but whose descendants still exist; Sir Robert of Overbarnton in 1508, Comptroller of the Household to James V. in 1520; John, an eminent naval commander under James III. and James IV., who died in 1513, and was buried at Kirkcudbright. The Comptroller's son Robert married the heiress of Sir John Mowbray of Barnbougle, who died in 1519; and his descendants became extinct in the person of Sir Robert of Overbarnton, Barnbougle, and Inverkeithing. Our authorities for these and a few other memoranda concerning this old Leith family are a "Memoir of the Family of Barton, &c.," by J. Stedman, Esq., of Bath (which is scarce, only twelve copies having been printed), Tytler, Pinkerton, and others.

For three generations the Bartons of Leith seem to have had a kind of family war with the Portuguese, and their quarrel began in the year 1476, when John Barton, senior, on putting to sea from Sluys, in Flanders, in a king's ship, the *Juliana*, laden with a valuable cargo, was unexpectedly attacked by two armed Portuguese caravels, commanded respectively by Juan Velasquez and Juan Pret. The *Juliana* was taken; many of her crew were slain or captured, the rest were thrust into a boat and cut adrift. Among the latter was old John Barton, who proceeded to Lisbon to seek indemnity, but in vain; and he is said by one account to have been assassinated by Pret or Velasquez to put an end to the affair. By another he is stated to have been alive in 1507, and in command of a ship called the *Lion*, which was seized at Campvere, in Zealand—unless it can be that the John referred to

is the second of the name, who died in 1513. John the senior was certainly dead in 1508.

Charles, Duke of Burgundy, was so incensed by the capture of the *Juliana* in Flemish waters that he demanded the surrender of Pret and Velasquez to himself, with due compensation to Barton, but failed in both cases. Joam III. was then King of Portugal.

Robert Barton would seem also at one time to have fallen into the hands of the Portuguese; and there is extant a letter sent by James IV. to the Emperor Maximilian, requesting his influence to have him released from prison, and therein the king refers to the quarrel of 1476, and merely states that old John Barton was thrown into a prison also.

In 1506, at a tournament held by James IV. in Stirling, we read of a blackamoor girl, captured from the Portuguese by Captain Barton, seated in a triumphal chariot, being adjudged the prize of the victor knight; but the Bartons sent other gifts to the king, in the shape of casks full of pickled Portuguese heads.

In 1498, when Perkin Warbeck and his wife, the Lady Katharine Gordon, left Scotland for Flanders, they were on board a ship which, Tytler says, was commanded by and afterwards the property of the celebrated Robert Barton. Amongst her stores, noted in the "Treasurer's Accounts," are "ten tuns and four pipes of wine, 8 bolls of aitleme, 18 marts of beef, 23 muttouns, and a hogshead of herring." Andrew Barton, the brother of the captain (and, like him, a merchant in Leith), is mentioned as having furnished biscuit, cider, and beer, for the voyage.

In 1508 this family continued their feud with the Portuguese. In that year Letters of Marque were granted to them by James IV., and they run thus, according to the "Burgh Records of Edinburgh":—

"*Jacobus Dei Gratia Rex Scottorum, delectis servitoribus nostris.* John Barton and Robert Barton, sons of our late beloved servant John Barton, shipmaster, and other shipmasters our lieges and subjects, in company of the said John Barton for the time (greeting):

"Some pirates of the nation of Portugal attacked a ship of our late illustrious ancestor (James III.), which, under God, the late John commanded, and with a fleet of many ships compelled it to surrender, robbed it of its merchandise, of very great value, and stripped it of its armament. On account of which, our most serene father transmitted his complaint to the King of Portugal." Justice not having been done, the document runs, James III. decreed Letters of Reprisal against the Portuguese. "We,

moreover, following the footsteps of our dearly beloved ancestor concede and grant by these presents to you, John and Robert aforesaid, and our other subjects who shall be in your company for the time, our Letters of Marque or Reprisal, that you may receive and bring back to us from any men whomsoever of the nation of Portugal, on account of the justice aforesaid being desired, to the extent of 3,000 crowns of money of France Given under our Privy Seal, &c."

Under these letters the brothers put to sea in the quaint argosies of those days, which had low waists with towering poops and forecastles, and captured many Portuguese ships, and doubtless indemnified themselves remarkably well; while their elder brother, Andrew, an especial favourite of James IV., who bestowed upon him the then coveted honour of knighthood, "for upholding the Scottish flag upon the seas," was despatched to punish some Dutch or Flemish pirates who had captured certain Scottish ships and destroyed their crews with great barbarity. These he captured, with their vessel, and sent all their heads to Leith in a hogshead.

As is well known, he was killed fighting bravely in the Downs on the 2nd August, 1511, after a severe conflict with the ships of Sir Thomas and Sir Edward Howard, afterwards Lord High Admiral of England, when he had only two vessels with him, the *Lion* of 36 great guns, and a sloop named the *Jenny*. The Howards had three ships of war and an armed collier. The *Lion* was afterwards added to the English navy, as she was found to be only second in size and armament to the famous *Great Harry*. His grandson Charles married Susan Stedman of Edinburgh, and from them are said to be descended nearly all of that name in Fife, Kinross, and Holland.

For his services as Admiral on the West Coast, John Barton received the lands of Dalbible; and in April, 1513, he returned from a diplomatic mission to France, accompanied by the Unicorn Pursuivant; and so important was its nature that he took horse, and rode all night to meet the king, who was then on the eve of departing for Flodden.

On the 26th of July in the same year he joined the squadron, consisting of the *Great Michael*, the *James*, *Margaret*, the *Ship of Lynne* (an English prize), a thirty-oared galley, and fourteen other armed ships, commanded by Gordon of Letterfourie (and having on board the Earl of Arran and 3,000 soldiers), which sailed from Leith as a present to Anne, Queen of France—a piece of ill-timed generosity on the part of the princely James IV., who accompanied the armament as far as the Isle

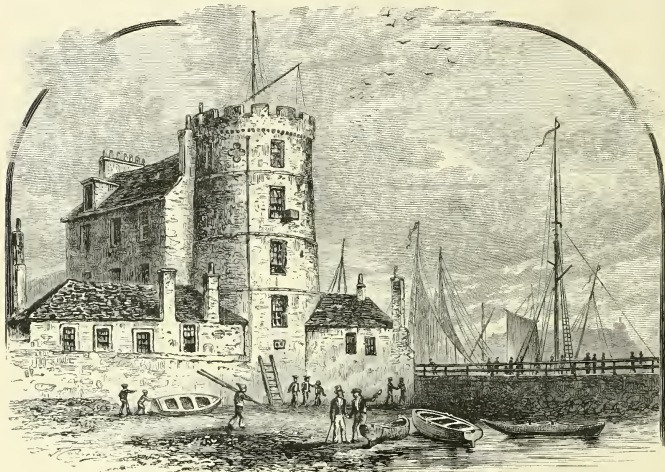
of May. As history records, Gordon and Arran could not resist doing a little on their own account to annoy the English, so they sacked Carrickfergus, and anchored off Kyle.

Sir Andrew Wood, with a herald, was sent to take command of the fleet, but found that it had sailed; so this little armada, which might have aided in the invasion of England, was eventually destroyed by tempests, and the magnificent *Michael* (which will be described in a later chapter, in which some

voyage to Bourdeaux, or *else die*, rather than be taken."

His brother Robert was captain of the *Great Michael* in 1511.

James IV., stirred by the discovery of America, was early determined to create a Scottish navy, and he went about it with all the zeal of a Peter the Great. In 1512 he had no fewer than forty-six ships of war; four of these were of more than 300 tons, and two were of 100 tons. The *Lion* (Sir



SIGNAL TOWER, LEITH HARBOUR, 1829. (After Shepherd.)

account will be given of Newhaven) was suffered to rot in the harbour of Brest.

Prior to this John Barton had died of fever at Kirkcudbright, and was buried in the churchyard of St. Cuthbert; but he left a son named John, who was captain of the *Mary Willoughby* (English prize), the same ship found in Leith Harbour by the Earl of Hertford in 1544. "John-a-Barton is not yet gone to sea," writes Sir Ralph Sadler on the 25th October, 1543; "but it is told me that as soon as the wind serveth he will go with the *Mary Willoughby* and nine sail more, half merchantmen and half men-of-war, as well furnished of men and artillery as any ships that went from Scotland these many years, being determined to accomplish their

Andrew Barton's ship), which was built in 1504, was, as has been said, only inferior to the *Great Harry*, and the *Michael* was the largest ship in the world. Some of his galleys had triple banks of oars raised over each other, and were capable of containing each sixty men in complete armour, besides the rowers, who numbered to each galley one hundred and four men. Besides the guns interspersed between the banks of oars, they had both artillery and small arms planted at the fore-castle and stern.

James encouraged the merchant skippers to extend their voyages, to fully arm their vessels, to purchase foreign ships of war, to import artillery, and superintend the construction of large craft at



PLAN OF LEITH, SHOWING THE PROPOSED NEW DOCKS, 1824. (By John Ainslie, Land Surveyor.)

home. He not only took a deep interest in these matters, but he studied them with his usual enthusiasm, and personally superintended every detail.

James IV., one of the most splendid monarchs of his race and time, not only conversed freely with his mariners at Leith, but he nobly rewarded the most skilful and assiduous, and visited familiarly the houses of his merchants and sea officers. He practised with his artillerymen, often loading, pointing, and discharging the guns, and delighted in having short voyages with old Andrew Wood or the Bartons, and others. "The consequences of such conduct were highly favourable to him; he became as popular with his sailors as he was beloved by the nobility; his fame was carried by them to foreign countries: thus shipwrights, cannon-founders, and foreign artisans of every description, flocked to his court from France, Italy, and the Low Countries."

In 1512, when James was preparing for his struggle with England to revenge the fall of Andrew Barton, the retention of his queen's dowry, and other insults by Henry—when all Scotland resounded with the din of warlike preparation, and, as the "Treasurer's Accounts" show, the castles in the interior were deprived of their guns to arm the shipping—James, on the 6th of August, held a naval review of his whole fleet at Leith, an event which caused no small excitement in England. Just three months before this De la Mothe, the French Ambassador (who afterwards fell at Flodden), coming to Scotland with a squadron, on his own responsibility, and before war was declared, attacked a fleet of English merchantmen, sunk three and captured seven, which he brought into Leith.

Lord Dacre, who was on a mission at the Scottish court, promised Henry to get these ships restored, and to prevent reprisals; the Bartons, Sir Alexander Matheson, Sir David Falconer, and other commanders, were sent to sea to look out for English ships.

In 1513 La Mothe came again with another

squadron, containing much munition of war for the Scottish fleet, and arriving off Leith in a furious storm, he fired a salute of cannon, the object of which seems to have been mistaken, as it made every man rush to arms in Edinburgh, where the common bell was rung for three hours.

James V. strove to follow in the footsteps of his father, as the "Treasurer's Accounts" show. In 1530, "ane silver quihissel," with a long chain, was given by his command "to the Patroune of the ships." It weighed eleven ounces and three-quarters, and was then the badge of an admiral, as it is now that of a boatswain. In 1540 payments were made for wood cut at Hawthornden for building the king's ships, and also for sixteen ells of red and yellow taffeta (the royal colours) for naval ensigns, delivered to Captain John Barton of Leith; while a sum was paid to Murdoch Stirling for making ovens for the royal shipping.

In 1511 Florence Carnoune was keeper of them and their "gear." Among them were the *Salamander*, the *Unicorn*, and the *Little Bark*—to such as these had the armaments of James IV. dwindled away. John Keir, captain of the first named, had yearly fifteen pounds. John Brown, captain of the *Great Lyonne*, while at Bordeaux on the king's service, was paid eighty pounds; and the "fee" of Archibald Penicoke, captain of the *Unicorn*, was ten pounds one shilling.

During the wars with Continental countries subsequent to the union of the crowns, Scotland had vessels of war, called generally frigates, which are referred to in the Register of the Privy Council, &c., and which seem to have been chiefly named after the royal palaces and castles; and during these wars Leith furnished many gallant privateers. But in those far-away times when Scotland was yet a separate kingdom and the Union undreamt of, Leith presented a brisk and busy aspect—an aspect which, on its commercial side, has been vigorously maintained up to the present day, and which is well worthy of its deeply interesting historical past.

CHAPTER XXII.

LEITH HISTORICAL SURVEY (*concluded*).

Leith and Edinburgh People in the First Years of the Nineteenth Century—George IV. Proclaimed—His Landing at Leith—Territory of the Town defined—Landing of Mons Meg—Leith during the Old War—The Smacks.

UNLESS it be among the seafaring class, no difference is perceptible now between the inhabitants of Edinburgh and Leith; but it was not so once, when the towns were more apart, and intercourse less frequent; differences and distinctions were known even in the early years of the present century.

A clever and observant writer in 1824 says that, as refinements and dissimilarities existed then between the Old and New Town, so did they exist in the appearance, habits, and characteristics of the Leith and Edinburgh people.

"Not such," he continues, "as accidentally take up their residence there for a sea prospect and a sea-breeze, but those whose *air* is Leith air from their cradles, and who are fixtures in the place—merchants, traders, and seafaring persons: the latter class has a peculiarity similar in most maritime towns; but it is the rich merchants and traders, together with their wives and daughters, who are now before us." ("The Hermit in Edin.," Vol. II.)

The man of fortune and pleasure in Edinburgh, he remarks, views his Leith neighbours as a mere Cit, though in point of fact he is much less so than the former. "The man of fashion residing in Edinburgh for a time, for economy or convenience, and the Scottish nobleman dividing his time betwixt London, Edinburgh, and his estates, sets down the Leith merchant as a homespun article. Again, the would-be dandy of the New Town eyes him with self-preference, and considers him as his inferior in point of taste, dress, living, and knowledge of the *beau monde*—one who, if young, copies his dress, aspires at his introduction into the higher circle, and borrows his fashions; the former, however, being always ready to borrow his name or *cash*; the first looking respectable on a bill, and the second not being over plenty with the men of dress and of idle life in Edinburgh. Both sexes follow the last London modes, and give an idea that they are used to town life, high company, luxuries, late hours, and the manner of living in polished France."

All this difference is a thing of the past, and the observer would be a shrewd one indeed who detected any difference between the denizen of the capital and of its seaport.

But the Leith people of the date referred to

were, like their predecessors, more of the old school, and, with their second-class new fashions, and customs were some time in passing into desuetude, old habits dying hard there as elsewhere. The paterfamilias of Leith then despised the extremes of dress, though his son might affect them, and he was more plodding and business-like in bearing than his Edinburgh neighbour; was alleged to always keep his hands in his pockets, with an expression of independence in his face; while, continues this writer, in those "of the Edinburgh merchants may be read cunning and deep discernment. Moreover, the number of Leith traders is limited, and each is known by headmark, whilst those employed in commerce and trade in the northern capital may be mistaken, and mixed up with the men of pleasure, the professors, lawyers, students, and strangers; but an observing eye will easily mark the difference and the strong characteristic of each—barring always the man of pleasure, who is changeful, and often insipid within and without."

In 1820 the Edinburgh and Leith Seamen's Friendly Society was instituted.

In the same year, when some workmen were employed in levelling the ground at the south end of the bridge, then recently placed across the river at Leith Mills (for the purpose of opening up a communication between the West Docks and the foot of Leith Walk), five feet from the surface they came upon many human skeletons, all of rather unusual stature, which, from the size of the roots of the trees above them, must have lain there a very long time, and no doubt were the remains of some of those soldiers who had perished in the great siege during the Regency of Mary of Lorraine.

The proclamation of George IV. as king, after having been performed at Edinburgh with great ceremony, was repeated at the pier and Shore of Leith on February 3rd, 1820, by the Sheriff Clerk and magistrates, accompanied by the heralds, pursuivants and trumpeters, the style and titles of His Majesty being given at great length. At one o'clock the ship of the Admiral and other vessels in the Roads, the flags of which had been half-hoisted, mastheaded them at one p.m., and fired forty-one guns. They were then half-hoisted till the funeral of George III. was over.

One of the greatest events of its time in Leith was the landing there of George IV., on the 15th of August, 1822.

The king was on board the *Royal George*, which was towed into the Roads by two steam-packets, followed by the escorting frigates, which fired salutes that were answered by the flagship and *Fort* frigate; and a salute from the battery announced that all had come to anchor. Among the first to go off to the royal yacht was Sir Walter Scott, to present the king with a famous silver star, the gift of the ladies of Edinburgh. Sir Walter

on Scottish ground, save the exiled Charles of France.

The cannon of the ships and battery pealed forth their salutes, and the combined cheers of the mighty multitude filled up the pauses. An immense fleet of private boats followed the royal barge, forming an aquatic procession such as Leith had never seen before, and a band of pipers on the pier struck up as it rounded the head of the latter. As the king approached the landing stage three distinct and well-timed cheers came from the manned yards of the shipping, while the magis-



LEITH PIER, FROM THE WEST, 1775. (After Clerk of Eldin.)

remained in conversation with the king an hour, in the exuberance of his loyalty pocketing as a relic a glass from which His Majesty had drunk wine; but soon after the author of "*Waverley*," in forgetfulness, sat down on it and crushed it in pieces.

Leith was crowded beyond all description on the day of the landing; every window was filled with faces, if a view could be commanded; the ships' yards were manned, their rigging swarmed with human figures; and the very roofs of the houses were covered. Guarded by the Royal Archers and Scots Greys, a floating platform was at the foot of Bernard Street, covered with cloth and strewn with flowers; and when a single gun from the royal yacht announced that the king had stepped into his barge, the acclamations of the enthusiastic people, all unused to the presence of royalty, then seemed to rend heaven.

Since the time of Charles II. no king had been

rates, deacons, and trades, advanced, the latter with all their standards lowered. So hearty and prolonged were the glad shouts of the people that even George IV.—the most heartless king that ever wore a crown—was visibly affected.

He was clad in the uniform of an admiral, and was received by the magistrates of Leith and Edinburgh and the usual high officials, civil and military; but the Highland chief Glengarry, bursting through the throng, exclaimed, bonnet in hand, "*Your Majesty is welcome to Scotland!*"

The procession preceding the royal carriage now set out, "the Earl of Kinnoul, as Lord Lyon, on a horse caprioling in front of a cloud of heralds and cavaliers—his golden coronet, crimson mantle flowing to the ground, his embroidered boots, and golden spurs, would have been irresistible in the eyes of a dame of the twelfth century." Sir Alexander Keith, as Knight-Marischal, with his

grooms and esquires; Sir Patrick Walker, as Usher of the White Rod; a long alternation of cavalry and infantry, city dignitaries, and Highlanders, followed.

At the end of the vista, preceded by ten royal footmen, two and two, sixteen yeomen of the Scottish Guard, escorted by the Royal Archers, came the king, followed by the head-quarter staff, three clans of Highlanders, two squadrons of Lothian yeomanry, three of the 3rd Dragoon Guards, Scots Greys, and the Grenadiers of the 77th regiment; and after some delay in going through the ceremony of receiving the city keys—which no monarch had touched since the days of Charles I.—the magnificent train moved through the living masses

troop of the 3rd Dragoon Guards, and detachments of the Royal Artillery and Highlanders. In the evening the Celtic Society, all kilted, 100 strong, dined together in honour of the event, Sir Walter Scott in the chair; and on this occasion the old saying was not forgotten, that "Scotland would never be Scotland till Mons Meg came home."

The gun was then on the same ancient carriage on which it had been taken away.

It was not until 1827 that the precise limits of Leith as a town were defined, and a territory given to it which, if filled, would almost enable it to vie with the metropolis in extent. More extensive boundaries were afterwards assigned, and these are the Firth of Forth on the north, a line from



SIGNAL TOWER, LEITH PIER, 1775. (After Clerk of Eldin.)

by the foot of the Calton Hill towards the Palace of Holyrood.

As a souvenir of this event, on the first anniversary of it a massive plate was inserted on the Shore, in the exact spot on which the king first placed his foot, and there it remains to this day, with a suitable inscription commemorative of the event.

In 1829, Mons Meg, which, among other ordnance deemed unserviceable, had been transmitted by the ignorance of an officer to London, and retained there in the Tower, was, by the patriotic efforts of Sir Walter Scott, sent home to Scotland. This famous old cannon, deemed a kind of Palladium by the Scots, after an absence of seventy-five years, was landed from the *Happy Janet*, and after lying for a time in the Naval Yard, till arrangements were made, the gun was conveyed to the Castle by a team of ten horses decked with laurels, preceded by two led horses, mounted by boys clad in tartans with broadsword. The escort was formed by a

Lochend to the latter on the east, the middle of Leith Walk on the south, and Wardie Burn on the west.

Adam White was the first Provost of Leith after the passing of the Burgh Reform Bill in 1833; and it is now governed by a chief magistrate, four bailies, ten councillors, a treasurer, town clerk, and two joint assessors.

Powers have since then been conferred upon the Provost of Leith as admiral, and the bailies as admirals-depute. There are in the town four principal corporations—the Ship-masters, the Traffickers, the Malt-men, and the Trades. The Traffickers, or Merchant Company, have lost their charter, and are merely a benefit society, without the power of compelling entries; and the Ship-masters, ordinarily called the Trinity House, will be noticed in connection with that institution.

The Trades Corporation is multifarious, and independently of it there is a body called "The Convenery," consisting of members delegated from

each trade, all deacons and treasurers, and constituting, or deemed to be, a separate corporation. But the body, though dating at least from 1594, was voted by several of the trades corporations in 1832 as useless, and since then its existence has been very questionable.

Though Leith is not in a strict sense a manufacturing town or the seat of a staple produce, it possesses many productive establishments, as ship-building and sail-cloth manufactories. Along the shore of South Leith are several vast conical chimneys, manufactories of glass, but chiefly in the department of common ale and wine bottles; this trade is supposed to have been introduced by English settlers during the time of Cromwell. In the centre of the town there was commenced in 1830 a corn-mill propelled by steam, and of gigantic dimensions, as its huge bulk towered against the sky and above the surface of the little undulating sea of roofs around it.

Leith possesses warehouses of great extent, which are the seats of extensive traffic with large districts of Scotland, for the transmission thither of wines and foreign and British spirits; and there are also other manufacturing establishments besides those named, for the making of cordage, for brewing, distilling, and rectifying spirits, refining sugar, preserving tinned meats, soap and candle manufactories, with several extensive cooperages, iron-foundries, flour mills, tanneries, and saw-mills.

But those who see Leith now, even with all its extended docks and piers, can have no conception of the scene presented by the port during the protracted war with France and Spain, when an admiral's flagship lay in the Roads, with a guard-ship and squadron. Daily scores of men-of-war boats, manned by seamen or marines, were arriving and departing; prisoners of war in all manner of uniforms, and often in rags, were being landed or embarked; press-gangs had their tenders moored by the Shore. Infantry barracks, now granaries, were on the North Quay; stores, cannon, and provisions encumbered it on every hand; while almost daily salutes were being fired from ship and battery in honour of victories by land or sea; recruiting parties beat up, with swords drawn and ribbons streaming; seamen crowded every tavern, their pockets flush with Spanish dollars, and bank-notes tied round their hats; men-of-war, privateers, transports, filled the Firth, and merchantmen mustered in hundreds to await the convoy ere they put to sea; there, too, were the gallant old Leith and London smacks, armed with carronades, that fought their own way, with the old Scottish flag at their mast-heads, and many a time and oft, with

signal valour, beat off French, Spanish, and Dutch privateers.

Such was Leith at the close of the last century and in the early years of the present one, until the battle of Waterloo.

In the first years of the last century there were occasional packet-ships between Leith and London. In 1720 the *Bon Accord*, Captain Buchanan, is advertised to sail to London with passengers on 30th June, and to "*keep the day, goods or no goods*;" and a similar notice appears in 1722 concerning the "*Unity* packet-boat of Leith." The master to be spoken to in the Laigh Coffee House. (*St. James's Evening Post*.) In 1743 one of these packets, after a twenty days' voyage, arrived only at Holy Island, through stress of weather.

Previous to the introduction of the smacks, which were large and beautiful cutters, carrying an enormous spread of fore and aft canvas, the passenger and other trade between Leith and London was carried on by means of clumsy bluff-bowed brigs, ranging from 160 to 200 tons burden, and having such very imperfect cabin accommodation that many persons preferred to make the trip by the ships which carried salmon between Berwick and the Thames. In those days the traders were advertised for twelve or fourteen days before they intended to sail, and interim arrangements were always made with the captain at "Forrest's Coffee House," or on "The Scots' Walk," in London, as the case might be, "when civil usage" was promised, and the number of guns carried by the vessel generally stated. The following is an advertisement from the *Edinburgh Chronicle*, June 2nd, 1759:—

"For LONDON, the ship *Reward*, Old England built, William Marshal, master, now lying at the Birth at Barnes Nook, Leith Harbour, taking in goods, and will sail with the first convoy.

"The said master to be spoken with at the 'Caledonia' or 'Forrest's Coffee House,' Edinburgh, or at his house in the Broad Wynd, Leith.

"N.B.—The ship is an exceeding fast sailer, has good accommodation for passengers, and good usage may be depended on."

In 1777 the smack *Edinburgh* was advertised in the *Mercury* to sail at a fixed date, that she has "neat accommodation for passengers," also that good usage may be relied on. The *Success*, lying at the New Quay, is also advertised to sail by the canal for Glasgow, weather permitting.

The passenger traffic increased to such an extent that in 1791 the Leith and Berwick Shipping Company established their head-quarters in Leith, the

smacks in their southward voyage merely touching at Berwick for their cargoes of salmon.

In 1802 the merchants of Leith established a line for themselves, "The Edinburgh and Leith Shipping Company," which commenced with six armed smacks, the crews of which were protected from the impress.

On the 23rd of October, 1804, one of these smacks, the *Britannia*, Captain Brown, and another named the *Sprightly*, Captain Taylor, off Cromer, fell in with a large French privateer, which bore down on them both, firing heavily, particularly with musketry; but the Leith smacks' men stood to their guns, engaged her briskly, and so damaged her sails and rigging that she sheered off and dropped astern. The smacks had many shots through their canvas, but none of their men were killed.

On the 9th January, 1805, another, the *Swallow*, Captain White, was attacked off Flamborough Head by a heavy French privateer, carrying fourteen guns, and very full of men. Passing through a fleet of Newcastle colliers, she came within pistol-shot of the *Swallow*, and poured in a broadside, accompanied by volleys of musketry.

Captain White replied with his cannonades and small arms. The round shot of the former told so well that the privateer was fairly beaten off, while neither the smack nor her crew sustained much injury. "In these two actions," says the *Scots Magazine*, "both seamen and passengers showed a becoming spirit." But such encounters were of very common occurrence in those days.

In 1809 the new company had ten of these smacks; eventually, there were no fewer than four companies trading between Leith and London; but in 1821 one was formed under the name of the London and Edinburgh Steam Packet Company, with three large steamers—the *City of Edinburgh*, the *James Watt*, and the *Soho*.

So great was their success that in 1831 the London, Leith, Edinburgh, and Glasgow Shipping Company superseded their fine smacks by the introduction of powerful steamers, with beautiful cabin accommodation, the *William*, *Adelaide*, and *Victoria*. In 1836 the London and Edinburgh Steam Packet Company became merged in the General Steam Navigation Company, sailing from Granton to London. The old smacks were retained by only two of the companies; but having been found expensive to build and to maintain, from the number of men required to handle their unwieldy canvas—particularly their great boom main-sail—they were in 1844 superseded by clipper schooners; so these once celebrated craft, the old Leith smacks, have entirely disappeared from the

harbour with which they were so long and exclusively identified.

Before quitting the subject of passenger traffic, we may glance at the ancient ferries of Leith.

By an Act of James I., in 1425, it was ordained that all ferries where horses were conveyed, should "have for ilk boate a treene brig," or wooden gangway, under the pain of "40 shillings of ilk boate;" and again, by an Act of James III., 1467, the ferries at Leith, Kinghorn, and Queensferry are ordained to have "brigges of buirds," under penalty of the "tinsel" or forfeiture of their boats. In 1475 the charge for a passenger was twopence, and for a horse sixpence; at Queensferry one penny for a man, and twopence for a horse. (Scots Acts, Glendock.)

Nicoll records that in 1650 the ferrymen at Leith and Burntisland (taking advantage probably of the confusion of affairs) became so exorbitant in their charges that complaints were made to the Deputy Governor of Leith, who ordered that the fare for a man and horse should be only one shilling sterling, and for a single person one groat, "quhairas it was tripled of befor."

In July, 1633, a boat at the ferry between Burntisland and Leith foundered in a fair summer's day, according to Spalding, and with it perished thirty-five domestic servants of Charles I., with his silver plate and household stuff, "but it foretold great troubles to fall out betwixt the king and his subjects, as after does appear." Balfour states that there was a great storm, that the king crossed "in grate jeopardy of his lyffe," and that only eight servants perished.

In the early part of the present century the ferry traffic between Leith, Kinghorn, and Burntisland was carried on by means of stout sloops of forty or fifty tons, without topmasts, and manned generally by only four men, and always known as "the Kinghorn Boats," although Pettycur was adopted as the more modern harbour.

Generally there were two crossings between Leith and Fife every tide, though subsequently, as traffic increased, the number of runs was increased by having a boat anchored outside the harbour when there was not sufficient water for it to enter. Small pinnaces were used for the voyage in dead calms. The old ferrymen were strong, rough, and quaint fellows, and Leith still abounds with anecdotes of their brusque ways and jovial humour.

A recent writer mentions that if a passenger had a dog whose acquaintance he was disposed to ignore, in order to escape paying its fare, he would be sure to be accosted by a blue-bonneted

boatman, with "Do you belong to that dug, sir?"

On a certain stormy day, when one of the boats was making rather a rough passage, outside Inchkeith, and the skipper, after the manner of his kind, was endeavouring to reassure the alarmed passengers by telling them that there was no danger, he lost his temper with a well-known Fifeshire laird, whose pallid face betrayed his intense dismay.

"As for you B——" (Balcomie?) said the old Kinghorn salt, scornfully, "ye were aye a frightened creature a' your days."

If the breeze was fair, the old boats might achieve the passage in about an hour; but with a head wind, against which they could beat, and still worse, with a calm, the voyage was often tedious, and lasted five or six hours.

There are few things that tell, perhaps, more strikingly on the changed habits of life, than the contrasts for crossing at the Forth ferries now and when the present century was in its infancy.

At Kirkcaldy and Pettercy, besides making use of small boats to the great discomfort and terror of female passengers, travellers were embarked and disembarked by means of a long gangway, which was run down to the water-edge on wheels.

"In spite of the service of the fine boats plying on the Granton and Burntisland ferry," wrote the correspondent of a local print, "and the opening of the new lines of railway along the coast, fastidious pleasure-seekers tell us that a great deal could be done to increase the attractions of a run for a change of air to the quaint villages, the stretches of green links and sandy beach, on the opposite shore of the Firth. Few of these grumblers, I venture to say, can speak from personal

knowledge of the state of things that existed in the early years of the present century, in regard to the communication between the north and south sides of the Firth of Forth. If they could carry back their recollections so far, they would be inclined, like me, rather to marvel at the extraordinary improvement that has taken place within the last sixty years, than to fret because we are still some stages from perfection."

After a time the ferry between each side of the Firth was placed in the hands of trustees.

About 1812, when the "Union" coach was put on the road through Fife, it occasioned a necessity for a regular instead of a varying tidal passage, and thus an undecked sloop, known as "the coach boat," was placed on the ferry. At low water it anchored off the harbour, and was reached by small skiffs. Soon afterwards the ferry trustees established a regular service of undecked cutters, generally lateen-rigged, the pier at Newhaven having been built to afford better accommodation.

It was in the spring of 1814 or 1815 that the first vessel propelled by steam was seen in Leith; but it was not till 1820 that the newspapers announced that "a very

great improvement is to take place in the communication between Leith and Fife." This was the introduction of two steamboats, the *Tig* and *Dumbarton Castle*, which were to make the trip every morning to Kirkcaldy before going to Grangemouth, and *vice versa*. (*Weekly Journal*, 1820.)

Other steamers, the *Sir William Wallace*, the *Thane of Fife*, and *Auld Reekie*, were introduced; the passengers were embarked and landed by means of gangways, though sometimes both were accomplished on men's backs.



ANCIENT CHAPEL IN THE KIRKGATE.

(From Wilson's "Memorials," published by T. C. Jack, Edinburgh.)



THE KIRKGATE.

CHAPTER XXIII.

LEITH—THE KIRKGATE.

The Kirkgate—Eastside—Tavern Tragedy, 1691—Robert Watson—The Preceptory of St. Anthony—Its Seal—King James's Hospital—St. Mary's Church—Destruction of the Choir—First Protestant Minister—Cromwell's Troops—The Rev. John Logan, Minister.

ONE of the oldest and principal streets of Leith is the Kirkgate, a somewhat stately thoroughfare as compared with those off it, measuring eleven hundred feet in length from the foot of the Walk to the Water Reservoir (called of old The Pipes) at the head of Water Lane, by an average breadth of fifty feet. "Time and modern taste," says Wilson, "have slowly, but very effectually, modified its antique features. No timber-fronted gable now thrusts its picturesque façade with careless grace

beyond the line of more staid and formal-looking ashlar fronts. Even the crowstepped gables of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are becoming the exception; it is only by the irregularity which still pertains to it, aided by the few really picturesque tenements which remain unaltered, that it now attracts the notice of the curious visitor as the genuine remains of the ancient High Street of the burgh. Some of these relics of former times are well worthy the notice of the antiquary, while

memorials of still earlier fabrics here and there meet the eye, and carry back the imagination to those stirring scenes in the history of this locality, when the Queen Regent, with her courtiers and allies, made it their stronghold and chosen place of abode ; or when, amid a more peaceful array, the fair Scottish Queen Mary, or the sumptuous Anne of Denmark, rode gaily through the street on their way to Holyrood."

It is a street that carries back the mind to the days of Wood and the Bartons, when the port of Leith was in constant communication with Bordeaux and the Garonne, and when the Scots of those days were greater claret drinkers than the English ; and when commerce here was as we find it detailed in the ledger of Andrew Haliburton, the merchant of Middelburg and Conservator of Scottish Privileges there, between 1493 and 1505—a ledger that gives great insight to the imports at Leith and elsewhere in Scotland.

Haliburton acted as agent for churchmen as well as laymen, receiving and selling on commission the raw products of the Netherlands, and sending home nearly every kind of manufactured article then in use. He appears often to have visited Edinburgh, settling old accounts and arranging new ventures ; and with that piety which in those days formed so much a part of the inner life of the Scottish people, the word *JHESUS* is inscribed on every account. Haliburton appears to have imported cloths, silk, linen, and woollen stuffs ; wheelbarrows to build King's College, Aberdeen ; fruit, drugs, and plate ; Gascony, Rhenish, and Malvoisie wines ; pestles, mortars, brass basins, and feather beds ; an image of St. Thomas à Becket, from Antwerp, for John of Pennykuik ; tombstones from Middelburg ; mace, pepper, saffron, and materials for Walter Chapman, the early Scottish printer, if not the first in Scotland.

We reproduce (p. 212) Wilson's view of one of the oldest houses in the Kirkgate, which was only taken down in 1845. The doorway was moulded ; on the frieze was boldly cut in old English letters *Jhesus Maria*, and above was a finely-moulded Gothic niche, protected by a sloping water-table. A stone gargoyle projected from the upper storey. Local tradition asserted that the edifice was a chapel built by Mary of Lorraine ; but of this there is no evidence. In the niche, no doubt, stood an image, which would be destroyed at the Reformation. Above the niche there was a small square aperture, in which it was customary, as is the case now in Continental towns, to place a light after nightfall, in order that passers-by might see the shrine and make obeisance to it.

Another very old house on the same side of the Kirkgate, the west, displays a handsome triple arcade of three round arches on squat pillars, with square moulded capitals, a great square chimney rising through the centre of the roof, and a staircase terminating a crowstepped gable to the street.

A tavern in the Kirkgate, kept by a man named John Brown, and which, to judge from the social position of its visitors, must have been a respectable house of entertainment, was the scene of a tragedy on the 8th of March, 1691.

Sinclair of Mey, and a friend named James Sinclair, writer in Edinburgh, were at their lodgings in this tavern, when at a late hour the Master of Tarbet (afterwards Earl of Cromarty) and Ensign Andrew Mowat came to join them. "There was no harm meant by any one that night in the hostelry of John Brown, but before midnight the floor was reddened with slaughter."

The Master of Tarbet, son of a statesman of no mean note, was nearly related to Sinclair of Mey. He and the ensign are described in the subsequent proceedings as being both excited by the liquor they had taken, but not beyond self-control. A pretty girl, named Jean Thompson, on bringing them a fresh supply, was laughingly invited by the Master to sit beside him, but escaped to her own room, and bolted herself in. Running in pursuit of her, he went blunderingly into a room occupied by a French gentleman, named George Poirat, who was asleep. An altercation took place between them, on which Ensign Mowat went to see what was the matter. The Frenchman had drawn his sword, but the two friends wrenched it out of his hand. A servant of the house, named Christian Erskine, now came on the scene of brawling, together with a gentleman who could not be afterwards identified.

At her urgent entreaty, Mowat took away the Master and the stranger, who carried with him Poirat's sword. Here the fracas would have ended, had not the Master deemed it his duty to return and apologise. Exasperated to find a new disturbance, as he deemed it, at his room door, the Frenchman knocked on the ceiling with tongs to summon to his assistance his two brothers, Isaac Poirat and Elias, surnamed the *Sieur de la Roche*, who at once came down, armed with their swords and pistols, and spoke with George, who was defenceless and excited, at his door ; and in a moment there came about a hostile collision between them and the Master and Mowat in the hall.

Jean Thompson roused Brown, the landlord, but he came too late. The Master and Mowat were

not making any deliberate assault ; but a pistol shot was heard, and in a few minutes the *Sieur de la Roche* lay dead, with a sword thrust in his body, while *Isaac* had a finger nearly hewn off.

The guard now came on the scene, and *Mowat* was found under an outer stair, with a bent sword in his hand, bloody from point to hilt, his hand wounded, and the sleeves of his coat stained with blood. On seeing the dead body, he viewed it without emotion, and merely remarked that he wondered who had slain him.

The Master, *Mowat*, and *James Sinclair* the writer, were all tried for the murder of *Elias Poiret* before the Court of Justiciary, but the jury brought in a verdict of not proven. The whole affair might have been easily explained, but for heat of temper, intemperance, and the ready resort to arms so usual in those days. The three Frenchmen concerned in it were Protestant refugees who were serving as privates in the Scottish Life Guards. The Master of *Tarbet* became Earl of *Cromarty* in 1714, and survived the death of *Poiret* forty years. Two of his sons, who were officers in the Scots-Dutch Brigade, perished at sea, and his eldest, the third and last Earl of *Cromarty*, was nearly brought to Tower Hill in 1746 for his loyalty to the House of Stuart.

No. 141 Kirkgate was long the place of business of Mr. *Alexander Watson*, who is chiefly remarkable as being the nephew and close correspondent of a very remarkable man, who frequently resided with him—*Robert Watson*, who was made Principal of the Scots College at Paris by the Emperor *Napoleon I.*, an office which he held for six years. It was to his nephew at Leith, after his escape to Rome (having been tried at the Old Bailey as President of a Corresponding Society), he confided his discovery of a large mass of correspondence known as “The Stuart Papers,” which he purchased (as stated in the *Courant* for 1819.)

In one of his letters, dated London, 6th April, 1818, he states that they consist of half a million of pieces, and are valued at £300,000. “The Pope, however, took military possession of them, under the protest that they were of too much importance to belong to a private individual. I protested against the arbitrary proceedings of his Holiness. The Prince Regent sent two ships of war to *Civita Vecchia* to bring them to London, and they are now in Carlton House.”

To his nephew in the Kirkgate he subsequently wrote that a Royal Commission under the Great Seal (including Sir *James Mackintosh*) was appointed to examine these valuable papers ; and in 1824 he wrote that “amongst other things of some

value which have fallen into my possession, are the carriage and tent-bed of *Bonaparte*, taken at the battle of *Waterloo*. Further events will decide to what purposes I may apply it (the carriage), though it is probable I shall keep it for my own use.”

This singular person committed suicide in 1838, by strangling himself in a London tavern, in the ninety-second year of his age—“a case of suicide,” it was said, “unparalleled in the annals of sorrow.”

On the east side of the Kirkgate, to take the edifices in succession there, there was founded by *Robert Logan* of *Restalrig*, in 1435, a preceptory for the canons of *St. Anthony*, the only establishment of the kind in Scotland.

Arnot, in his history, unthinkingly mentions “the monastery of *Knights Templars* of *St. Anthony*” at Leith. These canons, says *Chalmers*, “seem to have been an order of religious knights, not *Templars*. The only document in which they are called *Templars* is a charter of *James VI.* in 1614, giving away their establishment and revenues ; and this mistake of an ignorant clerk is wildly repeated by *Arnot*.”

Their church, burying-ground, and gardens were in *St. Anthony's Wynd*, an alley off the Kirkgate ; and the first community was brought from *St. Anthony* of *Vienne*, the seat of the order in France. They were formed in honour of *St. Anthony*, the patriarch of monks, who was born at *Coma*, a village of *Heraclea* on the borders of *Arcadia*, in A.D. 251, and whose sister was placed in the first convent that is recorded in history. A hermit by habit, he dwelt long in the ruins of an old castle that overlooked the Nile ; and after his death (said to have been in 356) his body was deposited in the church of *La Motte St. Didier*, at *Vienne*, when, according to old traditions, those labouring under the pest known as *St. Anthony's Fire*—a species of *erysipelas*—were miraculously cured by praying at his shrine.

Gaston, a noble of *Vienne*, and his son *Gironde*, filled with awe, we are told, by these wonderful cures, devoted their lives and estates to found a hospital for those who laboured under this disease, and seven others joined them in their attendance on the sick ; and on these *Hospitaller Brethren* *Boniface VIII.* bestowed the *Benedictine* Priory of *Vienne*, giving them the rules of *St. Austin*, and declaring the Abbot General of this new order—the *Canons Regular* of *St. Anthony*. The superiors of the subordinate preceptories were called commanders, says *Alban Butler*, “and their houses are called *commanderies*, as when they were *Hospitallers*.”

Their preceptory at Leith was of the most magnificent description, and the southern gate there was named St. Anthony's Port, from its proximity to the establishment. The lofty steeple was long a conspicuous object; but in the siege of Leith in 1559-60 it was beaten down by an English eight-gun battery, as we have elsewhere related.

By a charter of Humbertus, Abbot-General of the order in 1446, the Hospitallers at Leith did not seem to live very peaceably together.

The begging Hospitallers of St. Anthony are said to have threatened with the "Sacred Fire," or erysipelas, those who failed to give them alms; and hence certain prelates urged Paul III. to abolish them, according to Emilianas. ("Monastic Orders.")

The ancient church of Hailes (now called Colinton), and the chapel of St. James at Newhaven, belonged to the preceptory at Leith; and also the little chapel and hermitage of St. Anthony on Arthur's Seat is said to have been the property of these Hospitallers, but of this there is no proof. They had a right to a Scottish quart of every tun of wine imported into Leith, and this right, at the Reformation, was transferred to the magistrates for the use of the town.

These Hospitallers possessed also the church of Liston, which they were forced to relinquish about 1445. ("Monasticon.") The Deed of Renunciation by Friar Michael Gray, Preceptor of the Hospital, is still preserved in the Advocates' Library. In the "Inventory of Pious Donations," 10th February, 1505, "John Logane in Restalrig" gives to St. Anthony's chapel in Leith his tenement lying on the south side of the bridge.

"The Rentale Buke," containing a list of the

benefactors to the preceptory, written on vellum in 1526, with a few additions in a later hand, is preserved in the Advocates' Library; and therein it is stated that these benefactors are to be prayed for every Sunday "till the day of dome." The Obituary closes in 1499, "and the prayers for the dead, which the chapter of the preceptory had ordained to last *till the day of doom*, were abruptly brought to a close" by the events of the Reformation, and by the English guns at the siege of Leith.

In the "Register of Minrs (*sic*, Ministers?), Exhorters, &c." (published by the Maitland Club), under date 1576, it is stated that "Alexander Forrester, Reidar at Hailis, is to be paid out of the third of the Hospitale of Sanct Antonis in Leith, his stipend, £20, to

be payit as follows—namely, best of the third of the Preceptorie of Sanct Antonis £10, and the rest to be payit by the toun."

By an Act of Parliament passed in 1587 the preceptory of St. Anthony and the chapel of St. James at Newhaven were, with other benefices, annexed to the Crown.

Maitland observes that the vestry of Leith, after the Reformation, having purchased the lands and properties of divers religious houses there and in Newhaven, King James VI. granted and confirmed the same by charter in 1614 for the use of the poor.

The Session elected the Baron Bailie of St. Anthony, who exercised jurisdiction

in Leith and Newhaven, holding his court at will and giving sentence without appeal, thus:—

"At Leith, 9th February, 1683. On Monday last St. Anthonis Court was holden in this place, and is to be keepit att Newheavin at ye first conveniencie." The last Baron Bailie was Thomas



THE SEAL OF THE PRECEPTORY OF ST. ANTHONY.

(After the Original in the Antiquarian Museum, Edinburgh.)



THE ARMORIAL BEARINGS OF MARIA DE LORRAINE, 1560.

(After the Sculptured Stone now in Albany Street, Leith.)

Barker, whose office ceased to exist after the Burgh Reform Bill of 1833.

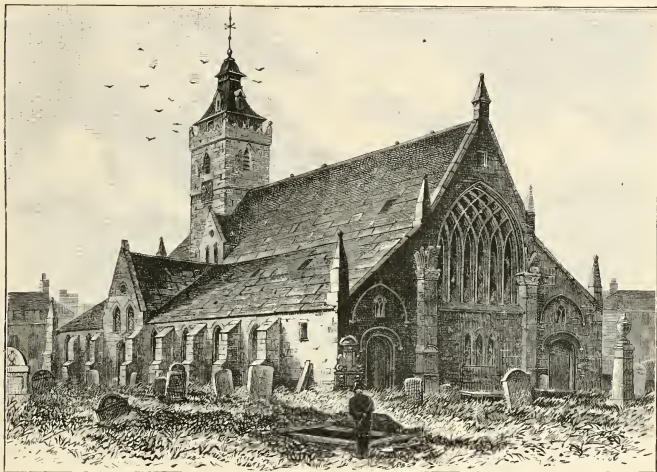
The seal of the preceptory is preserved in the Antiquarian Museum. It bears the figure of St. Anthony in a hermit's garb, with a book in one hand, a staff in the other, and by his side is a sow with a bell at its neck. Over his head is a capital T, which the brethren had sewn in blue cloth on their black tunics. Around is the legend,

S. Commune Preceptorie San-cti Anthonii, Prope Leith.

there when the ground was opened to lay down gas-pipes; and in the title deeds of a property here, "the churchyard of St. Anthony" is mentioned as one of the boundaries.

The grotesque association of St. Anthony with a sow is because the latter was supposed to represent gluttony, which the saint is said to have overcome; and the further to conquer Satan, a consecrated bell is suspended from his alleged ally the pig.

On the east side of the Kirkgate stood King



ST. MARY'S (SOUTH LEITH) CHURCH, 1820. (After Storey.)

Sir David Lindsay of the Mount refers in his vigorous way to

"The gruntil of St. Anthony's sow.
Quhilk bore his holy bell."

There was an aisle, with an altar therein, dedicated to him in the parish church of St. Giles; and among the jewels of James III. is enumerated "Sanct Antonis cors," with a diamond, a ruby, and a great pearl.

Save the fragments of some old vaults, not a vestige of the preceptory now remains, though its name is still preserved in St. Anthony's Street, which opens westward off the Kirkgate, and is supposed to pass through what was its cemetery, as large quantities of human bones were exhumed

James's Hospital, built in 1614 by the sixth monarch of that name, and the site of which now forms part of the present burying-ground. At the south-east angle of the old churchyard, says Wilson, there is an "elegant Gothic pediment surmounting the boundary wall and adorned with the Scottish regalia, sculptured in high relief with the initials J. R. 6., while a large panel below bears the royal arms and initials of Charles II. very boldly executed. These insignia of royalty are intended to mark the spot on which King James's Hospital stood—a benevolent foundation which owed no more to the royal patron whose name it bore than the confirmation by his charter in 1614 of a portion of those revenues which had been long before

bestowed by the piety of private donors on the hospital of St. Anthony, and the imposition of a duty on all wine brought into the port for the augmentation of its reduced funds."

Here certain poor women were maintained, being presented thereto by the United Corporation of Leith. About the middle of the seventeenth century the edifice had become dilapidated or unequal to the requirements of the poor; thus another was erected on or near the same site. It was a building of very unpretending aspect, and, according to Kincaid, measured only fifty-six feet by thirty. The privilege of admission was confined to the Maltmen, Trades, and Traffickers or Merchant Company of Leith. Small pensions were given from the hospital funds occasionally to persons who were not resident therein. The revenues are now merged in the general income of the parish of South Leith.

On the same side of the street stands the ancient church of South Leith, dedicated to St. Mary. The ancient seat and name of this parish was Restalrig. In 1214 Thomas of that place made a grant of some tenements, which he describes as situated "southward of the High Street," supposed to be in the line of the present Leith Walk, "between Edinburgh and Leith," if this is not a reference to the Kirkgate itself; and perhaps he had a church on the manor from which he took his name.

A chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary, patroness of the town and port, and situated in South Leith, preceded by more than a century the origin of the present edifice, and was enriched by many donations and annuities for the support within it of altars and chaplainries dedicated to St. Peter, St. Barbara, St. Bartholomew, and others. The destruction of ecclesiastical records at the Reformation involves the date of the foundation of the present church in utter obscurity. It can only be surmised that it was erected towards the close of the fourteenth century; but notwithstanding its large size—what remains now being merely a small portion of the original edifice—the name of its founder is utterly unknown. The earliest notice of it occurs in 1490, when a contribution of an annual rent is made by Peter Falconer in Leith to the chaplain of St. Peter's altar, "situat in the Virgin Mary Kirk in Leith." The latest of similar grants was made on the 8th July, 1499.

The choir and transepts are said to have been destroyed by the English, according to Maitland and Chalmers, in 1544. "No other evidence exists however, in support of this," according to Wilson, "than the general inference deducible from the

burning of Leith, immediately before their embarkation—a procedure which, unless accompanied by more violent modes of destruction, must have left the remainder of the church in the same condition as the nave, which still exists." He therefore concludes that the choir and transepts had been destroyed by the Scottish and English cannon during the great siege, in which the tower of St. Anthony perished.

Robertson, an acute local antiquary, held the same theory. That the church was partially destroyed after the battle of Pinkie is obvious from the following letter, written by Sir Thomas Fisher to the Lord Protector of England:—"11th October, 1548. Having had libertie to walke abroad in the town of Edinburghe with his taker, and sometymes betwix that and Leghe, he telleth me that Leghe is entrenched about, and that besydes a bulwarke made by the haven syde near the sea, on the ground where the chapel stood (St. Nicholas), which I suppose your Grace remembereth, there is another greater bulwarke made on the mane ground at the great church standing at the upper end of the town towards Edinburghe." (Mait. Club.)

In a history published in the *Wodrow Miscellany* we are told that in 1560 the English "lykewise shott downe some part of the east end of the Kirk of Leith," thus destroying the choir and transepts.

On Easter Sunday, when the people were at mass, a great ball passed through the eastern window, just before the elevation of the host.

That Hertford's two invasions were unnecessarily savage—truly Turkish in their atrocities, as dictated, in the first instance, by order of Henry VIII.—is perfectly well known; but it is less so that he materially aided the work of the Reformers.

In 1674 a stone tower, surmounted in the Scotch-Dutch taste by a conical spire of wood and metal, was erected at the west end; and in 1681 a clock was added thereto.

The English advanced, and took possession of Leith immediately after the battle of Pinkie, and remained there for some days, after failing in their unsuccessful attempt on Edinburgh. During that time the Earl of Huntly and many other Scottish prisoners of every rank and degree were confined in St. Mary's Church, while treating for their ransom.

"The cruelty," says Tytler, "of the slaughter at Pinkie, and the subsequent severities at Leith, excited universal indignation; and the idea that a free country was to be compelled into a pacific matrimonial alliance, amid the groans of its dying citizens and the flames of its seaports, was revolting and absurd."

The first Protestant minister of Leith, at the settlement of the Reformation in 1560, was David Lindsay, who was Moderator of the Assembly in 1557 and 1582, and who, in the year 1573, attended Sir William Kirkcaldy of Grange on the scaffold. He accompanied James VI. to Norway, married him to Anne of Denmark, and baptised their sons: the Prince Henry, who died young, and the Duke of Albany, afterwards Charles I. So early as 1597 his inclination to episcopacy alienated him from his Presbyterian brethren; and in 1600, as a reward for aiding the king in defence of his royal prerogative, he was made Bishop of Ross.

He was one of the only two clergymen in all Scotland who, at the royal command, prayed for the friendless and defenceless Mary. He died at Leith in 1613, in his eighty-third year, and, says Spottiswood, was buried there "by his own directions, as desiring to rest with the people on whom he had taken great pains during his life." He was the lineal descendant of Sir Walter Lindsay of Edzell, who fell at Flodden.

Walter, first Earl of Buccleuch, commander of a Scottish regiment under the States of Holland, having died in London in the winter of 1634, his body was embalmed, and sent home by sea in a Kirkcaldy ship, which, after being sorely tempest-tossed and driven to the coast of Norway, reached Leith in the June of the following year, when the earl's remains were placed in St. Mary's church, where they lay for twenty days, till the Clan Scott mustered, and a grand funeral was accorded them at Hawick, the heraldic magnificence of which had rarely been seen in Scotland, while the mourning trumpets wailed along the banks of the Teviot. A black velvet pall, powdered with silver tears, covered the coffin, whereon lay "the defunct's helmet and coronet, overlaid with cypress, to show that he had been a soldier."

It was not until 1609 that St. Mary's was constituted by Act of Parliament a parish church, and invested with all the revenues and pertinents of Restalrig.

When the troops of Cromwell occupied Leith, as the parish registers record, Major Pearson, the town major of the garrison, by order of Timothy Wilkes, the English governor-depute, went to James Stevenson, the kirk treasurer, and demanded the keys of St. Mary's, informing him that no Scots minister was to preach till further orders; so eventually the people had to hear sermons on the Links, with difficulty getting the gates open, from seven in the morning till two in the afternoon on Sunday.

In 1656 they sent a petition to Cromwell in England, praying him "to restore the church, as

there is no place to meet in but the open fields." To this petition no answer seems to have been returned; but during this period there are, says Robertson, in his "Antiquities of Leith," indications that Oliver's own chaplains, and even his officers, conducted services in St. Mary's church. "It has often been asserted," he adds, "that at this time St. Mary's was converted into a stable to accommodate the steeds of the troopers of Cromwell; it has been added, 'a company of his Ironsides, with their right hands (*i.e.*, their horses), abased the temple.' No authority exists for this, save vague tradition, to which the reader may attach what importance he may deem fit."

Previous to the Revolution of 1688 a separation of the congregation is recorded in the church at Leith, those who adhered to prelacy occupying the latter, while the pure Presbyterians formed a separate party at the Meeting-House Green, near the Sheriff (Shirra) Brae. The latter, belonging to North as well as South Leith, were permitted to meet there for prayer and sermon, by special permission of King James in 1687, Mr. William Wishart being chosen minister of that congregation.

The Rev. John Logan, the author of various poetical works, but known as the inglorious and but lately-detected pirate of some manuscripts of Michael Bruce, the Scottish Kirk White, was appointed minister of this church in 1773. He was certainly a highly-gifted man; and though his name is, perhaps, forgotten in South Britain, he will be remembered in Scotland as long as her Church uses those beautiful Scripture paraphrases, the most solemn of which is the hymn, "The hour of my departure's come."

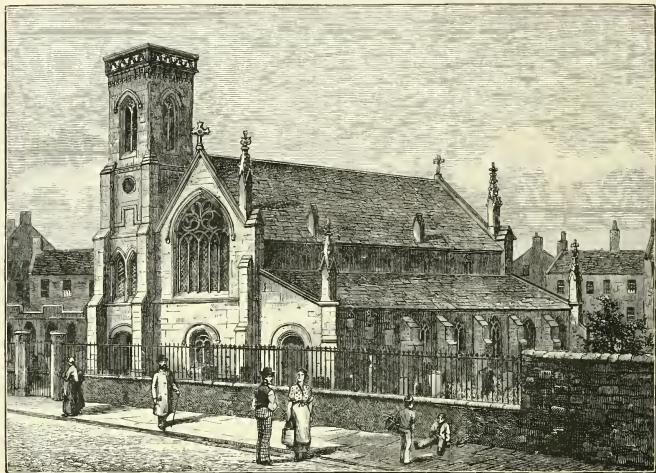
He was the son of a small farmer near Fala, and was born in 1748. He delivered a course of lectures in Edinburgh with much success, and had a tragedy called "Runnymede" acted in the theatre there, when, fortunately for him, the times were somewhat changed from those when the production of Home's "Douglas" excited such a grotesque ferment in the Scottish Church. He became latterly addicted to intemperance, the result of great mental depression, and, proceeding to London, lived by literary labour of various kinds, but did not long survive his transference to the metropolis, as he died in a lodging in Great Marlborough Street on the 28th December, 1788.

In the burying-ground attached to St. Mary's, John Home, the author of "Douglas" and other literary works, a native of Leith, was interred in September, 1808.

In 1848, during the *régime* of George Aldiston MacLaren, fourth Provost of Leith, the old church

was restored, but in somewhat doubtful taste, by Thomas Hamilton, architect, and a new square tower, terminating in a richly cusped open Gothic balustrade, was erected at its north-western corner, while the angles of the building were ornamented

by buttresses finished with crocketed finials, scarcely in accordance with the severe simplicity of the old time-worn and war-worn church of St. Mary, the beautiful eastern window of which was preserved in form.



ST. MARY'S (SOUTH LEITH) CHURCH, 1882.

CHAPTER XXIV.

LEITH—THE KIRKGATE (*concluded*).

Coatfield Lane—The House of the Earl of Carrick—Afterwards of the Lords Balmerino—The Block House of St. Anthony—The Old and New Trinity House—The Kantore—Ancient House near Combe's Close.

FOUR HUNDRED AND FIFTY feet north-westward of St. Mary's church, and on the same side of the Kirkgate, opens the ancient alley named Coatfield Lane, which, after a turn to the south in Charlotte Lane, led originally to the Links. Dr. Robertson gives a quotation from the "Parish Records" of South Leith, under date 25th May, 1592, as showing "the origin" of Coatfield Lane: "the qubilk day, the Provost, Johnne Arnottis, shepherd, was acted that for every sheep he beit in ye Kirk-yard suld pay ix merks, and everie nyt yat carried (kept) thame betwix the Coatfield and ye Kirk style he should pay v. merk."

But the name is older than the date given, as Patrick Logan of Coatfield was Bailie of Leith 10th September, 1470, and Robert Logan of the same place was Provost of the city in 1520-1, as the "Burgh Records" show; and when ruin began to overtake the wily and powerful Baron of Restalrig, his lands of Mount Lothian and Nether Gogar were purchased from him by Andrew Logan of Coatfield in 1596, as stated in the old "Douglas Peerage."

At the corner of Coatfield Lane, in the Kirkgate, there stands a great mansion, having a handsome front to the east, exhibiting some curious examples

of the debased Gothic architecture which prevailed in the reign of James VI. From its subsequent noble proprietors, it bears still the name of Balmerino House; but long before they acquired the property here, it was built by John Stewart, Earl of Carrick, second son of Sir Robert Stewart of Strathdon (a natural son of James V., by Euphemia, daughter of Lord Elphinstone), and who was created Earl of Orkney by James VI. in 1581. (Stuart's "Hist. Royal Fam.")

unequivocal marks of former magnificence. A projecting staircase is thrust obliquely into the narrow space, and adapts itself to the irregular sides of the court by sundry corners and recesses, such as form the most characteristic features of our old Scottish domestic architecture, and might almost seem to a powerful imagination to have been produced as it jostled itself into the straitened site. A richly-decorated dormer window forms the chief ornament of this part of the building, finished



BALMERINO HOUSE.

The house was built in 1631, two years before John, the second son of Robert, was created Earl of Carrick by Charles I., after being previously created Lord Kinclaven by James VI. in 1607. He was a man of high attainments, and married Elizabeth Howard, daughter of Charles, Earl of Nottingham, and died in the year 1652, leaving only one daughter, Lady Margaret Stewart. (Collins's "Peerage," &c.)

Wilson thus describes the house :—

"Entering (from the Kirkgate) by a low and narrow archway immediately behind the buildings on the east side, about half-way between Charlotte Street and Coatfield Lane, the visitor finds him self in a singular-looking, irregular little court, retaining

with unusually fine Elizabethan work, and surmounted by a coronet and thistle, with the letter C. Behind this, a simple square tower rises to a considerable height, finished with a bartizaned roof, apparently designed for commanding an extensive view. Such is the approach to the sole remaining abode of royalty in this ancient burgh. The straitened access, however, conveys a very false idea of the accommodation within. It is a large and elegant mansion, presenting a main front to the east, where an extensive piece of garden ground is enclosed, reaching nearly to the site of the ancient town walls, from whence it is probable there was an opening to the adjacent downs. The east front appears to have been considerably modernised."

He adds that the most striking feature is the curiously decorated doorway, an ogee arch, filled in with rich Gothic tracery, surmounting a square lintel, finished with the head of a lion, which seems to hold the arch suspended in its mouth. "On either side is a sculptured shield, on one of which a monogram is cut, characterised by the usual inexplicable ingenuity of these riddles, with the date 1631."

The other shield bears, 1st and 4th the lion rampant, 2nd and 3rd a ship, a smaller shield with a chevron, and a motto round the whole, *Sic Fuit est Eterit*. The monogram is distinctly the four initial letters of John Stewart, Earl of Carrick.

The arms, says Wilson, are neither those of Lord Balmerino, "nor of his ancestor, James Elphinstone (Lord Coupar), to whom the coroneted 'C' might be supposed to refer. The Earls of Crawford are also known to have had a house in Leith, but the arms in no degree correspond with those borne by any of these families."

On the 13th September, 1643, John, Earl of Carrick, sold the house and grounds to John, Lord Balmerino, whose family retained it as a residence till the attainder of the last peer in 1746.

In 1650, during the defence of the city against Cromwell, Charles II., after being feasted in the Parliament House on the 29th of July, "thairefter went down to Leith," says Nicoll, in his "Diary," "to ane ludging belonging to the Lord Balmerinoch, appointit for his resait during his abyding in Leith."

Balfour records in his "Annals" that Anna Kerr, widow of John, Lord Balmerino, second sister of Robert, Earl of Somerset, Viscount Rochester, "departed this lyffe at Leith," on the 15th February, 1650, and was solemnly interred at Restalrig.

The part borne in history by Arthur, sixth and last lord of this family, is inseparably connected with the adventures of Prince Charles Edward. He was born in the year of the Revolution, and held a captain's commission under Queen Anne in Viscount Shannon's Foot, the 25th, or Regiment of Edinburgh. This he resigned to take up arms under the Earl of Mar, and fought at Sheriffmuir, after which he entered the French service, wherein he remained till the death of his brother Alexander, who, as the *Gentleman's Magazine* records, expired at Leith in October, 1733. His father, anxious for his return home, sent him a free pardon from Government when he was residing at Berne, in Switzerland, but he would not accept it until "he had obtained the permission of James VIII. to do so;" after which, the twenty years' exile returned, and was joyfully received by his aged father. When

Prince Charles landed in the memorable year, 1745, Arthur Elphinstone was among the first to join him, and was appointed colonel and captain of the second troop of Life Guards, under Lord Elcho, attending his person.

He was at the capture of Carlisle, the advance to and retreat from Derby, and was present with the Corps de Reserve at the victory of Falkirk. He succeeded his brother as Lord Balmerino on the 5th January, 1746, and was taken prisoner at Cul-loden, committed to the Tower, and executed with the Earl of Kilmarnock in the August of the same year. His conduct at his death was marked by the most glorious firmness and intrepidity. By his wife, Margaret (whom we have referred to elsewhere), daughter of Captain Chalmers of Leith, he left no issue, so the male line of this branch of the house of Elphinstone became extinct.

His estates were confiscated, and the patronage of the first charge of South Leith reverted to the Crown. In 1746, "Elizabeth, dowager of Balmerino" (widow of James, fifth lord), applied by petition to "My Lords Commissioners of Edinburgh" for the sum of £97 5s., on the plea "that your petitioner's said de ceased lord having died on the 6th day of January, 1746, the petitioner did alimint his family from that time till the Whitsunday thereafter." And the widow, baroness of Arthur—*decollatus*—was reduced to an alimint of forty pounds a year, "graciously granted by the House of Hanover," adds Robertson, who, in a footnote, gives us a touching little letter of hers, written in London on the day after her husband's execution, addressed to her sister, Mrs. Borthwick.

In 1755 the house and lands of Balmerino were purchased by James, Earl of Moray, K.T., from the Scottish Barons of Exchequer, and six months afterwards the noble earl sold them to Lady Baird of Newbyth. She, in 1762, was succeeded by her brother, General St. Clair of St. Clair; and after being in possession of Lieutenant-General Robert Horne Elphinstone of Logie-Elphinstone, the Leith property was acquired by William Sibbald, merchant there, for £1,475.

The once stately mansion was now sub-divided, and occupied by tenants of the humblest class, until it was acquired by the Catholic Bishop of Edinburgh in 1848, for the purpose of erecting a chapel and schools, for the sum of £1,800.

On the west side of the Kirkgate, the first old edifice of note was the Block House of St. Anthony, built in 1559, adjoining St. Anthony's Port, and in the immediate vicinity of St. Anthony's Street and Lane. This is the edifice which Lindsay, in his "Chronicles," confounds with the "Kirk." When

writing of the siege, he says, "upon the twentieth day, the principal block-house of Leith, called St. Anthony's Kirk, was battered down." And we have already referred to the Act of Council in 1560, by which it was ordered that this block house and the curtain-wall facing Edinburgh should be levelled to the ground.

Immediately opposite St. Mary's Church stands the Trinity House of Leith, erected on the site of the original edifice bearing that name.

This Seaman's Hospital was dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and the inscription which adorned the ancient building is now built into the south wall of the new one, facing St. Giles's Street, and is cut in large and highly ornamental antique letters:—

"IN THE NAME OF THE
LORD,
YE MASTERIS AND MARINERIS
BYLIS THIS HOVS
TO YE POVR.
ANNO DOMINI, 1555."

In the east wing of the present edifice there is preserved a stone, on which is carved a cross-staff and other nautical instruments of the sixteenth century, an anchor, and two globes, with the motto:—

"PERVIA, VIRTUTI, SIDERA,
TERRA, MARE:"

and beneath is carved—

"Instituted 1380. Built 1555. Rebuilt 1816."

"The date of this foundation," says Daniel Wilson "is curious. Its dedication implies that it originated with the adherents of the ancient faith, while the date of the old inscription indicates the very period when the Queen Regent assumed the reins of government. That same year John Knox landed at Leith on his return from exile; and only three years later, the last convocation of the Roman Catholic clergy that ever assembled in Scotland under the sanction of its laws was held in the Blackfriars Church at Edinburgh, and signalised its final session by proscribing Sir David Lindsay's writings, and enacting that 'his buik should be abolished and burnt.'"

From time immemorial the shipmasters and mariners of Leith received from all vessels of the port, and all Scottish vessels visiting it, certain duties, called "primo gilt," which were expended in aiding poor seamen; and about the middle of the sixteenth century they acquired a legal right to

apply those dues in the maintenance of a hospital for the keeping of "poor, old, infirm, and weak mariners."

Long previous to 1797, the association, though calling itself "The Corporation of Shipmasters of the Trinity House of Leith," was a corporation only by the courtesy of popular language, and possessed merely the powers of a charitable body; but in that year it was erected by charter into a corporate body, whose office-bearers were to be a master, assistant and deputy-master, a manager, treasurer, and clerk, and was vested with powers—reserving, however, those of the Corporation of the city of Edinburgh—to examine, and under its

seal to license, persons to be pilots, and to exact admission fees from licentiates. The Corporation obtained, according to Arnot, from Mary of Lorraine a gift, afterwards ratified by William and Mary, of one penny duty on the ton of goods in the harbour of Leith for the support of their poor. For the further support of the latter the shipmasters paid annually a sixpence out of their own wages, and the same sum they gave upon the wages of their seamen.

In this house some of the poor were wont to be main-

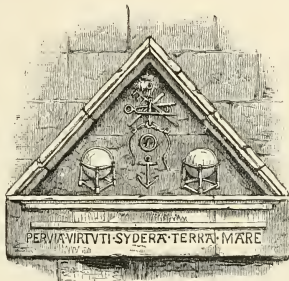
tained, but they were then (1779) all out-pensioners.

In the inventory of deeds belonging to this institution is enumerated:—"Ane charter granted by Mathew Forrester, in favour of the foresaide mariners of Leith, of the said land of ye hospital bankes, and for undercallit ye grounds lying in Leith.

... also saide yeird. . . dated 26 July, 1567, sealit and subscribit be the saide Mat. Forrester, Prebender of St. Antoine, near Leith." ("Monasticon Scotæ.")

During the Protectorate the ample vaults under the old Trinity House (now or latterly used as wine stores) were filled with the munition of Monk's troops, for which they paid a rent.

"By his Highness' councill in Scotland, for the governing theirof: these are to require 2,000 forthwith out of such moneys dew or schal come to the hands of the Customes, out of the third part of the profits arising from the Excyse in Scotland, to pay William Robertson (collector for the poore of Trinitie House in Leyth) the somme of £3 15s.



SCULPTURED STONE PRESERVED IN THE EAST
WING OF TRINITY HOUSE.

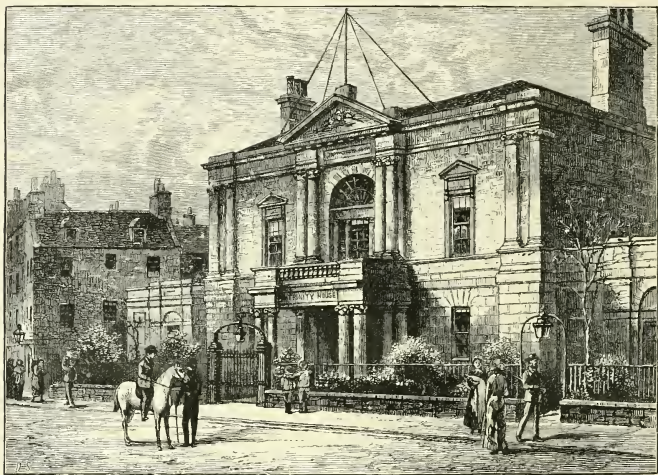
sterling, for a yeir's rent of a vault under the said Trinity House, employed to lay in stores for the army, determining the 8th of March last. . . . Given at Edinburgh the last day of Apryl, 1657. *Sic subscribitur*, GEORGE MONK, F. SCROPE, Quathetham" i.e. Wetham. ("Trinity House Records.")

In 1800 the master and assistants of the Trinity House recommended, as the best means of rendering safer the navigation on the east coast of Scotland,

of the old one, in a Grecian style of architecture, in 1817, at the modest expense of £2,500.

In the large hall for the meeting of the masters are a portrait of Mary of Lorraine, by Mytens, and a model of the ship in which she came to Scotland. Among other portraits, there is one of Admiral Lord Duncan; and among other pictures of interest, the late David Scott's huge painting of "Vasco de Gama passing the Cape of Good Hope."

A building mysteriously named the Kantore



THE TRINITY HOUSE.

the establishment of a lighthouse, or floating light, on the Inchcape, or Bell Rock, off the mouth of the Tay; and, adds the *Edinburgh Chronicle* for that year, "they have also recommended all the towns and burghs of the east coast to consider what sort of light would be best, in what manner it should be erected, and what duties should be levied on the shipping, and what shipping, for its erection and support;" and there, six years afterwards, was begun that famous feat of engineering, the Bell Rock Lighthouse, on the reef which had proved so fatal to many a mariner in past times, and which forms the subject of one of Southey's fine ballads.

The present Trinity House was built on the site

(probably a corruption of the Flemish word *kantoor*, a place of business) stood of old in the Kirk-gate, in the immediate vicinity of St. Mary's Church, and was intimately associated with the ecclesiastical history of Leith. It was latterly a species of prison-house. When an appearance of religion was necessary to all men in Scotland, the Kantore was used as a place of temporary durance for those who incurred in any way the censure of the Kirk Session. "Offences of the most trivial nature were most severely punished," says a writer, "and a system of espionage was maintained, from which there was hardly any possibility of escape. Either Leith must, in former times, have exceeded in wickedness the other parts of Scotland, or the

Session must have been determined to make it a sort of pattern parish for the whole kingdom. Not content with the by no means inconsiderable amount of zeal they displayed, they also had the assistance of a dignitary styled the Bailie of St. Anthony, whose special duty it was to ferret out

the last of whom was abolished by the Reform Bill.

In those days we are told that to cut a cabbage, to boil a kettle, or to wander in the streets during the hours of sermon, rendered a person liable to arrest by a military patrol, and incarceration in the Kantore.



TOLBOOTH WYND.

transgressors against ecclesiastical authority, and have them brought before him for trial."

That the Session considered him their own special official is made evident from the circumstance that when the sheriff of the county, in the year 1688, ventured to dispute his authority and question his decisions, the Session passed a vote commanding their treasurer to disburse what money was necessary to defend the rights of this official,

In the centre of the edifice was an archway, and above it was a chamber, which, by order of the Session in 1632, was repaired for the use of "the doctor (teacher) of the Grammar School." In 1692 the same chamber was used as a Session House, during a dispute about the incumbency of the parish. In later times the lower chambers were used as a receptacle for the gravedigger's tools and the *débris* of the churchyard, in which latter, in the

first years of the eighteenth century, the minister's sheep and goats were wont to browse.

Wilson describes a building eastward of the Trinity House, in the Kirkgate, at the head of Combe's Close, as being undoubtedly one of the most ancient in Leith. "The upper storeys appear to have been erected about the end of the sixteenth century, and form rather a neat and picturesque specimen of the private buildings of that period; but the ground floor presents different and altogether dissimilar features. An arcade extends along nearly the whole front, formed of semi-circular arches resting on massive round pillars, finished with neat moulded capitals. Their appearance is such that even an experienced anti-

quary, if altogether ignorant of the history of the locality, would at once pronounce them to be very interesting Norman remains. That they are of considerable antiquity cannot be doubted. The floor of the house is now several feet below the level of the street; and the ground has risen so much within one of them, which is an open archway giving access to the court behind, that a man of ordinary stature has to stoop considerably in attempting to pass through it. No evidence is more incontrovertible as to the great age of a building than this." Other instances of a similar mode of construction are, however, to be found in Leith, tending to show that the style of architecture is not a criterion of the date of erection."

CHAPTER XXV.

LEITH—TOLBOOTH WYND AND ADJOINING STREETS.

St. Giles's Street—Les Deux Bras—St. Andrew's Street—The Gun Stone—Meeting-house in Cable's Wynd—Tolbooth Wynd—"The Twelve or clock Coach"—Signal Tower—Ancient Tablet—The Old Tolbooth—Prisoners—The New Tolbooth—Queen Street—House of Mary of Lorraine—Old Episcopal Chapel—The Bourse—Burgess Close—Waters' Close.

IMMEDIATELY to the eastward of the Kirkgate, and opening off it, lie three ancient thoroughfares—St. Giles's Street; St. Andrew's Street, or *Les Deux Bras*, as it was named by the garrison of Maréchal Strozzi; and the Tolbooth Wynd.

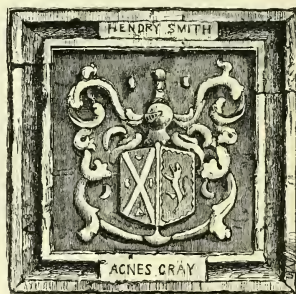
The first of these winds in its progress, and is fully a thousand feet in length, to its intersection on the westward by Kapple's (or Cable's) Wynd.

Amid the new erections here at its eastern end, and bordering on Kemp's Close—a narrow alley, doomed by the Improvement scheme of 1880—is a great public school, an edifice with a frontage of nearly a hundred feet, by an average depth of seventy.

The custom of affixing divers legends to the lintels of their dwellings appertained quite as much to the denizens of Leith as to those of Edinburgh; and Wilson records that he found the earliest instance of it on an ancient tenement at the head of Binnie's Close, in St. Giles's Street, accompanied by a large and finely-cut shield, charged with two coats of arms impaled, the date 1594, and the aphorism, *Blessit be God for all His giftes*. "In Vinegar Close," he adds, "an ancient building, now greatly modernised, is adorned with a large sculptured shield," of which he gives a drawing, as Robertson does also in his "Antiquities." It bears the names of "Hendry Smith" and "Agnes Gray," and has in the first canton a saltire, with two

sheaves of wheat; in chief a crescent, and in base a ship; in the second, the lion rampant within the tressure; over all a beautiful scroll, and a closed helmet crested with a sheaf of wheat.

In Muckle's Close, an adjacent alley, is the



SCULPTURED STONE, VINEGAR CLOSE.

legend, "The Blessing of God is Grit Riches," with the date 1609, and the initials M. S.

St. Andrew's Street is above six hundred feet in length, and is intersected at right angles in its centre by Riddle's Close. In Smeaton's Close, a

narrow alley adjoining the latter, a house bearing the date 1688 has the two legends, "Feir the Lord," and "The feir of the Lord is the beginning of al wisdome."

This part of the town—about the foot of St. Andrew's Street—is said to have borne anciently the name of St. Leonard's. There the street diverges into two alleys: one narrow and gloomy, which bears the imposing title of Parliament Close; and the other called Sheephead Wynd, in which there remains a very ancient edifice, the ground floor of which is formed of arches constructed like those of the old house described in the Kirkgate, and bearing the date 1579, with the initials D. W., M. W. Though small and greatly dilapidated, it is ornamented with string-courses and mouldings; and it was not without some traces of old importance and grandeur amid its decay and degradation, until it was entirely altered in 1859.

This house is said to have received the local name of the Gun Stone, from the circumstance of a stone cannon ball of considerable size having been fired into it during some invasion by an English ship of war. Local tradition avers that for many years this bullet formed an ornament on the summit of the square projecting staircase of the house.

Near Cable's Wynd, which adjoins this alley, and between it and King Street, at a spot called Meeting-house Green, are the relics of a building formerly used as a place of worship, and although it does not date farther back than the Revolution of 1688, it is oddly enough called "John Knox's Church."

The records of South Leith parish bear that in 1692, "the magistrates of Edinburgh, and members of the Presbytery there, with a confused company of the people, entered the church by breaking open the locks of the doors and putting on new ones, and so caused guard the church doors with halberts, rang the bells, and possessed Mr. Wishart of the church, against which all irregular proceedings public protests were taken."

Previous to this he would seem to have officiated in a kind of chapel-of-ease established near Cable's Wynd, by permission of James VII. in 1687.

Soon after the forcible induction recorded, he came to the church with a guard of halberdiers, accompanied by the magistrates of Leith, and took possession of the Session House, compelling the "prelatick Session" to hold their meeting in the adjacent Kantore. More unseemly matters followed, for in December of the year 1692, when a meeting was held in South Leith Church to hear any objection that might be made against the legal

induction of the Rev. Mr. Wishart, an adherent of Mr. Kay, "one of the prelatick incumbents," protested loudly against the whole proceedings.

Upon this, "Mr. Livingstone, a brewer at the Craigend (or Calton), rose up, and, in presence of the Presbytery, did most violently fall upon the commissioner, and buffeted him and nipped his cheeks, and had many base expressions to him."

Others now fell on the luckless commissioner, who was ultimately thrust into the Tolbooth of Leith by a magistrate, for daring to do that which the Presbytery had suggested. Mr. Kay's session were next driven out of the Kantore, on the door of which another lock was placed.

It has been supposed that the ousted episcopal incumbent formed his adherents into a small congregation, as he remained long in Leith, and died at his house in the Yardheads there so lately as November, 1719, in the seventieth year of his age. His successor, the Rev. Robert Forbes, was minister of an episcopal chapel in Leith, according to an anonymous writer, "very shortly after Mr. Kay's death, and records a baptism as having been performed 'in my room in ye Yardheads.'"

The history of the Meeting-house near Cable's Wynd is rather obscure, but it seems to have been generally used as a place of worship. The last occasion was during a visit of John Wesley, the great founder of Methodism. He was announced to preach in it; but so great a concourse of people assembled, that the edifice was incapable of accommodating them, so he addressed the multitude on the Meeting-house Green. A house near it, says *The Scotsman* in 1879, is pointed out as "the Manse."

The Tolbooth Wynd is about five hundred and fifty feet in length, from where the old signal-tower stood, at the foot of the Kirkgate, to the site of a now removed building called Old Babylon, which stood upon the Shore.

The second old thoroughfare of Leith was undoubtedly the picturesque Tolbooth Wynd, as the principal approach to the harbour, after it superseded the more ancient Burgess Close.

It was down this street that, in the age when Leith was noted for its dark superstitions and eccentric inhabitants, the denizens therein, regularly on stormy nights or those preceding a storm, heard with horror, at midnight, the thundering noise of "the twelve o'clock coach," a great oat-falque-looking vehicle, driven by a tall, gaunt figure without a head, drawn by black horses, also headless, and supposed to be occupied by a mysterious female.

Near the eastern end of the wynd there stood

for many generations an ancient and lofty signal-tower, the summit of which was furnished with little port-holes, like the loops designed for arrows or musketry in our old Scottish fortalices, but which were constructed here for the more peaceable purpose of watching the merchant ships of the port as they bore up the Firth of Forth or came to anchor off the Mussel Cape.

An unusually bold piece of sculpture, in a deep square panel, was above the archway that led into the courtyard behind. It was afterwards placed over the arched entrance leading from the Tolbooth Wynd to St. Andrew's Street, and, as shown by Robertson, bears the date 1678, with the initials G. R., with two porters carrying a barrel slung between them, a ship with a lee-board and the Scottish ensign, an edifice resembling a mill or two-storeyed granary, and above it a representation of a curious specimen of mechanical ingenuity.

The latter consists of a crane, the entire machinery of which "was comprised in one large drum or broad wheel, made to revolve, like the wire cylinder of a squirrel's cage, by a poor labourer, who occupied the quadruped's place, and clambered up Sisyphus-like in his endless treadmill. The perspective, with the grouping and proportions of the whole composition, formed altogether an amusing and curious sample of both the mechanical and the fine arts of the seventeenth century."

A local writer in 1865 asserts—we know not upon what authority—that it is the tablet of the Association of Porters; and adds, that "had the man in the wheel missed a step when hoisting up any heavy article, he must have been sent whirling round at a speed in nowise tending to his personal comfort." Robertson also writes of it as "The tablet of the Association of Porters, over the entrance to the old Sugar House Close."

About the middle of the wynd, on the south side, stood the edifice used, until 1812, as the Custom-house of Leith. It was somewhat quadrangular, with a general frontage of about a hundred feet, with a depth of ninety.

Riddle's Close separated it from the old Tolbooth and Town Hall, on the same side of the wynd. It was built in 1565 by the citizens of Leith, though not without strenuous opposition by their jealous feudal over-lords the community of Edinburgh, and was a singularly picturesque example of the old Tolbooth of a Scottish burgh.

Anxious to please her people in Leith Queen Mary wrote several letters to the Town Council of Edinburgh, hoping to soothe the uncompromising hostility of that body to the measure; and at length

the required effect was produced by the following epistle, which we have somewhat divested of its obsolete orthography:—

"To the Provost, Bailies, and Counsale of Edinburgh:—

"Forasmeikle as we have sent our requisite sundry times to you, to permit the inhabitants of our town of Leith to big and edifie ane hous of justice within the samyn, and has received no answer from you, and so the work is steiyt and cessit in your default.

"Wherefore we charge you, that ye permit our said town of Leith to big and edifie ane said hous of justice within our said town of Leith, and make no stop or impediment to them to do the samyn; for it is our will that the samyn be biggit, and that ye desist from further molesting them in time coming, as we will answer to as thereupon.

"Subscribit with our hand at Holyrood House, the 1st day of March, this year of God 1563.

"MARIE R."

This mandate had the desired effect, and in two years the building was completed, as an ornamental tablet, with the Scottish arms boldly sculptured, the inscription, and date, "IN DEFENS, M. R., 1565," long informed the passer-by.

This edifice, which measured, as Kincaid states, sixty feet by forty over the walls, had a large archway in the centre, above which were two windows of great height, elaborately grated. On the west of it, an outside stair gave access to the first floor; on the east there projected a corbelled oriel, or turret, lighted by eight windows, all grated. Three elaborate string mouldings traversed the polished ashlar front of the building, which was surmounted by an embasured battlement, and in one part by a crowstepped gable.

Few prisoners of much note have been incarcerated here, as its tenants were generally persons who had been guilty of minor crimes. Perhaps the most celebrated prisoner it ever contained was the Scottish Machiavel, Maitland of Lethington, who had fallen into the merciless hands of the Regent Morton after the capitulation of Edinburgh Castle in 1573, and who died, as it was said, "in the old Roman fashion," by taking poison to escape a public execution.

This was on the 9th of July, as Calderwood records, adding that he lay so long unburied, "that the vermin came from his corpse, creeping out under the door where he died."

Such an occurrence, it has been remarked, said little for the sanitary arrangements of the Leith Tolbooth, and it is to be hoped that it had few other prisoners on that occasion.

During the persecution under the Duke of Lauderdale, Mr. John Gregg, who had been formerly minister at Skirling, in Peeblesshire, was apprehended and imprisoned in the Tolbooth for holding a conventicle in the house of his brother-in-law Thomas Stark, at Leith Mills. In March, 1675, he was removed to the Castle on the Bass, to be detained there among many other sufferers for conscience sake.

In 1678, Hector Allan, a Quaker seaman in Leith, was sent to the Bass for "abusing and railing" at Mr. Thomas Wilkie, minister of North Leith, but in the May of the same year he was brought back to Leith, and thrust into the Tolbooth, where he lay for several months.

On the 18th of August, 1685, the Privy Council sat in that edifice, when seventy-two prisoners were examined. "Those who took the oaths of allegiance and abjuration were dismissed; those who refused to comply were banished to His Majesty's plantations, and charged never to return to the kingdom without the king's or the council's special leave."

In the Roads lay a ship to convey these poor recusants to New Jersey, and they were crowded on board of the vessel for a fortnight before she sailed for a destination which few or none of the unfortunate passengers were fated to see.

In April, 1713, a prisoner named Jean Ramsay, who had dragged a weak and infirm man from his bed in the house of Isabel Lesly in Leith, near the South Church, and used him with such severity

that he died, was sentenced to be scourged on her bare back from the Tolbooth of Edinburgh to the Nether Bow, and from the Tolbooth of Leith to the door of Isabel Lesly, and from there to the

Shore; "and the above warrant was put in execution." (Robertson's "Antiquities.")

In 1715, Brigadier MacIntosh or Borlum left the Tolbooth without a tenant; and previous to 1745 it was the ordinary place for quartering any troops that might be re-

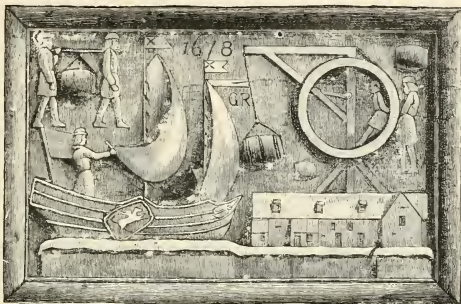
quired for service in Leith. In 1763, a thief, who was discovered in a peculiar manner, became, till tried, an inmate of this old prison.

A Scottish sailor, who had served on board the fleets during the war which ended in that year, arrived from London in a Leith ship, bringing with him "his all"—£200 in a chest. On shore he unwarily disclosed this fact, and a man who overheard him went to the vessel in the costume and character of a porter, asserting that he had been sent for the chest. The crew, having no suspicion of fraud, gave him the latter, but being unused to burdens, the sham porter slipped off a plank with the chest, and fell into the harbour. Many hastened to his rescue; among others, the owner of the chest, whose

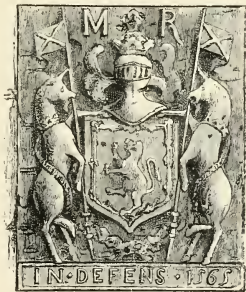
surprise was very great when it was fished out of the water, and he found it to be his own.

The subsequent inquiry did not prove pleasant to the half-drowned thief, who was forthwith taken into custody, and committed to the Tolbooth.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the



TABLET OF THE ASSOCIATION OF PORTERS, 1678, IN THE SQUARE TOWER, TOLBOOTH WYND, OVER THE ENTRANCE TO THE OLD SUGAR HOUSE CLOSE.



ARMORIAL BEARINGS OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS, ORIGINALLY IN FRONT OF THE OLD TOLBOOTH.

Tolbooth had become decayed and ruinous, and soon after the demolition of the Heart of Midlothian its doom was pronounced. Sir Walter Scott, Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, and other zealous antiquaries, left nothing undone to induce the magistrates of Edinburgh, under whose auspices the work of demolition proceeded, to preserve the picturesque street front, and re-build the remainder on a proposed plan.

A deputation waited upon the provost for this purpose, but "were courteously dismissed with the unanswerable argument that the expense of new designs had been incurred; and so the singular old house of justice of Queen Mary was replaced by the commonplace erection that now occupies its site."

The old edifice was demolished in 1819, and its unobscuring successor was erected in 1822, at the expense of the city of Edinburgh, in a nondescript style, which the prints of the time flattered themselves was Saxon; "but though it has several suites of well-lighted cells, and is said to be a very complete jail," wrote a statistical author, "it remained, at the date of the Commissioners' Report on Municipal Corporations, and possibly still remains, unlegalised. An objection having been judiciously made to its security, the Court of Session refused an application to legalise it; and a misunderstanding having afterwards arisen between the Corporation of Edinburgh and the community of Leith, the place was neglected, and not allowed the benefit of any further proceedings in its favour. A lock-up house, consisting of cold, damp, and unhealthy cells, such as endangered life, was coolly permitted to do for the police prisoners the honours and offices of the sinecure Tolbooth."

About 1730 there would seem to have been established in the wynd an institution having in it a Bath Stove, which, as a curious old handbill, preserved in the Advocates' Library, and without date, informs the public, "is to be found in Alexander Hayes' Close, over against the entry to Babylon, betwixt the Tolbooth and the shore."

The bill runs thus:—

"At Leith there is a Bath Stove, set up by William Paul, after the fashion of Poland and Germany, which is approved by all the doctors of physic and apothecaries in Edinburgh and elsewhere—a sovereign remedy in curing of all diseases, and preventing sickness both of old and young. This bath is able to give content to fourscore persons a day.

"The diseases which are commonly cured by the said bath are these:—The hydropsis, the gout,

deafness, and itch; sore eyes, the cold unsensibleness of the flesh, the trembling axes (*sic*), the Irish ague, cold defluxions; inwardly, the melancholick disease, the collick, and all natural diseases that are curable; *probatum est*.

"This bath is to be used all times and seasons, both summer and winter, and every person that comes to bathe must bring clean linen with them for their own use, especially clean shirts. All the days of the week for men, except Friday, which is reserved for women and children."

On the north side of the wynd, opposite the new Tolbooth, opened the irregular alley named the Paunch Market, which contained the Piazzas and Bourse of Mary of Lorraine, and from whence a narrow alley, called Queen Street, leads to the shore.

A stately old building at the head of the latter, but which was pulled down in the year 1849, is stated to have been the residence of Mary of Lorraine during some portion of her quarrels with the Protestants; and the same mansion is said by tradition to have been briefly occupied by Oliver Cromwell.

Its window-frames were all formed of oak, richly carved, and the panellings of the doors were of the same wood, beautifully embellished. Its walls were decorated with well-executed paintings, which seemed of considerable antiquity, and were afterwards in possession of Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe. The mansion was elaborately decorated on the exterior with sculptured dormer windows, and other ornaments common to edifices of the period.

Wilson seems inclined to think that the modern name of the street may have suggested the tradition that it was the residence of the Queen Regent, as it superseded the more homely one of the Paunch Market; but adds, "there is no evidence in its favour sufficient to overturn the statement of Maitland, who wrote at a period when there was less temptation to invent traditions than now."

The Rev. Parker Lawson, in his *Gazetteer*, says: "About a score of old houses are pointed out as the residence of the Queen Regent and Oliver Cromwell, but in Queen Street, formerly the Paunch Market, is an antique mansion of elegant exterior, said to have been the actual dwelling of the queen."

Over a doorway in this street, says Wilson, there is cut in very ancient and ornamental letters,

CREDENTI. NIHIL. LINGUÆ.

On the west side of this narrow thoroughfare stood the early Episcopal Chapel of Leith. Referring to the period of Culloden, Chalmers says:—

"Throughout these troublesome days, a little episcopal congregation was kept together in Leith, their place of worship being the first floor of an old dull-looking house in Queen's Street (dated 1516), the lower floor of which was, in my recollection, a police office."

The congregation about the year 1744 is said to have numbered only a hundred and seventy-two; and concerning what are called episcopal chapels in Leith, confusion has arisen from the circumstance that one used the Scottish communion office, while another adopted the liturgy of the Church of England. The one in Queen Street was occupied in 1865 as a temperance hall.

According to Robertson's "Antiquities," the earliest of these episcopal chapels was situated in Chapel Lane (at the foot of Quality Street), and was demolished several years ago, and an ancient tablet which stood above the door-lintel was built into a house near the spot where the chapel stood. It bears the following inscription:—

T. F. THAY. AR. WELCOM. HEIR. THAT.
A. M. GOD. DOIS. LOVE. AND. FEIR. 1590.

In 1788 this building was converted into a dancing-school, said to be the first that was opened in Leith.

On Sunday, April 27, 1745, divine service was performed in a few of the then obscure episcopal chapels in Edinburgh and Leith, but in the following week they were closed by order of the sheriff.

That at Leith, wherein the Rev. Robert Forbes and Rev. Mr. Law officiated, shared the same fate, and the nonjuring ministers of their communion had to perform their duties by stealth, being liable to fines, imprisonment, and banishment. It was enacted that after the 1st of September, 1746, every episcopal pastor in Scotland who failed to register his letters of orders, to take all the oaths required by law, and to pray for the House of Hanover, should for the first offence suffer six months' imprisonment; for the second be transported to the plantations; and for the third suffer penal servitude for life!

Hence, says Mr. Parker Lawson, in his "History of the Scottish Episcopal Church," since the Revolution in 1688, "the sacrament of baptism was often administered in woods and sequestered places, and the holy communion with the utmost privacy. Confirmations were held with closed doors in private houses, and divine service often performed in the open air in the northern counties, amid the mountains or in the recesses of forests. The chapels were all shut up, and the doors made

fast with iron bars, under the authority of the sheriffs."

The Rev. Robert Forbes became Bishop of Caithness and Orkney in 1762, but still continued to reside in Leith, making occasional visits to the north, for the purpose of confirming and baptising, till the year of his death, 1776; and twelve years subsequently, the death of Prince Charles Edward put an end to much of the jealousy with which the members of the episcopal communion in Scotland were viewed by the House of Hanover.

"On Sunday, the 25th of May last," says *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1788, "the king, queen, and Prince of Wales were prayed for by name, and the rest of the royal family, in the usual manner, in all the nonjuring chapels in this city (Edinburgh) and Leith. The same manner of testifying the loyalty of the Scotch Episcopalians will also be observed in every part of the country, in consequence of the resolution come to by the bishops and clergy of that persuasion. Thus, an effectual end is put to the most distant idea of disaffection in any part of His Majesty's dominions to his royal person and government."

The old chapel in Queen Street adjoined a building which, in the days when Maitland wrote, had its lower storey in the form of an open piazza, which modern alterations have completely concealed or obliterated. This was the exchange, or meeting-place of the Leith merchants and traders for the transaction of business, and was known as the *Bourse* till a very recent period, being adopted at a time when the old alliance with France was an institution in the land, and the intimate relations between that country and Scotland introduced many phrases, customs, and words which still linger in the latter.

The name of the Bourse still remains in Leith under the corrupted title of the Timber Bush, occasionally called the Howf, at some distance north of Queen Street. It occupied more than the piazzas referred to—a large piece of ground originally enclosed by a wooden fence, and devoted to the sale of timber, but having been probably reclaimed from the sea, it was subject to inundations during spring tides. Thus Calderwood records that on the 16th of September, 1616, "there arose such a swelling in the sea at Leith, that the like was not seen for a hundred years, for the water came in with violence in a place called the Timber Holf, where the timber lay, and carried away some of the timber, and manie lasts of herrings lying there, to the sea; brak into sundrie low houses and cellars, and filled them with water. The people," he adds, of course, "tooke this extraordinarie

tyde to be a forewarning of some evil to come."

In 1644 the Leith timber trade was so greatly increased, that the magistrates of Edinburgh ordered the area of the Bourse to be enclosed by a strong

1573. "One may have some idea of the pettiness of the external trade carried on by Edinburgh in the early part of the sixteenth century from what we know of the condition of Leith at that time," says Robert Chambers, in one of his "Edinburgh



QUEEN STREET.

wall, from which time it became more permanent and important.

A little way north of Queen Street, the Burgess Close opens eastward at a right angle from the shore, and extends to Water Lane.

Here one of the earliest dates that could be found on any of the buildings in Leith was noted by Wilson on a house, the lintel inscribed in Roman letters, NISI DNS FRUSTRA, with the date

Papers." "It was but a village, without quay or pier, and with no approach to the harbour except by an alley—the still existing Burgess Close—which in some parts is not above four feet wide. We must imagine any merchandise then brought to Leith as carried in vessels of the size of small yachts, and borne off to the Edinburgh warehouse, slung on horseback, through the narrow defiles of the Burgess Close."

But this ancient alley is the earliest thoroughfare in the seaport of which we have an authentic account, as towards the close of the fourteenth century it was granted, in a charter already quoted, by Logan of Restalrig, the baronial over-lord of Leith, before it attained the dignity of a burgh, to the burgesses of Edinburgh (hence its name); and at the time of its formation the whole imports and exports of the Leith shipping must have been conveyed to and from pack-horses or in wheelbarrows, as no larger means of conveyance could pass through the Burgess Close.

Its inconvenience appears to have been soon felt, and the Baron of Restalrig was compelled, under pressure, to grant his vassals a more commodious access to the shore. "The inscription which now graces this venerable thoroughfare," says Wilson in 1847, "though of a date much later than its first construction, preserves a memorial of its gift to the civic council of Edinburgh, as we may reasonably ascribe the veneration of some wealthy merchant of the capital inscribing over the doorway of his mansion at Leith the very appropriate motto of the city arms. To this, the oldest quarter of the town, indeed, we must direct those who go in search of the picturesque."

The Humane Society of Leith, which was first instituted in 1788 for the recovery of persons apparently drowned or suffocated, had its rooms first in the Burgess Close and Bernard Street.

Water's Close, which adjoins, has several attractive features in a picturesque sense, and repulsive ones in its modern squalor. Tenements of stone and timber, and of great antiquity, are mingled together in singular disorder; and one venerable tenement of hewn ashlar exhibits a broad projecting turnpike, with various corbellings, a half-circular turret, crowstepped gables, and massive chimneys, with "every variety of convenient aberration from the perpendicular or horizontal which the taste or whim of its constructor could devise, and is one of the most singular edifices that the artist could select as a subject for his pencil."

Five low and square-headed doorways of great breadth show that the whole of the lower storey had been constructed as a warehouse.

This edifice, with its vaults, is advertised as for sale in *The Edinburgh Advertiser* of 1789, and is described as being in "Willie Water's Close, Leith." Its vaults are stated to be of stone, and "the whole length and breadth of the subject completely catacombed."

CHAPTER XXVI.

LEITH—ROTTEN ROW, BROAD WYND, BERNARD STREET, BALTIC STREET, AND QUALITY STREET.

The Improvement Scheme—Water Lane, or Rotten Row—House of the Queen Regent—Old Sugar House Company—The Broad Wynd—The King's Wark—Its History—The Tennis Court—Bernard Lindsay—Little London—Bernard Street—Old Glass House—House of John Home—Home and Mrs. Siddons—Professor Jamieson.

MUCH of what we have been describing in Leith will ere long be swept away, for after some years of negotiation, the great "Leith Improvement Scheme" has been definitely arranged, and the loan necessary to carry it out has been granted.

Early in 1877 the Provost drew attention to the insanitary condition of certain portions of the burgh, more especially the crowded and central area lying between St. Giles's Street and the Coal Hill. In the area mentioned the death rate amounted to twenty-six per thousand, or five per cent. above that of any other part of Leith, while the infantile mortality reached the alarming rate of fifty-six per thousand.

It had been found that the power conferred on the local authority of levying an improvement rate under the Police Act, was quite inadequate for the purpose of improving an area so extensive; thus

attention was drawn to the Artisans' Dwelling House Act, as a measure which might satisfy the requirements of the seaport, and two schemes, one of which included a large district, were condemned by the ratepayers as expensive and unsuitable.

The Town Council then ordered the preparation of a plan likely to secure the objects in view, at a cost which would not prove oppressive to the inhabitants, and this scheme was ultimately approved of by the Home Secretary. Its main feature will be the ultimate opening up of a street fifty feet wide, from Great Junction Street to the Tolbooth Wynd, by the way of Yardheads, St. Giles's and St. Andrew's Streets, and in the course of its construction, three-quarters of a mile in length, no fewer than eighteen ancient closes will be removed, while the streets that run parallel to Yardheads will be widened and improved.

In addition to the imperatively required sanitary reform which this scheme will effect in a few years, the new thoroughfare will be of great commercial utility, and present an easy gradient from the shore to Leith Walk.

The area scheduled contains about 3,500 inhabitants, but when the works are completed nearly double that number will be accommodated. The sum to be borrowed from the Public Works Loan Commissioners was fixed at £100,000, payable in thirty years, about 1911; but in 1881 the Home Secretary intimated his intention of recommending a loan of £70,000, which, in the meantime, was deemed sufficient.

The ancient street named Water Lane, with all its adjacent alleys, is not included in this scheme of removal and improvement. It runs tortuously, at an angle, from the foot of the Kirkgate to Bernard Street, and is about seven hundred yards in length. This thoroughfare was anciently called the Rotten Row; and in the map given by Robertson in his "Antiquities," that name is borne by an alley near the foot of it, running parallel with Chapel Lane.

In the inventory of "Pious Donations" made to the Brethren Predicators in Edinburgh, under date 14th May, 1473, is one by "John Sudgine, of 30s. 4d. out of his tenement of Leith on the south side of the water thereof, between Alan Nepar's land on the east, and Rotten Row on the west."

Alan Napier's land, "on the east side of the common vennel called the *Ratounrow*," is referred to in King James III.'s charter to the Black Friars, under the same date. ("Burgh Charters," No. 43.) It was so named from being built of houses of *rattins*, or rough timber.

On Mary of Guise and Lorraine choosing Leith as an occasional residence, she is stated by Maitland to have erected a dwelling-house in the Rotten Row, near the corner of the present Quality Street, and that the royal arms of Scotland, which were in front thereof, were, when it was taken down, rebuilt into the wall of a mansion opposite, "and the said Mary, for the convenience of holding councils, erected a spacious and handsome edifice for her privy council to meet in."

This is supposed to refer to a stately house on the Coal Hill (facing the river), and to be treated of when we come to that quarter of Leith.

The beautifully sculptured stone which bears the arms of Scotland impaled with those of Guise, surmounted by an imperial crown and the boldly-cut legend,

MARIA. DE. LORRAINE.
REGINA. SCOTIA. 1560,

and surrounded by the richest scroll-work, still exists in Leith. It was long preserved in the north wall of the old Tolbooth; and on the demolition of the latter, after undergoing various adventures, has now "been rebuilt," says Dr. Robertson, "into the original window of St. Mary, which has been erected in Albany Street, North Leith."

This is the last relic of that house in which Mary, the queen-regent (prior to her death in the castle), spent the last year of her sorrowful life, embittered by the strife of hostile factions and the din of civil war—"an ominous preparation for her unfortunate daughter's assumption of the sceptre which was then wielded in her name."

Another ancient house in the same street bore a legend similar to one already given :—

"THEY ARE WELCOME HERE
QHA THE LORD DO FEIR, 1574."

It was demolished in 1832.

In this street was the establishment of the old Leith Sugar House Company. The circumstances that Leith was a central port for carrying on West Indian trade, where vessels could then be fitted out more easily than on the Clyde, and at a lower rate than at London—besides the savings on freight and charges—encouraged the West Indian planter to make it a place for his consignments. Thus a house for baking sugars was set up in Edinburgh in 1751, and the manufacture was still carried on in 1779 by the company that instituted it.

That of Leith was begun in 1757 by a company, consisting chiefly of Edinburgh bankers; but by 1762 their capital was totally lost, and for some time the Sugar House remained unoccupied, till some speculative Englishmen took a lease of it, and revived the manufacture.

As these men were altogether without capital, and had to fall back upon ruinous schemes to support their false credit, they were soon involved in complete failure, but were succeeded by the Messrs. Parkers, who kept up the manufacture for about five years.

"The house," says Arnot, "was then purchased by a set of merchants in Leith, who, as they began with sufficient capital, as they have employed in the work the best refiners of sugar that could be procured in London, and as they pay attention to the business, promise to conduct it with every prospect of success."

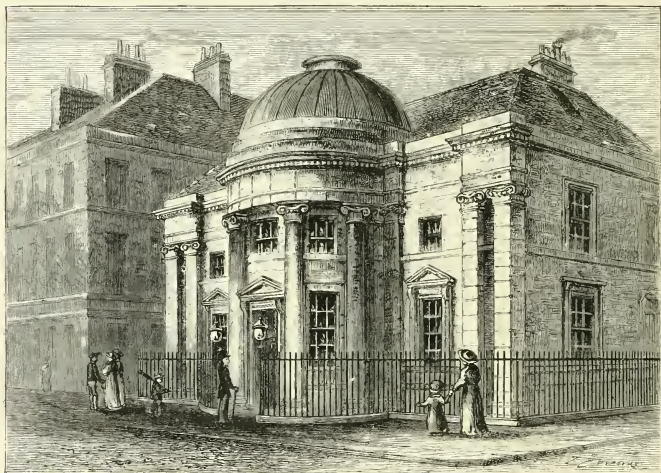
But be that as it may, in *The Advertiser* for 1783, "the whole houses and subjects belonging to and employed by the Leith Sugar House Company, together with the coppers, coolers, and whole utensils used in the trade," are announced

as for sale, "together with those new subjects lying in Water Lane, adjoining Messrs. Elder and Archibald's vaults."

Many years ago Mr. Macfie was a well-known sugar refiner in Leith. His establishment stood in Elbe Street, South Leith, when it was destroyed by fire; and about 1865 there was started the extensive and thriving Bonnington Sugar Refining Company in Breadalbane Street, Leith, which was described in a preceding chapter.

of the incidental allusions to it. It is, however, supposed to have included a royal arsenal, with warehouses and dwellings for resident officials, and according to Robertson's map seems to have measured about a hundred feet square.

"The remains of this building," says Arnot, writing in 1779, "with a garden and piece of waste land that surrounded it, was erected into a free barony by James VI., and bestowed upon Bernard Lindsay of Lochill, Groom of the Chamber



THE BANK OF LEITH, 1820. (After Storer.)

The Broad Wynd opens westward off Water Lane to the shore. The first number of *The Leith and Edinburgh Telegraph and General Advertiser*, published 26th July, 1808, by William Oliphant, and continued until September, 1811, appeared, and was published by a new proprietor, William Reid, in the Broad Wynd, where it was continued till its abandonment, 9th March, 1813, comprising in all 483 numbers. It was succeeded by *The Leith Commercial List*. An extensive building, of which frequent mention is made by early historians as the King's Wark, seems to have occupied the whole ground between this and the present Bernard Street, but the exact purpose for which it was maintained is not made clear in any

(or *Chamber Cheild*, as he was called) to that prince. This Lindsay repaired or rebuilt the King's Wark, and there is special mention of his having put its *ancient tower* in full repair. He also built there a new tennis-court, which is mentioned with singular marks of approbation in the royal charter 'as being built for the recreation of His Majesty, and of foreigners of rank resorting to the kingdom, to whom it afforded great satisfaction and delight; and as advancing the politeness and contributing to the ornament of the country, to which, by its happy situation on the Shore of Leith, where there was so great a concourse of strangers and foreigners, it was peculiarly adapted.'"

The *reddendo* in this charter was uncommon,

Arnot adds. It was to keep one of the cellars in the King's Wark in repair, for holding wines and other provisions for the king's use.

This Bernard Lindsay it was whom Taylor mentions in his "Penniless Pilgrimage" as having

Moreover, the King's Wark was placed most advantageously at the mouth of the harbour, to serve as a defence against any enemy who might approach it from the seaward. It thus partook somewhat of the character of a citadel; and this



BERNARD STREET.

given him so warm a welcome at Leith in 1618.

That some funds were derivable from the King's Wark to the Crown is proved by the frequent payments with which it was burdened by several of our monarchs. Thus, in the year 1477 James III. granted out of it a perpetual annuity of twelve marks Scots, for support of a chaplain to officiate at the altar of "the upper chapel in the collegiate church of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Restalrig."

seems to have been implied by the infestment granted by Queen Mary in 1564 to John Chisholm, Master or Comptroller of the Royal Artillery, who would appear to have repaired the buildings which, no doubt, shared in the general conflagrations that signalled the English invasions of 1544 and 1547, and the queen, on the completion of his work, thus confirms her grant to the comptroller:—

"Efter Her Heinis lauchful age, and revocation made in parliament, hir majestie sett in feu farne

to hir lovite suitore, Johne Chisholme, his airis and assignais, all and haille hir lands callit the King's Werk in Leith, within the boundis specifit in the infestment maid to him thairupon, quhillkis than war alluterlie decayit, and sensive are reparit and re-edifit, he the said Johne Chisholme, to the policy and great decoration of this realme, in that office, place, and sight of all strangers and utheris resortand to the Schore of Leith."

In 1575 it had been converted into a hospital for the plague-stricken; but when granted to Bernard Lindsay in 1613, he was empowered to keep four taverns in the buildings, together with the tennis-court, for the then favourite pastime of catchpel. It continued to be used for that purpose till the year 1649, when it was taken possession of by the magistrates of Edinburgh, and converted into a weigh-house.

"In what part of the building Bernard Lindsay commenced tavern-keeping we are unable to say," observes Campbell, in his "History of Leith," "but are more than half disposed to believe it was that old house which projects into Bernard Street, and is situated nearly opposite the British Linen Company's Bank." "The house alluded to," adds Robertson on this, "has a carved stone in front, representing a rainbow rising from the clouds, with a date 165-, the last figure being obliterated, and can have no reference to Bernard Lindsay."

The tennis-court of the latter would seem to have been frequently patronised by the great Marquis of Montrose in his youth, as in his "Household Accounts," under date 1627, are the following entries (Mait. Club Edit.) :—

"Item to the poor, my Lord taking coeh ..	4s.
Item, carrying the graith to Leth	8s.
Item, to some poor there	3s.
Item, to my Lord Nepar's cochman	6s. 8d.
Item, for balls in the <i>Tinnes Court</i> of Leth ..	16s."

The first memorial of Bernard Lindsay is in the "Parish Records" of South Leith, and is dated 17th July, 1589 :—"The quhillk days comperit up Bernard Lindsay and Barbara Logan, and gave their names to be proclamit and mareit, within this date and Michaelmas.—JOHN LOGANE, Cautiouner."

Another record, 22nd September, 1633, bears that the Session "allowis burial to Barbara Logane, relict of Bernard Lindsay, besyde her husbände in the kirk-yearld, in contentation yairof, 100 merks to be given to the poor."

From Bernard Lindsay, the name of the present Bernard Street is derived. Bernard's Nook has long been known. "In the 'Council Records' of Edinburgh, 1647," says Robertson, "is the follow-

ing entry :—"To the purchase of the Kingis Werk, in Leith, 4,500 lib. Scot.' A previous entry, 1627, refers to dealing with the sons of Bernard Lindsay, 'for their house in Leith to be a custom-house. . . ' We have no record that any buildings existed beyond the bounds of the walls or the present Bernard Street at this time, the earliest dates on the seaward part of the Shore being 1674—1681."

The old Weigh-house, or Tron of Leith, stood within Bernard's Nook, on the west side of the street; but local, though unsupported, tradition asserts that the original signal-tower and light-house of Leith stood in the Broad Wynd.

Wilson thus refers to the relic of the Wark already mentioned :—"A large stone panel, which bore the date 1650—the year immediately succeeding the appropriation of the King's Wark to civic purposes—appeared in the north gable of the old weigh-house, which till recently occupied its site, with the curious device of a rainbow carved in bold relief springing at either end from a bank of clouds."

"So," says Arnot, "this fabric, which was reared for the sports and recreations of a Court, was speedily to be the scene of the ignoble labours of carmen and porters, engaged in the drudgery of weighing hemp and of iron."

Eastward of the King's Wark, between Bernard's Street and chapel, lies the locality once so curiously designated Little London, and which, according to Kincaid, measured ninety feet from east to west, by seventy-five broad over the walls. "How it acquired the name of Little London is now unknown," says Campbell, in his "History"; "but it was so-called in the year 1674. We do not see, however," he absurdly remarks, "that it could have obtained this appellation from any other circumstance than its having had some real or supposed resemblance to the [English] metropolis."

As the views preserved of Little London show it to have consisted of only four houses or so, and these of two storeys high, connected by a dead wall with one doorway, facing Bernard Street in 1800, Campbell's theory is untenable. It is much more probable that it derived its name from being the quarters or cantonments of those 1,500 English soldiers who, under Sir William Drury, Marshal of Berwick, came from England in April, 1573, to assist the Regent Morton's Scottish Companies in the reduction of Edinburgh Castle. These men departed from Leith on the 16th of the following June, and it has been supposed that a few of them may have been induced to remain, and the locality thus won the name of Little London, in the same

fashion that the hamlet near Craigmillar was named "Little France" from the French servants of Mary.

"In a small garden attached to one of the houses in Little London," says a writer, whose anecdote we give for what it is worth, "there was a flower-plot which was tended with peculiar care long after its original possessors had gone the way of all flesh, and it was believed that the body of a young and beautiful female who committed suicide was interred here. The peculiar circumstances attending her death, and the locality made choice of for her interment, combined to throw a romantic interest over her fate and fortunes, and her story was handed down from one generation to another."

In Bernard Street, a spacious and well-edified thoroughfare, was built, in 1806, the office of the Leith Bank, a neat but small edifice, consisting of two floors; a handsome dome rises from the north front, and a projection ornamented with four Ionic columns, and having thin pilasters of the same, decorates the building. It is now the National Bank of Scotland Branch.

Since then, many other banking offices have been established in the same street, including that of the Union Bank, built in 1871 after designs by James Simpson, having a three-storeyed front in the Italian style, with a handsome cornice and balustrade, and a telling-room measuring 34 feet by 32; the National Bank of Scotland; the Clydesdale and British Linen Company's Banks; many insurance offices; and in No. 37 is the house of the Leith Merchants' Club.

Bernard Street joins Baltic Street, at the south-east corner of which is the spacious and stately Corn Exchange, which is so ample in extent as to be frequently used as a drill-hall by the entire battalion of Leith Rifle Volunteers.

North of Baltic Street are the old Glass Works. The Bottle House Company, as it was named, began to manufacture glass vessels in North Leith in 1746, but their establishment was burnt down during the first year of the partnership. Thus, in 1747 the new brick houses were built on the sands of South Leith, near the present Salamander Street, and as the demand for bottles increased, they built an additional one in 1764, though, according to Bremner, glass was manufactured in Leith so early as 1682.

Seven cones, or furnaces, were built, but in later years only two have been in operation. In the year 1777 no less than 15,883½ cwt. were made here in Leith, the Government duty on which amounted to £2,779 odd; but as there are now

many other bottle manufactories in Scotland, the trade is no longer confined to the old houses that adjoin Baltic and Salamander Streets.

A writer in the *Bee*, an old extinct Edinburgh periodical, writing in 1792, says that about thirty years before there was only one glass company in Scotland, the hands working one-half the year in Glasgow, and the other half at Leith, and adds:—"Now there are six glass-houses in Leith alone, besides many others in different parts of the country. At the time I mention nothing else than bottles of coarse green glass were made there, and to that article the Glass House Company in Leith confined their efforts, till about a dozen years ago, when they began to make fine glass for phials and other articles of that nature. About four years ago they introduced the manufacture of crown glass for windows, which they now make in great perfection, and in considerable quantities. After they began to manufacture white glass, they fell into the way of cutting it for ornament and engraving upon it. In this last department they have reached a higher degree of perfection than it has perhaps anywhere else ever attained. A young man who was bred to that business, having discovered a taste in designing, and an elegance of execution that was very uncommon, the proprietors of the works were at pains to give him every aid in the art of drawing that this place can afford, and he has exhibited some specimens of his powers in that line that are believed to be unrivalled. It is but yesterday that this Glass House Company (who are in a very flourishing state), encouraged by their success in other respects, introduced the art of preparing glass in imitation of gems, and of cutting it in facets, and working it into elegant forms for chandeliers and other ornamental kinds of furniture. In this department their first attempts have been highly successful, and they have now executed some pieces of work that they need not be ashamed to compare with the best that can be procured elsewhere."

The works of the Glass House Company at Leith were advertised as for sale in the *Courant* of 1813, which stated that they were valued at £40,000, with a valuable steam-engine of sixteen horse power, valued at £21,000.

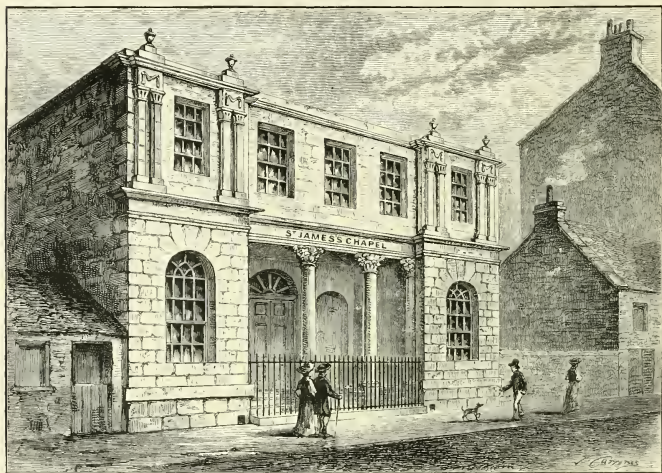
Quality Street, and the fine long thoroughfare named Constitution Street, open into Bernard Street. Robertson gives us a drawing of an old and richly-moulded doorway of a tenement, in the former street, having on its lintel the initials P. P., E. G., and the date 1710. At the corner of Quality Street stands St. John's Free Church, which was built in 1870-1, at a cost of about £75,000, and

is in the Gothic style, with a tower 130 feet high, surmounted by an open crown.

On the east side of this street, and near its northern end, stood the house in which John Home, the author of "Douglas" and other tragedies, was born, on the 13th September, 1724. His father, Alexander Home, was Town Clerk of Leith, and his mother was Christian Hay, daughter of a writer in Edinburgh. He was educated at the Grammar School in the Kirkgate, and subsequently

succeeded in carrying Thomas Barrow, who had dislocated his ankle in the descent, to Alloa, where they were received on board the *Vulture*, sloop-of-war, commanded by Captain Falconer, who landed them in his barge at the Queen's Ferry, from whence Home returned to his father's house in Leith.

Subsequently he became the associate and friend of Drs. Robertson and Blair, David Hume, Adam Ferguson, Adam Smith, and other eminent *literati*



ST. JAMES'S CHAPEL, 1820. (After Storer.)

at the university of the capital. His father was a son of Home of Flass (says Henry Mackenzie, in his "Memoirs"), a lineal descendant of Sir James Home of Cowdenknowes, ancestor of the Earls of Home. He was licensed by the Presbytery of Edinburgh on the 4th of April, in the memorable year 1745, and became a volunteer in the corps so futilely formed to assist in the defence of Edinburgh against Prince Charles Edward. Serving as a volunteer in the Hanoverian interest, he was taken prisoner at the victory of Falkirk, and committed to the castle of Doune in Monteith, from whence, with some others, he effected an escape by forming ropes of the bedclothes—an adventure which he details in his own history of the civil strife. They

of whom the Edinburgh of that day could boast; and in 1746 he was inducted as minister at Athelstaneford, his immediate predecessor being Robert Blair, author of "The Grave," and there he produced his first drama, founded on the death of Agis, King of Sparta, which Garrick declined when offered for representation in 1749.

In 1755 Home set off on horseback to London from his house in East Lothian, with the tragedy of "Douglas" in his pocket, says Henry Mackenzie. "His habitual carelessness was strongly shown by his having thought of no better conveyance for this MS.—by which he was to acquire all the fame and future success of which his friends were so confident—than the pocket of the great-

coat in which he rode. Dr. Carlyle turned a little out of the road to procure from a clergyman of their acquaintance the loan of a pair of saddle-bags, in which to deposit the MS."

The latter was also rejected by Garrick, "with

his living, and published several other tragedies; and after the accession of George III. to the throne he received a pension of £300 per annum. In 1763 he obtained the then sinecure appointment of Conservator of Scottish Privileges



ST. JAMES'S EPISCOPALIAN CHURCH, 1882. (After a Photograph by Mr. J. Chapman.)

the mortifying declaration that it was totally unfit for the stage." Yet it was brought out at Edinburgh by Digges, on the 14th December, 1756, and produced that storm of fanaticism to which we have referred in a former part of this work. It had a run then unprecedented, and though a rather dull work, has maintained a certain popularity almost to the present day.

To escape the censures of the kirk, he resigned

at Campvere (in succession to George Lind, Provost of Edinburgh), and also the office of Commissioner for Sick and Wounded Seamen. In 1779 he removed to Edinburgh, where he spent the latter years of his life, and married a lady of his own name, by whom he had no children.

Home's "Douglas" is now no longer regarded as the marvel of genius it once was; but the author was acknowledged in his lifetime to be vain of it,

up to the full average of poets, yet his vanity was of a very inoffensive kind.

Mrs. Sarah Siddons, when visiting the Edinburgh Theatre, always spent an occasional afternoon with Mr. and Mrs. Home, at their neat little house in North Hanover Street, and of one of these visits Sir Adam Fergusson was wont (we have the authority of Robert Chambers for it) to relate the following anecdote:—They were seated at early dinner, attended by Home's old man-servant John, when the host asked Mrs. Siddons what liqueur or wine she preferred to drink.

"A little porter," replied the tragedy queen, in her usually impressive voice; and John was despatched to procure what he thought was required. But a considerable time elapsed, to the surprise of those at table, before steps were heard in the outer lobby, and John re-appeared, panting and flushed, exclaiming, "I've found ane, mem! he's the least I could get!" and with these words he pushed in a short, thick-set Highlander, whose leaden badge and coil of ropes betokened his profession, "but who seemed greatly bewildered on finding himself in a gentleman's dining-room, surveyed by the curious eyes of one of the grandest women that ever walked the earth. The truth flashed first upon Mrs. Siddons, who, unwonted to laugh, was for once overcome by a sense of the ludicrous, and broke forth into something like shouts of mirth;" but Mrs. Home, we are told, had not the least chance of ever understanding it.

Home accepted a captain's commission in the Duke of Buccleuch's Fencibles, which he held till that corps was disbanded. His last tragedy was "Alfred," represented in 1778, when it proved an utter failure. In 1776 he accompanied his friend David Hume, in his last illness, from Morpeth to Bath. He never recovered the shock of a fall from his horse when on parade with the Buccleuch Fencibles; and his "History of the Rebellion," perhaps his best work in some respects (though it disappointed the public), and the task of his declining years, was published at London in 1802. He died at Edinburgh, in his eighty-fourth year, and was buried in South Leith churchyard, where a tablet on the west side of the church marks the spot. It is inscribed:—"In

memory of John Home, author of the tragedy of 'Douglas,' &c. Born 13th September, 1724. Died 4th September, 1808."

Before recurring to general history, we may here refer to another distinguished native of Leith, Robert Jamieson, Professor of Natural History, who was born in 1779 in Leith, where his father was a merchant, and perhaps the most extensive manufacturer of soap in Scotland. He was appointed Regius Professor and Keeper of the Museum, or "Repository of Natural Curiosities in the University of Edinburgh," on the death of Dr. Walker, in 1804; but he had previously distinguished himself by the publication of three valuable works connected with the natural history of the Scottish Isles, after studying for two years at Freyberg, under the famous Werner.

He was author of ten separate works, all contributing to the advancement of natural history, but more especially of geology, and his whole life was devoted to study and investigation. Whether in the class-room or by his writings, he was always alike entitled to and received the gratitude and esteem of the students.

In 1808 he founded the Wernerian Natural History Society of Edinburgh, and besides the numerous separate works referred to, the world is indebted to him for the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, which he started in 1819, and which maintained a reputation deservedly high as a repository of science. The editorial duties connected with it he performed for nearly twenty years (for the first ten volumes in conjunction with Sir David Brewster), adding many brilliant articles from his own pen, and, notwithstanding the varied demands upon his time, was a contributor to the "Edinburgh Encyclopædia," the "Encyclopædia Britannica," the "Annals of Philosophy," the "Edinburgh Cabinet Library," and many other standard works.

He was for half a century a professor, and had the pleasure of sending forth from his class-room in the University of Edinburgh many pupils who have since won honour and renown in the seminaries and scientific institutions of Europe. He was a fellow of many learned and Royal Societies, and was succeeded in the Chair of Natural History in 1854 by Edward Forbes.

CHAPTER XXVII.

LEITH—CONSTITUTION STREET, THE SHORE, COAL HILL, AND SHERIFF BRAE.

Constitution Street—Pirates Executed—St. James's Episcopal Church—Town Hall—St. John's Church—Exchange Buildings—Head-quarters of the Leith Rifle Volunteers—Old Signal-Tower—The Shore—Old and New Ship Taverns—The Markets—The Coal Hill—Ancient Council House—The Peat Neuk—Shirra Brae—Tibbie Fowler of the Glen—St. Thomas's Church and Asylum—The Gladstone Family—Great Junction Road.

CONSTITUTION STREET, which lies parallel to and eastward of the Kirkgate, nearly in a line with the eastern face of the ancient fortifications, is about 2,500 feet in length, and soon after its formation was the scene of the last execution within what is termed "flood-mark." The doomed prisoners were two foreign seamen, whose crime and sentence excited much interest at the time.

Peter Heaman and François Gautiez were accused of piracy and murder in seizing the brig *Jane* of Gibraltar, on her voyage from that place to the Brazils, freighted with a valuable cargo, including 38,180 Spanish dollars, and in barbarously killing Johnson the master, and Paterson a seaman, and confining Smith and Sinclair, two other seamen, in the fore-castle, where they tried to suffocate them with smoke, but eventually compelled them to assist in navigating the vessel, which they afterwards sank off the coast of Ross-shire. They landed the specie in eight barrels on the Isle of Lewis, where they were apprehended.

This was in the summer of 1822, and they were, after a trial before the Court of Justiciary, sentenced by the Judge-Admiral to be executed on the 9th of the subsequent January, "on the sands of Leith, within the flood-mark, and their bodies to be afterwards given to Dr. Munro for dissection."

On the day named they were conveyed from the Calton gaol, under a strong escort of the dragoon guards, accompanied by the magistrates of the city, who had white rods projecting from the windows of the carriages in which they sat, to a gibbet erected at the foot of Constitution Street—or rather, the northern continuation thereof—and there hanged. Heaman was a native of Carlsrona, in Sweden; Gautiez was a Frenchman. The bodies were put in coffins, and conveyed by a corporal's escort of dragoons to the rooms of the professor of anatomy. During the execution the great bell of South Leith church was tolled with minute strokes, and the papers of the day state that "the crowd of spectators was immense, particularly on the sands, being little short of from forty to fifty thousand; but, owing to the excellent manner in which everything was arranged, not the slightest accident happened."

In 1823 the same thoroughfare witnessed another legal punishment, when Thomas Hay, who had

been tried and convicted of an attempt at assassination, was flogged through the town by the common executioner, and banished for fourteen years.

Between Constitution Street and the Links stands St. James's Episcopalian church, an ornate edifice in the Gothic style, designed by Sir Gilbert Scott, having a fine steeple, containing a chime of bells. It was built in 1862-3, succeeding a previous chapel of 1805 (erected at the cost of £1,610) on an adjacent site (of which a view is given on p. 240), and to which attention was frequently drawn from the literary celebrity of its minister, Dr. Michael Russell, the author of a continuation of Pridcaux's "Connection of Sacred and Profane History," and other works. According to Annot, the congregation had an origin that was not uncommon in the eighteenth century.

After the battle of Culloden, "when the persecution was set on foot against those of the Episcopalian communion in Scotland who did not take the oaths required by law, the meeting-house in Leith was shut up by the sheriff of the county. Persons of this persuasion being thus deprived of the form of worship their principles approved, brought from the neighbouring country Mr. John Paul, an English clergyman, who opened this chapel on the 23rd June, 1749. It is called St. James's chapel. Till of late the congregation only rented it, but within these few years they purchased it for £200. The clergyman has about £60 a year salary, and the organist ten guineas. These are paid out of the seat rents, collections, and voluntary contributions among the hearers. It is, perhaps, needless to add that there are one or more meeting-houses for sectaries in this place (Leith), for in Scotland there are few towns, whether of importance or insignificant, whether populous or otherwise, where there are not congregations of sectaries."

The congregation of St. James's chapel received, in about the year 1810, the accession of a non-juring congregation of an earlier date, says a writer in 1851, referring, doubtless, to that formed in the time of the Rev. Mr. Paul.

The Leith Post Office is at the corner of Mitchell and Constitution Streets; it was built in 1876, is very small, and in a rather meagre Italian style.

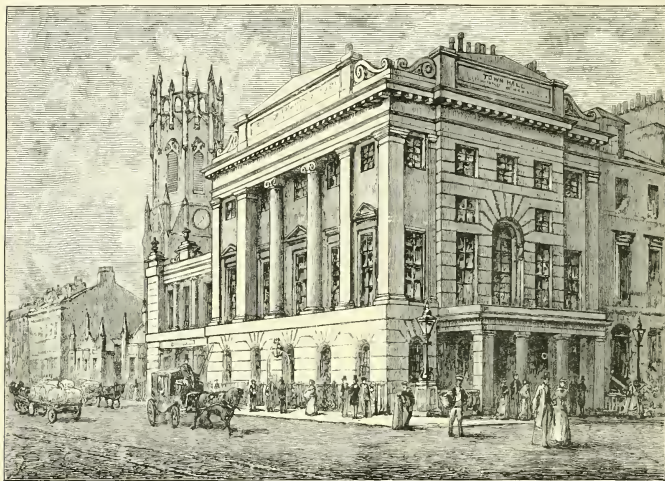
The Town Hall, which is at the corner of Constitution and Charlotte Streets, was built in 1827, at a

cost of £3,300, and has two ornamental fronts, respectively with Ionic pillars and a Doric porch.

St. John's Established Church adjoins it. It was originally a chapel of ease, but became a Free Church from the Disruption in 1843 till 1867, when, by adjudication, it reverted to the Establishment. Designed by David Rhind, it has an imposing front in the Early Pointed style, surmounted by a lofty octagonal tower, terminating in numerous pinnacles, and not in a tall slender spire, accord-

On the west side of Constitution Street, the way, for nearly 300 feet, is bounded by the wall enclosing the burying-ground of St. Mary's Church, to which access is here given by a large iron gate, after passing the Congregational chapel at the intersection of Laurie Street.

In No. 132 have long been established the headquarters and orderly-room of the Leith Volunteer Corps, numbered as the 1st Midlothian Rifles. Originally clad in grey (like the city volunteers),



THE TOWN HALL AND ST. JOHN'S ESTABLISHED CHURCH.

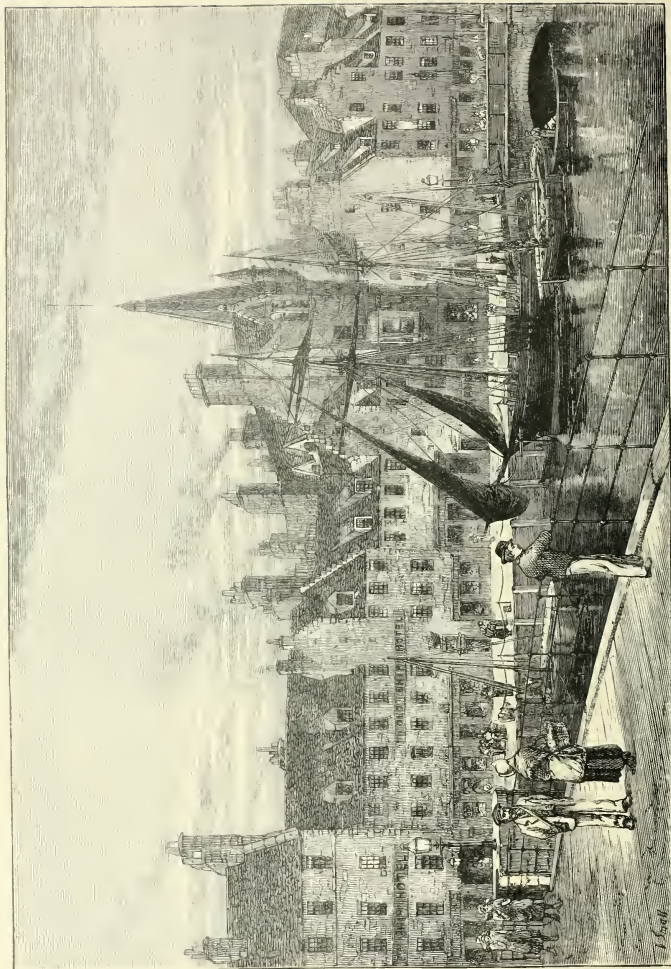
ing to the original intention of the talented architect.

The Exchange Buildings at the foot of Constitution Street, opposite Bernard Street, were erected, at a cost of £16,000, in a Grecian style of architecture, and are ornamented in front by an Ionic portico of four columns. They are three storeys in height, and include public reading and assembly rooms; but of late years assemblies have seldom been held in Leith, though they were usual enough in the last century. In the *Weekly Magazine* for 1776 we read of a handsome subscription being sent by "the subscribers to a dancing assembly in Leith," through Sir William Forbes, for the relief of our troops at Boston.

this regiment now wears scarlet, faced unmeaningly with black, and their badge is the arms of Leith—the Virgin and Holy Child seated in the middle of a galley, with the motto, "Persevere." The corps was raised when the volunteer movement began, under Colonel Henry Arnaud, a veteran officer of the East India Company's Service, who, in turn, was succeeded by D. R. Macgregor, Esq., the late popular M.P. for the Leith Burghs.

On the same side of the street stands the Catholic Church of "Our Lady, Star of the Sea," built in 1853. It is a high-roofed cruciform edifice, in a coarse style of Early Gothic.

Constitution Street is continued north to the intersection of Tower Street and the road beyond



THE SHORE, LEITH.

it, sixty feet wide, bordering the Albert and other docks, and, in addition to the edifices specially mentioned, contains the offices of the Leith Chamber of Commerce, instituted in 1840, and incorporated in 1852, having a chairman, deputy-chairman, six directors, and other officials; the sheriff-clerk's office; that of the *Leith Burghs Pilot*, and the offices of many steamship companies.

At the north-east angle of Tower Street stands the lofty circular signal-tower (which appears in

son has a view of the door and staircase window of No. 10, which bears the date 1678, with the initials R.M. within a chaplet.

In No. 28 is the well-known Old Ship Hotel, above the massive entrance of which is carved, in bold relief, an ancient ship; and No. 20 is the equally well-known New Ship Tavern, or hotel, the lower flat of which is shown, precisely as we find it now, in the Rotterdam view of 1700, with its heavily moulded doorway, above which can be traced,



THE EXCHANGE BUILDINGS.

several of our engravings), so long a leading feature in all the seaward views of Leith, and the base of which, so lately as 1830, was washed by the waves at the back of the old pier. It was originally a windmill for making rape-oil, as described by Maitland, and it is distinctly delineated in a view (*see p. 173*) of Leith Harbour about 1700, now in the Trinity House, to which it was brought by one of the incorporators, who discovered it at Rotterdam in 1716. Part of the King's Wark is also shown in it.

What is called the Shore, or quay, extends from the tower southward to the foot of the Tolbooth Wynd, and is edified by many quaint old buildings, with gables, dormers, and crowsteeps. Robert-

through many obliterations of time and paint, a Latin motto from Psalm cxxvi., most ingeniously adapted, by the alteration of a word, to the calling of the house—"Ne dormitet custos tuus. Ecce non dormitat neque dormit custos domus" (Israelis in the original), which is thus translated—"He that keepeth thee will not slumber. Behold, he that keepeth *the house* (Israel) shall neither slumber nor sleep."

The taverns of Leith have always held a high repute for their good cheer, and were always the resort of Edinburgh lawyers on Saturdays. The host of the "Old Ship" is very prominently mentioned by Robert Fergusson in his poem, entitled "Good Eating."

The Old and New Ship are good examples of what these old taverns were, as they still exhibit without change, their great staircases and walls of enormous thickness, large but cosy rooms, panelled with moulded wainscot, and quaint stone fire-places, that, could they speak, might tell many a tale of perils in the Baltic and on the shores of Holland, France, and Denmark, and of the days when Leith ships often sailed to Tangiers, and of many a deep carouse, when nearly all foreign wines came almost without duty to the port of Leith.

In 1700 the price of 400 oysters at Leith was only 6s. 8d. Scots, as appears from the Abbey House-book of the Duke of Queensberry, when High Commissioner at Holyrood, quoted in the "Scottish Register," Vol. I.; and chocolate seems to have been then known in Scotland, but, as it is only mentioned once or twice, it must have been extremely rare; while tea or coffee are not mentioned at all, and what was used by the opulent Scots of that period would appear from the morning meal provided on different days, thus:—

"One syde of lamb, and two salmon grilises;
One quarter of mutton, and two salmon grilises;
One syde of lamb, four pigeons;
One quarter mutton, five chickens;
One quarter mutton, two rabbits."

The modern markets of Leith occupied the sites of the old custom-house and excise office near the new gaol in the Tolbooth Wynd, were commodious and creditable in appearance, covered a space 140 feet by 120, and had their areas surrounded with neatly constructed stalls. They were long, but vainly, demanded by the inhabitants from the jealous Corporation of Edinburgh, who had full power to promote or forbid their erection.

In 1818 they were eventually reared by the impelling influence of a voluntary subscription, and by means of a compromise which subjected them to few duties to Edinburgh of £219 yearly; but they do not now exist, having been partly built over by other erections.

The Coal Hill adjoins the Shore on the south, and here it is that, in a squalid and degraded quarter, but immediately facing the river, we find one of the most remarkable features in Leith—a building to which allusion has not unfrequently been made in our historical survey of Leith—the old Council Chamber wherein the Earls of Lennox, Mar, and Morton, plotted, in succession, their treasons against the Crown.

Five storeys in height, and all built of polished ashlar, with two handsome string mouldings, it presents on its western front two gables, and a double

window projected on three large corbels; on the north it has dormer windows, only one of which retains its half-circular gablet; and a massive outside chimney-stack.

This is believed to have been the building which Maitland describes as having been erected by Mary of Lorraine as the meeting-place of her privy council. It is a spacious and stately fabric, presenting still numerous evidences of ancient magnificence in its internal decorations; and only a few years ago some very fine samples of old oak carving were removed from it, and even a beautifully decorated chair remained, till recently, an heir-loom, bequeathed by its patrician occupants to the humble tenants of the degraded mansion.

Campbell, in his "History of Leith," says that it "still (in 1827) exhibits many traces of splendours nothing short of regal. Amongst these are some old oaken chairs, on which are carved, though clumsily, crowns, sceptres, and other royal insignia. The whole building, in short, both from its superior external appearance and the elegance of its interior decorations, is altogether remarkable. Every apartment is carefully, and, according to the taste of the times, elaborately adorned with ornamental workmanship of various kinds on the ceiling, walls, cornices, and above the fire-places. In one chamber, the ceiling, which is of a pentagonal form, and composed of wood, is covered with the representation of birds, beasts, fishes, &c. These, however, are now so much obscured by smoke and dirt as to be traced with difficulty. . . . Not the least remarkable part of this structure is the unusually broad and commodious flight of stairs by which its different flats are entered from the street, and which, differing in this respect so much from most other houses, sufficiently establishes the fact of its having been once a mansion of no ordinary character."

Of all the decoration which Campbell refers to but slender traces now remain. A writer on Leith and its antiquities has striven to make this place a residence of Mary, the Queen Regent; but Wilson expresses himself as baffled in all his attempts to obtain any proof that it ever was so.

"Mary," says Maitland, "having begun to build in the town of Leith, was followed therein by divers of the nobility, bishops, and other persons of distinction of her party, several of whose houses are still remaining, as may be seen in sundry places by their spacious rooms, lofty ceilings, large staircases, and private oratories, or chapels for the celebration of mass."

But the occupation of Leith by these dignitaries was of a very temporary and strictly military nature.

In 1571, when head-quarters were established in

Leith by the rebels of Mary Queen of Scots, the Earl of Lennox opened his council in the chambers of the old tenement referred to, on the Coal Hill, and it is, says Robertson, decorated with a rose—the emblem of his connection with Henry VIII. of England—and the thistle for Scotland. Then followed that war to which Morton's ferocity imparted a character so savage that ere long quarter was neither given nor taken. And amidst it, in connection with some private feud, some of the followers of Sir William Kirkaldy, although they had been ordered merely to use their batons, slew Henry Setoun on the Shore of Leith, while his feet were tripped up by an anchor. In escaping to Edinburgh, one of them was taken and lodged in the Tolbooth there; but Kirkaldy came down from the Castle with a party of his garrison, beat in the doors, and rescued him, after which he seized “the victuals brought into Leith from the merchants, and (did) provide all necessarie furniture to endure a long siege, till supplie was sent from forrane nations.” (Calderwood.)

On the death of Lennox, John, Earl of Mar, was made Regent, and fixed his head-quarters in the same old tenement at the Coal Hill, Morton being again chief lieutenant.

From the presence of these peers here, it is probable that the adjacent gloomy, and now filthy, court, so grotesquely called Parliament Square, obtained its name, which seems to have been formerly the Peat Neuk. The old Council House has been doomed to perish by the new improvement scheme.

In December, 1797, it was ordered by the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council of Edinburgh, through the deputy shore-master at Leith, that every vessel coming into the port with coals for public sale, was to have a berth immediately on her arrival off the Coal Hill, and that all other vessels were to unmoor for that purpose, while no shore duties were to be charged for coal vessels. (*Herald and Chronicle*, No. 1,215.)

The adjacent Peat Neuk, for years during the last century and the beginning of the present, afforded a shelter to those reckless and abandoned characters who abound in every seaport; while in that portion of the town between the Coal Hill and the foot of the Tolbooth Wynd were a number of ancient and ruinous houses, the abode of wandering outcasts, from whom no rent was ever derived or expected. It was further alleged, in the early part of the nineteenth century, to be the favourite haunt of disembodied spirits, whose crimes or sufferings in life compelled them to wander; so, every way, the Coal Hill seems to have been an unpleasant, as it is still an unsavoury, locality.

From thence, another quarter known as the Sheriff, or Shirra Brae, extends in a south-westerly direction, still abounding in ancient houses. Here, facing the Coal Hill, there stood, till 1840, a very fine old edifice, described as having been the residence of a Logan of Restalrig. The dormer windows, which rose high above the eaves, were elaborately sculptured with many dates and quaint devices. Some of these have been preserved in the north wall of the manse of St. Thomas's Church. One of them displays a shield charged with a heart, surmounted by a fleur-de-lis, with the initials I.L. and the date 1636; another has the initials I.L., M.C., with the date 24 Dec., 1636; a third has the initials M.C., with a shield; while a fourth gablet has the initials D.D., M.C., and the comparatively recent date 1730.

The supposed grandson of the luckless Logan of the Gowrie conspiracy married Isabel Fowler, daughter of Ludovic Fowler of Burncastle (says Robertson), the famous “Tibbie Fowler” of Scottish song, and here she is said to have resided; but her husband has been otherwise said to have been a collateral of the ancient house of Restalrig, as it is recorded, under date 12th June, 1572—“Majestro Joanne Logan de Shireff Braye,” who postpones the case of Christian Gudsonne, wife of Andrew Burne in Leith, “dilatit of the mutilation of William Burne, burgess of Edinburgh, of his foremost finger be byting thereof.”

In the chartulary, says Robertson, we have also John Logane of the Coatfield (Kirkgate), and George Logane of Bonnington Mills is repeatedly alluded to; “and we believe,” he adds, that these branches “existed as early as the charter of King David.” The old house at Bonnington still shows a curious doorway, surmounted by a carefully sculptured tablet bearing a shield, with a chevron and three fleurs-de-lis; crest, a ship with sails furled. The motto and date are obliterated.

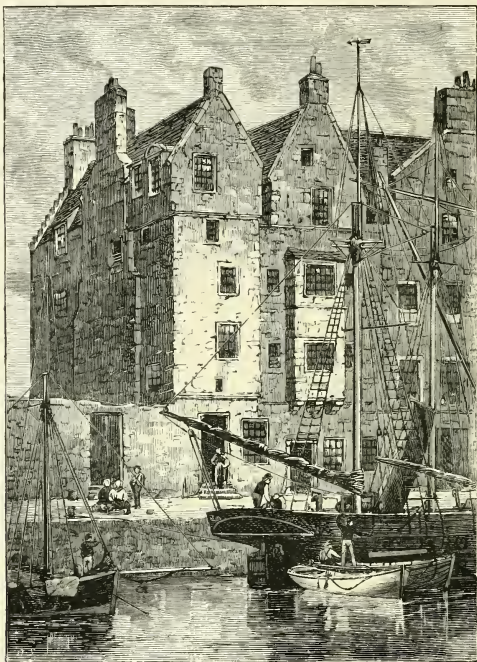
Another writer supposes that if the old house on the Sheriff Brae was really the residence of George Logan, it may have been acquired by marriage, “seeing that the forfeiture of the family possessions occurred so shortly before; and this in itself affords some colour to the tradition that he was the successful wooer of Tibbie Fowler.”

In support of this, the historian of Leith says:—“We think it not improbable that it was Tibbie's tocher that enabled Logan, who was ruined by the attainder of 1609, to build the elegant mansion on the Sheriff Brae. The marriage contract between Logan and Isabella Fowler (supposed to be the Tibbie of the song) is now in possession of a gentleman in Leith.”

This marriage is also referred to by Nisbet in his "Heraldry," Vol. I., so George Logan would seem to have been fortunate in out-rivalling the "ane-and-forty wooing at her."

The house was demolished, as stated, in 1840.

ten patients and inmates, and has a revenue of £300 per annum. "BLISSIT. BE. GOD. OF. HIS. GIFTES. 1601. I.K.S.H," appears in a large square panel on an old house near the head of the Sheriff Brae; and nearly the same favourite motto, with



THE ANCIENT COUNCIL CHAMBER, COAL HILL.

to make way for St. Thomas's Church with its almshouses erected by Sir John Gladstone, Bart., of Fasque. It is clustered with a manse, school-house, and the asylum, forming the whole into a handsome range of Gothic edifices, constructed at a cost of £10,000, from a design by John Henderson, of Edinburgh.

The asylum is a refuge and hospital for females afflicted with incurable diseases, and accommodates

the date 1629, and the initials I.H., K.G., appears on the door lintel of another house, having a square staircase in a kind of projecting tower, and a great chimney corbelled on its street front; but as to the inmates of either no record remains.

The Leith Hospital, Humane Society, and Casualty Hospital are all located together now in Mill Lane, at the head of the Sheriff Brae—spacious edifices, having a frontage to the former of 150 feet;

and here, too, stands South Leith Poor-house, with the parochial offices facing Junction Road.

When the foundations of the hospital here were dug in 1850, indications were discovered of how the sea margin had changed. Specimens of the

of the ocean, at some time posterior to Noah, ebbed and flowed over the ground on which these buildings are at present erected." As the place was in the line of the fortifications, relics of the Scoto-French war were found also, such



ANCIENT PARLIAMENT HOUSE, PARLIAMENT SQUARE.

purpura, buccinum, ostrea, mytilus, and balanus, were found (Robertson). These were seen in extensive layers under marine sand, twelve and fifteen feet below the surface, and twenty-five above high water. "Being marine shells of existing species, the great mass not edible, and so densely compacted in layers from the hospital to the Junction Road—nearly an acre of land—it may rationally be concluded that the green waters

as a forty-eight pound ball of a cannon-royale, some antique harness, a large forelock, and the wheelcap or stock-point of a piece of artillery.

To the Humane Society we have referred, in its cradle at the Burgess Wynd. It would appear that soon after its formation a complete set of apparatus for recovering the drowned was presented to it, and to the town of Leith, by the Humane Society of

London, at the request of Lord Balgonie, afterwards Earl of Leven. (*Edinburgh Mag.*, 1788.)

People of Leith are not likely to forget that the vicinity of the Sheriff Brae is a district inseparably connected with the name of Gladstone, and readers of Hugh Miller's interesting "Schools and Schoolmasters" will scarcely require to be reminded of the experiences of the stone-mason of Cromarty, in his visit to this quarter of Leith.

In Peter Williamson's Directory for Edinburgh and Leith, 1786-8, we find—"James Gladstones, schoolmaster, No. — Leith," and "Thomas Gladstones, flour and barley merchant, Coal Hill." His shop, long since removed, stood where a wood-yard is now. James was uncle, and Thomas the father, of Sir John Gladstone of Fasque, who built the church and almshouses so near where his thrifty forefathers earned their bread.

The Gladstones, says a local writer, were of Clydesdale origin, and were land-owners there and on the Border. "Claiming descent from this ancient and not undistinguished stock, Mr. John Gladstones of Toftcombes, near Biggar, in the Upper Ward of Clydesdale, had, by his wife, Janet Aitken, a son, Thomas, a prosperous trader in Leith, who married Helen, daughter of Mr. Walter Neilson of Springfield, and died in the year 1809; of this marriage, the deceased baronet (Sir John) was the eldest son."

He was born in Leith on the 11th December, in the year 1764, and commenced business there at an early age, but soon removed to the more ample field of Liverpool, where, for more than half a century, he took rank with the most successful traders of that opulent seaport, where he amassed great wealth by his industry, enterprise, and skill, and he proved in after life munificent in its disposal.

The names of Thomas and Hugh Gladstones, merchants in North Leith, appear in the Directory for 1811, and the marriage of Marion (a daughter of the former) to the Rev. John Watson, Minister of the Relief Congregation at Dunse, in 1799, is recorded in the *Herald* of that year.

While carrying on business in Liverpool, John Gladstones was a liberal donor to the Church of England, and after he retired in 1843, and returned to Scotland, he became a not less liberal benefactor to the Episcopal Church there. His gifts to Trinity College, Glenalmond, were very noble, and he contributed largely to the endowment of the Bishopric of Brechin, and he also built and endowed a church at Fasque, in the Howe of the Mearns, near the beautiful seat he had acquired there. In February, 1835, he had obtained the

royal license to drop the final "s" with which his father and grandfather had written the name, and to restore it to what he deemed the more ancient form of Gladstone, though it is distinctly spelt "Gladstones" in the royal charters of King David II. (Robertson's "Index.")

The eminent position occupied by this distinguished native of Leith, as well as his talents and experience, gave his opinions much weight in commercial matters. According to one authority, "he was frequently consulted on such subjects by ministers of the day, and took many opportunities of making his sentiments known by pamphlets and letters to the newspapers. He was to the last a strenuous supporter of that Protective policy which reigned supreme and almost unquestioned during his youth, and his pen was wielded against the repeal of the Corn and Navigation Laws. He was a fluent, but neither a graceful nor a forcible writer, placing less trust apparently in his style than in the substantial merits of his ample information and ingenious argument." Desire was more than once expressed to see him in Parliament, and he contested the representation of various places on those Conservative principles to which he adhered through life. Whether taking a prominent part in the strife of politics had excited in him an ambition for Parliamentary life, or whether it was due, says Mr. George Barnett Smith, in his well-known "Life" of Sir John Gladstone's illustrious son, the great Liberal Prime Minister, "to the influence of Mr. Canning—who early perceived the many sterling qualities of his influential supporter—matters little; but he at length came forward for Lancaster, for which place he was returned to the Parliament elected in 1819. We next find him member for Woodstock, 1821-6; and in the year 1827 he represented Berwick. Altogether he was a member of the House of Commons for nine years." In 1846 he was created a baronet, an honour which must have been all the more gratifying that it sprang from the spontaneous suggestion of the late Sir Robert Peel, and was one of the very few baronetcies conferred by a minister who was "more than commonly frugal in the grant of titles."

Sir John was twice married, and had several children by his second wife, Anne Robertson, daughter of Andrew Robertson, Provost of Dingwall. His youngest son, the Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone, M.P., born in 1809, has a name that belongs to the common history of Europe.

The venerable baronet, who first saw the light in the rather gloomy Coal Hill of Leith, died at his seat of Fasque on the 7th of December, 1851,

in the eighty-seventh year of his age, and was able to transact business until a very short time before his death. He was succeeded in the baronetcy by his eldest son, Sir Thomas Gladstone, of Fasque and Balfour, M.P. for Queenborough and other places successively in England.

Gladstone Place, near the Links, has been so named in honour of this family.

From the top of the Sheriff Brae and Mill Lane,

Great Junction Street, a broad and spacious thoroughfare, extends eastward for the distance of two thousand feet to the foot of Leith Walk.

Here, on the south side, are the United Presbyterian church, the neat Methodist chapel, and a large and handsome edifice erected in 1839 as a school, and liberally endowed by Dr. Bell, founder of the Madras system of education, at a cost of £10,000.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

NORTH LEITH.

The Chapel and Church of St. Ninian—Parish Created—Its Records—Rev. George Wishart—Rev. John Knox—Rev. Dr. Johnston—The Burial-ground—New North Leith Church—Free Church—Old Grammar School—Cobourg Street—St. Nicholas Church—The Citadel—Its Remains—Houses within it—Beach and Sands of North Leith—New Custom House—Shipping Inwards and Outwards.

On crossing the river we find ourselves in North Leith, which is thus described by Kincaid in 1787:—

“With regard to North Leith, very little alteration has taken place here for a century past. It consists of one street running north-east from the bridge, six hundred feet long, and about forty in breadth where broadest. On each side are many narrow lanes and closes, those on the south side leading down to the carpenters’ yards by the side of the river, and those on the north to the gardens belonging to the inhabitants. From the bridge a road leads to the citadel, in length 520 feet; then 100 feet west, and we enter the remains of the old fortification, on the top of which a dwelling-house is now erected. The buildings in this place are in general very mean in their appearance, and inhabited by people who let rooms during the summer season to persons who bathe in the salt water.”

One of the leading features of North Leith, when viewed from any point of view, is the quaint spire of its old church, on the west bank of the river, near the end of the upper drawbridge, abandoned now to secular purposes, separated from its ancient burying-ground (which still remains, with its many tombstones, half sunk amid the long rank grass of ages), and lifting its withered and storm-worn outline, as if in deprecation of the squalor by which it is surrounded, and the neglect and contumely heaped on its venerable history.

North Leith, which contains the first, or original docks, and anciently comprehended the citadel and the chief seat of traffic, was long a congeries of low, quaint-looking old houses, huddled into groups or irregular lines, and straddling their

way amid nuisances in back and front, very much in the style of a Spanish or Portuguese town of the present day; but since 1818 it has undergone great and renovating changes, and, besides being disencumbered of the citadel and masses of crumbling houses, it has some streets that may vie with the second or third thoroughfares of Edinburgh.

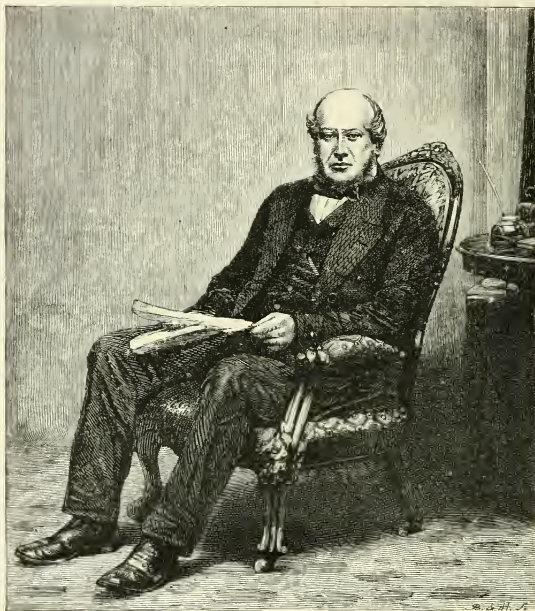
As stated in our general history of Leith, Robert Ballantyne, Abbot of Holyrood, towards the close of the fifteenth century, built a handsome bridge of three stone arches over the Water of Leith, to connect the southern with the northern quarter of the rising seaport, and soon after its completion he erected and endowed near its northern end a chapel, dedicated to the honour of God, the Virgin Mary, and St. Ninian, the apostle of Galloway. Having considerable possessions in Leith, the abbot appointed two chaplains to officiate in this chapel, who were to receive all the profits accruing from a house which he had built at the southern end of this bridge, with £4 yearly out of other tenements he possessed in South Leith.

In addition to the offerings made in the chapel, the tolls or duties accruing from this new bridge were to be employed in its repair and that of the chapel, but all surplus the charitable abbot ordained was to be given to the poor; and this charter of foundation was confirmed by James IV., of gallant memory, on the 1st of January, 1493. (Maitland.)

This chapel was built with the full consent of the Chapter of Holyrood, and with the approbation of William, Archbishop of St. Andrews; and—as a dependency of the church of the Holy Cross—the land whereon it stood is termed the *Rudeside* in a charter of Queen Mary, dated 1569.

"St. Ninian's chapel still occupies its ancient site on the bank of the Water of Leith, but very little of the original structure of the good abbot remains: probably no more than a small portion of the basement wall on the north side, where a small doorway appears with an elliptical arch, now built up and partly sunk in the ground. The

present edifice on the old one, erected a parsonage, and in 1606 obtained an Act of Parliament erecting the district into a parish, named North Leith, which, even after the Reformation was achieved, had no pastor in place of the old chaplain till 1599, when a Mr. James Muirhead was appointed to the ministry.



SIR JOHN GLADSTONE. (After a Photograph by T. Edge, Llandudno.)

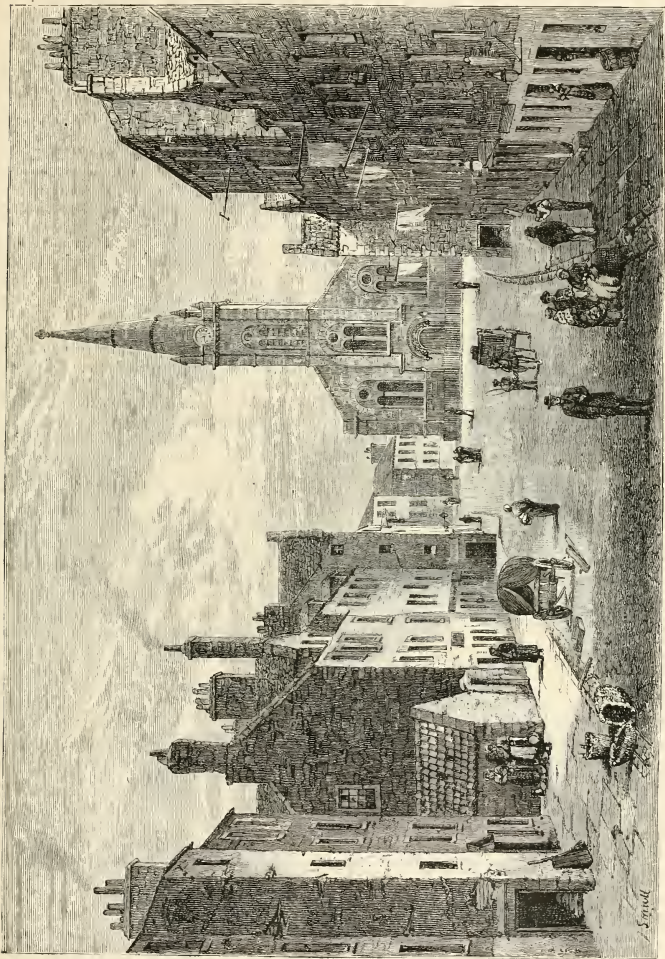
remainder of the structure cannot be earlier than the close of the sixteenth century, and the date on the steeple, which closely resembles that of the old Tron church, destroyed in the great fire of 1824, is 1675."

After the Reformation, when the chaplain's house, the tithes, and other pertinents of the chapel, were acquired by purchase from John Bothwell, the Protestant commendator of Holyrood, the new proprietors immediately rebuilt, or engrafted, the

There is a more modern addition to the new church, erected apparently in the reign of Queen Anne, and into it has been built a sculptured lintel, bearing in large Roman letters the legend:—

"BLESSED. AR. THEY. YAT. HEIR. YE. VORD. OF. GOD, AND. KEEP. IT."—LUKE. XI., 1600.

When erected into a parish church, it was endowed with sundry grants, including the neighbouring chapel and hospital of St. Nicholas.



SHERIFF BRAE, LOOKING TOWARDS ST. THOMAS'S CHURCH.

The first volume of the "Parochial Records" begins in January, 1605, a year before the Act, and contains the usual memoranda of petty tyranny peculiar to the times, such as the following, modernised:—

"Compeared Margaret Sinclair, being cited by the Session of the Kirk, and being accused of being at the Burne (for water?) the last Sabbath before sermon, confessed her offence, promised amendment in all time coming, and was convict of five pounds."

"10th January, 1605:—The which day the Session of the Kirk ordained Janet Merling, and Margaret Cook, her mother, to make their public repentance next Sabbath forenoon publicly, for concealing a bairn unbaptised in her house for the space of twenty weeks, and calling the said bairn Janet."

"January 10th, 1605:—Compeared Marion Anderson, accused of craving curses and malisons on the pastor and his family, without any offence being done by him to her; and the Session, understanding that she had been banished before for being in a lodge on the Links in time of the Plague, with one Thomas Cooper, sclaiter, after ane maist slanderous manner, the said Marion was ordained to go to the place of her offence, confess her sin, and crave mercy of God," and never to be found within the bounds of North Leith, "under the pain of putting her *toties quoties* in the jogs," i.e., jousts.

In 1609 Patrick Richardson had to crave mercy of God for being found in his boat in time of afternoon sermon; and many other instances of the same kind are quoted by Robertson in his "Antiquities." In the same year, Janet Walker, accused of having strangers (visitors) in her house on Sabbath in time of sermon, had to confess her offence, and on her knees crave mercy of God and the Kirk Session, under penalty of a hundred pounds Scots!

George Wishart, so well known as author of the elegant "Latin Memoirs of Montrose," a copy of which was suspended at the neck of that great cavalier and soldier at his execution in 1650, was appointed minister of North Leith in 1638, when the signing of the Covenant, as a protection against England and the king, became almost necessarily the established test of faith and allegiance to Scotland. Deposed for refusing to subscribe it, Wishart was thrown into a dungeon of the old Heart of Midlothian, in consequence of the discovery of his secret correspondence with the king's party. He survived the storm of the Civil Wars, and was made Bishop of Edinburgh on the re-establishment of episcopacy.

He died in 1671, in his seventy-first year, and was buried in Holyrood, where his tomb is still to

be seen, with an inscription so long that it amounts to a species of biography.

John Knox, minister of North Leith, was, in 1684, committed to the Bass Rock. While a probationer, he was in the Scottish army, and chaplain to the garrison in Tantallon when it was besieged by Cromwell's troops. He conveyed the Earl of Angus and some ladies privately in a boat to North Berwick, and returned secretly to the Castle, and was taken prisoner when it capitulated. He was a confidant of the exiled monarch, and supplied him with money. A curious mendicant letter to him from His Majesty is given in the "Scots Worthies."

The last minister who officiated in the Church of St. Ninian—now degraded to a granary or store—was the venerable Dr. Johnston, the joint founder of the Edinburgh Blind Asylum, who held the incumbency for more than half a century. The old edifice had become unsuited to modern requirements; thus the foundation of a new parish church for North Leith had been completed elsewhere in 1816, and on the 25th of August in that year he took a very affecting leave of the old parish church in which he had officiated so long.

"He expressed sentiments of warm attachment to a flock among which Providence had so long permitted him to minister," says the *Scots Magazine* (Vol. LXXXVII.); "and in alluding, with much feeling, to his own advanced age, mentioned his entire sensibility of the approach of that period when the speaker and the hearer should no longer dwell together, and hoped they should ultimately rejoice in 'a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.'"

Before ten a.m. on the 1st September a great crowd collected before the door of the new church, which was speedily filled. All corporate bodies having an interest in it, including the magistrates of the Canongate, were present, and Dr. Johnston, after reading the 6th chapter of 2 Chronicles, delivered a sermon and solemn address, which affected all who heard it.

The Rev. David Johnston, D.D., died on the 5th of July, 1824, aged ninety-one years.

Four years after, the *Courant* had the following announcement:—"The public are aware of the many claims which the late Dr. Johnston of North Leith had on the grateful remembrance of the community. Few men have exerted themselves so assiduously in forwarding the great objects of religion and philanthropy, and it gives us much pleasure to learn that a well-merited tribute to his memory has just been completed in the erection of a beautiful bust in the church of North Leith. The follow-

ing is the inscription on the pedestal—'This memorial of David Johnston, D.D., who was for fifty-nine years minister of North Leith, is erected by a few private friends in affectionate and grateful remembrance of his fervent piety, unwearied usefulness, and truly Christian charity.'

Two years after he left it, in 1826, the venerable church of North Leith was finally abandoned to secular uses, and "thus," says the historian of Leith, "the edifice which had, for upwards of three hundred and thirty years, been devoted to the sacred purposes of religion, is now the unhallowed repository of peas and barley!"

Its ancient churchyard adjoins it. Therein lie the remains of Robert Nicoll, perhaps one of the most precocious poets that Scotland has produced, and for some time editor of the *Leeds Times*. He died in Edinburgh, and was laid here in December, 1837.

Several tombstones to ancient mariners stud the uneven turf. One bearing the nautical instruments of an early period—the anchor, compasses, log, Davis's quadrant and cross-staff, with a grotesque face and a motto now illegible—is supposed to have been brought, with many others, from the cemetery of St. Nicholas, when the citadel was built there by order of Monk in 1656.

Another rather ornate tomb marks the grave of some old ship-builder, with a pooped three-decker having two Scottish ensigns displayed. Above it is the legend—*Trahunter. siccas. machina. carinae*, and below an inscription of which nothing remains but "1749 . . . aged 59 y . . ."

Another stone bears—"Here lyeth John Hunton, who died Decon of the Weivars in North Leith, the 25. Ap. 1669."

This burying-ground was granted by the city of Edinburgh, in 1664, as a compensation for that appropriated by General Monk.

The new church of North Leith stands westward of the old in Madeira Street. Its foundation was laid in March, 1814. It is a rather handsome building, in a kind of Grecian style of architecture, and was designed by William Burn, a well-known Edinburgh architect, in the earlier years of the present century. The front is 78½ feet in breadth, and from the columns to the back wall, it measures 116 feet. It has a spire, deemed fine (though deficient in taste), 158 feet in height.

The proportions of the four-column portico are said by Stark to have been taken from the Ionic Temple on the Ilyssus, near Athens. It cost about £12,000, and has accommodation for above one thousand seven hundred sitters. The living is said to be one of the best in the Church of Scotland.

North Leith Free Church stands near it, on the Queensferry Road, and was built in 1858-9, from designs by Campbell Douglas; it is in the German Pointed style, with a handsome steeple 160 feet in height.

In 1754, Andrew Moir, a student of divinity, was usher of the old Grammar School in North Leith, and in that year he published a pamphlet, entitled "A Letter to the Author of the Ecclesiastic Characteristics," charging the divinity students of the university with impious principles and immoral practices. This created a great storm at the time, and the students applied to the Principal Gowdie, who summoned the Senatus, before whom Andrew Moir was brought on the 25th of April in the same year.

He boldly acknowledged himself author of the obnoxious pamphlet. At a second meeting, on the 30th April, he acknowledged "that he knew no students of divinity in the university who held the principles, or were guilty of the practices ascribed to some persons in the said printed letter."

This retraction he subscribed by his own hand, in presence of the Principal and Senatus.

The latter taking the whole affair into their consideration, "unanimously found and declared the said letter to be a scurrilous, false, and malicious libel, tending, without any ground, to defame the students of the university; and, therefore, *expelled and extruded* the said Andrew Moir (usher of the Grammar School of North Leith), author of the said pamphlet, from this university, and declared that he is no more to be considered a student of the same."

In Cobourg Street, adjoining the old church of St. Ninian, is North Leith United Presbyterian Church, while the Free Church of St. Ninian stood in Dock Street, on a portion of the ground occupied by the old citadel.

In the former street is a relic of old Leith—a large square stone, representing the carpenters' arms, within a moulded panel. It bears a three-decked ship with two flags, at stem and stern. Above it is the motto—

"God Bless the carpenters
of No. Leith, who built this
House, 1715."

Underneath the ship is the line *Trahunter siccas machina carinae*, said to be misquoted from Horace, *Carm : lib. i. 4*, where the verse runs :—

"Solvitur acris hiems grata vice veris et Favoni :
Trahuntque siccas machinae carinas ;
Ac neque jan stabulis gaudet pecus, aut aritor igni ;
Nec prata canis albicant pruinis."

This stone stood originally in the wall of a man-

sion opposite to the church of St. Ninian, but is now rebuilt into a modern edifice in Cobourg Street.

In Robertson's map, depicting Leith with its fortifications, 1560 (partly based upon Greenville Collins's, which we have reproduced on p. 176), the church of Nicholas is shown between the sixth and seventh bastions, as a cruciform edifice, with choir, nave, and transepts, measuring about 150 feet in length, by 80 feet across the latter, and distant only 100 feet from the Short Sand, or old sea margin.

the patron of seamen," says Robertson, "we may infer that Leith at a very early period was a seaport town."

St. Nicholas, the confessor, was a native of Lycia, who died in the year 342, according to the Bollandists. He was assumed as the patron of Venice and many other seaports, and is usually represented with an anchor at his side and a ship in the background, and, in some instances, as the patron of commerce. In Mrs. Jameson's "Sacred and



ST. NINIAN'S CHURCHYARD.

The church, or chapel, with the hospital of St. Nicholas, is supposed to have been founded at some date later than the chapel of Abbot Ballantyne, as the reasons assigned by him for building it seemed to imply that the inhabitants were without any accessible place of worship; but when or by whom it was founded, the destruction of nearly all ecclesiastical records, at the Reformation, renders it even vain to surmise.

Nothing now can be known of their origin, and the last vestiges of them were swept away when Monk built his citadel.

They were, of course, ruined by Hertford in his first invasion, "and from the circumstance of the church in the citadel being dedicated to St. Nicholas,

Legendary Art," she mentions two: "a seaport with ships in the distance; St. Nicholas in his episcopal robes (as Archbishop of Myra), stands by as directing the whole;" and a storm at sea, in which "St. Nicholas appears as a vision above; in one hand he holds a lighted taper; with the other he appears to direct the course of the vessel."

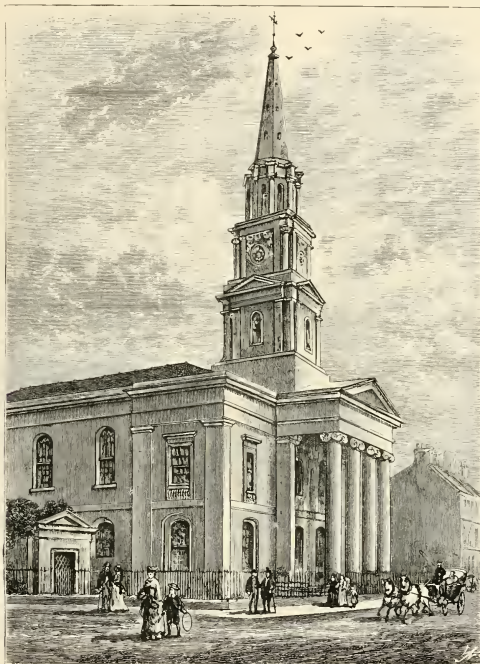
To this apostle of ancient mariners had the old edifice in North Leith been dedicated, when the site whereon it stood was an open and sandy eminence, overlooking a waste of links to the northward, and afterwards encroached on by the sea; and its memory is still commemorated in a narrow and obscure alley, called St. Nicholas Wynd, according to Fullarton's "Gazetteer," in 1851.

General Monk no doubt used all the stones of the two edifices in the erection of his citadel, which is thus described by John Ray, in his *Itinerary*, when he visited Scotland in the year 1661 :—

“At Leith we saw one of those citadels built by

and stores. There is also a good capacious chapel, the piazza, or void space within, as large as Trinity College (Cambridge) great court.”

This important stronghold, which must have measured at least 400 feet one way, by 250 the



NORTH LEITH CHURCH.

the Protector, one of the best fortifications we ever beheld, passing fair and sumptuous. There are three forts (bastions?) advanced above the rest, and two platforms; the works round about are faced with freestone towards the ditch, and are almost as high as the highest buildings therein, and withal, thick and substantial. Below are very pleasant, convenient, and well-built houses, for the governor, officers, and soldiers, and for magazines

other (and been in some manner adapted to the acute angle of the old fortifications there), costing, says Wilson, “upwards of £100,000 sterling, fell a sacrifice, soon after the Restoration, to the cupidity of the monarch and the narrow-minded jealousy of the Town Council of Edinburgh.”

All that remains of the citadel now are some old buildings, called, perhaps traditionally, “Cromwell’s Barracks”—near which was found an old

helmet, now preserved in the Antiquarian Museum—and the entrance gate or archway on the north side of Couper Street. It is elliptical, goes the whole depth of the original rampart, and has had a portcullis, but is only nine feet high from the keystone to the ground, which must have risen here; and in the *Advertiser* for 1789 (No. 2,668), it is recorded that, "On Monday last, as a gentleman's coach was driving through an arch of the citadel at Leith, the coachman, not perceiving the lowness of the arch, was unfortunately killed."

"Many still living," says Wilson, writing in 1847, "can remember when this arch (with the house now built above it) stood on the open beach, though now a wide space intervenes between it and the docks; and the Mariners' Church, as well as a long range of substantial houses in Commercial Street, have been erected on the recovered land."

After the Restoration a partial demolition of the citadel and sale of its materials began; thus, it is stated in the Records of Heriot's Hospital, that the Town Council, on 7th April, 1673, "unanimously understood that the *Kirk* of the citadell (of Leith), and all that is therein, both timber, seats, steeple, stone and glass work, be made use of and used to the best avail for reparation of the hospital chapel, and ordains the treasurer of the hospital to see the samyn done with all conveniency."

Maitland describes the citadel as having been of pentagonal form, with five bastions, adding that it cost the city "no less a sum than £11,000," thus we must suppose that English money contributed largely to its erection. On its being granted to the Earl of Lauderdale by the king, the former sold it to the city for £5,000, and the houses within were sold or let to various persons, whose names occur in various records from time to time.

A glass-house, for the manufacture of bottles, is announced in the "Kingdom's Intelligence," under date 1663, as having been "erected in the citadel of Leith by English residents," for the manufacture of wine and beer glasses, and mutchkin and chopin bottles.

On this, a writer remarks that it will at once strike the reader there is a curious conjunction here of Scottish and English customs. Beer, under its name, was previously unknown in Scotland, and mutchkins and chopins never figured in any table of English measures.

Among those who dwelt in the citadel, and had houses there, we may note the gallant Duke of Gordon, who defended the Castle of Edinburgh in 1688-9 against William of Orange, "and died at his residence in the citadel of Leith in 1716."

A large and commodious dwelling-house there,

"lately belonging to and possest by the Lady Bruce, with an agreeable prospect," having thirteen fire rooms, stables, and chaise-house, is announced for sale in the *Courant* for October, 1761.

In the *Advertiser* for December, 1783, the house of Sir William Erskine there is announced as to let; the drawing-room thirty-one feet by nineteen; "a small field for a cow may be had if wanted; the walks round the house make almost a circuit round the citadel, and, being situated *close to the sea*, command a most pleasing view of the shipping in the Forth."

In the *Herald and Chronicle* for 1800 "the lower half of the large house" last possessed by Lady Eleonora Dundas is advertised to let; but even by the time Kincaid wrote his "History," such aristocratic residents had given place to the keepers of summer and bathing quarters, for which last the beach and its vicinity gave every facility.

Mr. Campbell's house (lately possessed by Major Laurenson), having eight rooms, with stabling, is announced as bathing quarters in the *Advertiser* of 1802.

North Leith Sands, adjacent to the citadel, existed till nearly the formation of the old docks.

In 1774, John Milne, shipmaster from Banff, was found on them drowned; and the *Scots Magazine* for the same year records that on "Sunday, December 4, a considerable damage was done to the shipping in Leith harbour by the tide, which rose higher than it has ever been known for many years. The stone pier was damaged, some houses in the citadel suffered, and a great part of the bank from that place to Newhaven was swept away. The magistrates and Town Council of Edinburgh, on the 21st, were pleased to order twenty guineas to be given to the Master of the Trinity House of Leith, to be distributed among the sufferers."

Wilson, quoting Campbell's "History of Leith," says: "Not only can citizens remember when the spray of the sea billows was dashed by the east wind against the last relic of the citadel, that now stands so remote from the rising tide, but it is only about sixty years since a ship was wrecked upon the adjoining beach, and went to pieces, while its bowsprit kept beating against the walls of the citadel at every surge of the rolling waves, that forced it higher on the strand."

This anecdote is perhaps corroborated by the following, which we find in the *Edinburgh Herald* for December, 1800:—"On Friday last, as the sloop *Endeavour*, of Thurso, Lyell master, from the Highlands, laden with kelp and other goods, was taking the harbour of Leith, she struck the

ground to the westward of the pier, when it was blowing fresh, with a heavy sea, and before any assistance could be given she was driven upon the *beach*, near the citadel, having beaten off her rudder and otherwise considerably damaged herself [*sic*]. They are employed in taking out the cargo, and if the weather continues moderate, it is expected she will be got off."

The waves of the sea are now distant nearly two thousand feet north from the spot where the wreck took place.

Three of the bastions, and two of the gates of the citadel, were standing when the old "Statistical Account" was published, in 1793.

Before quitting this quarter of North Leith we may quote the following rather melancholy account given of the latter in 1779, in a work entitled "The Modern British Traveller," folio, and now probably out of print.

"About a mile from the city is Leith, which may be called the warehouse of Edinburgh. It is divided into two parts by a small rivulet, over which is a neat bridge of three arches. That part called South Leith is both large and populous; it has an exceeding handsome church, a jail, a custom-house [the old one in the Tolbooth Wynd], but the streets are irregular, nor do any of the buildings merit particular attention. It was formerly fortified, but the works were destroyed by the English in 1559 [?], and not any remains are now to be seen. That part called North Leith is a very poor place, without any public building, except an old Gothic church; there is a small dock, but it is only capable of admitting ships of a hundred and fifty tons. The harbour is generally crowded with vessels from different parts; and from here to Kinghorn, in Fifeshire, the passage-boat crosses every tide, except on Sundays.

. . . Great numbers of the citizens of Edinburgh resort to Leith on parties of pleasure, and to regale themselves with the sea air and oysters, which are caught here in great abundance. . . .

The town is under the jurisdiction of a bailiff [?], but it may be called a part of, and is subject to the jurisdiction of, Edinburgh, in virtue of a charter granted by King Robert the Bruce."

The Mariners' Church, a rather handsome building, with two small spires facing the east, is built upon a portion of the site of the citadel, and schools are attached to it. The church was designed by John Henderson of Edinburgh, and was erected in 1840.

In this quarter Sand Port Street, which led to the then beach, with a few old houses near the citadel, and the old church of St. Ninian, comprised the whole of North Leith at the time of the Union. There the oldest graving-dock was constructed in 1720, and it yet remains, behind a house not far from the bridge, dated—according to Parker Lawson—1622.

The present custom-house of Leith was built in 1812, on the site where H.M. ship *Fury* was built in 1780; and an old native of Leith, who saw her launched, had the circumstance impressed upon his memory, as he related to Robertson (whose "Antiquities" were published in 1851), "by a carpenter having been killed by the falling of the shores."

The edifice cost £12,617, is handsome, and in the Grecian style, adorned in front with pillars and pediment. It stands at the North Leith end of the lower drawbridge.

The officials here consist of a collector, two chief clerks, three first and seven second-class clerks, with one extra; eight writers, two surveyors, eighteen examining officers, and a principal coast officer for Fisherrow. The long room is handsome, and very different from its predecessor in the Tolbooth Wynd, which was simply divided by long poles, through which entries were passed.

In May, 1882, the building at Dock Place (in this quarter) known as the Sailors' Home, was converted into the Mercantile Marine Department and Government Navigation School.

CHAPTER XXIX.

LEITH—THE LINKS.

The Links—Golfers there—Charles I.—Montrose—Sir James Foulis and others—The Cuckpit—A Duel in 1720—Two Soldiers Shot—Hamilton's Dragoons—A Volunteer Review in 1797—Residents of Rank—The Grammar School—Watt's Hospital—New Streets—Seafield Baths—First Bathing Machine in Scotland—A Duel in 1789.

EASTWARD of Leith lie those open downs called the Links, once of much greater extent than we find them, and doubtless at one time connected

with the wide, open, and sandy waste that extended beyond the Figgate Burn to Magdalene Bridge.

The etymology of the word Links has been a puzzle to Scottish antiquaries. By some it has been supposed, that from the position generally occupied by links, in the vicinity of the sea or great rivers, the word is a corruption of *Innis*, or *Inches*, signifying islands; and it is said that in some of the old records of Aberdeen the word is spelt *Linches* and *Linkkes*.

The whole of Leith Links must, at one time, have been covered by the sea, and above their level there stand distinctly up the great grassy mounds (one named by children the Giant's Brae) from which the guns of Somerset and Pelham bombarded the eastern wall of Leith during the siege in 1560.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Links of Leith were the chief resort of the aristocracy resident in Edinburgh as the best place for playing golf; nobles of the highest rank and the most eminent legal and political officials taking part with the humblest players—if skillful—in the game.

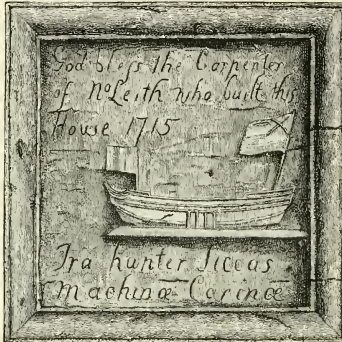
In 1619 a curious anecdote is recorded, connected with golfing on Leith Links, by Row, in his "History of the Kirk of Scotland."

William Cowper, Bishop of Galloway, "a very holy and good man, if he had not been corrupted with superior powers and worldly cares of a bishopric and other things" (according to Johnston), became involved in various polemical controversies, among others, with "the wives of Edinburgh;" and one went so far as to charge him with apostasy, and summoned him to prepare an answer shortly to the Judge of all the world, at a time when it would appear that the health of the bishop was indifferent. "Within a day or two after," says Row, "being at his pastime (golf) on the Links of Leith, he was terrified with a vision or an apprehension; for he said to his playfellows, after he had in an affrighted and commoved way cast away his play-instruments (*i.e.*, clubs): 'I vow to be about with these two men who have come upon me with drawn swords!' When his play fellows replied, 'My Lord, it is a dream: we saw

no such thing,' he was silent, went home trembling, took to bed instantly, and died."

The "Household Book" of the great Montrose shows that in 1627 he was in the habit of golfing here.

March 10. Item: for balls in the Tennis Court of Leith.....	16 sh.
Item: for two goffe balls, my Lord going to the goffe ther.....	10 sh.
" 11. Item: for my Lords horse standing in Leith that nicht in corne and straw.....	7 sh. 8d.
Item: to the servant woman in the house.....	12 sh.
Item: for carrying the graith to the (Burntisland) boat.....	3 sh.



SCULPTURED STONE, CORBOURG STREET.

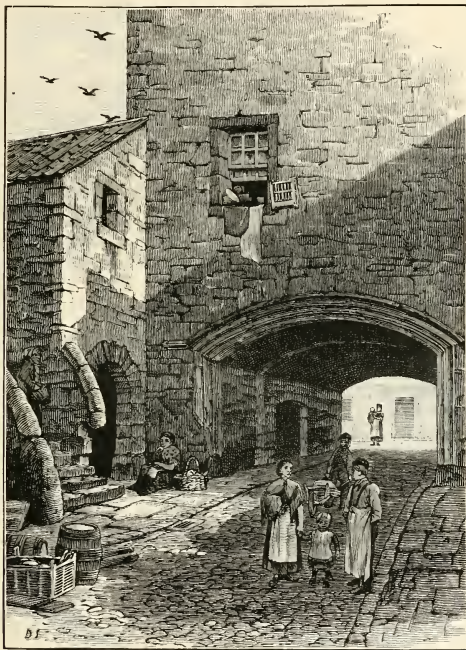
Charles I., who was passionately fond of golf, was engaged in the game on the Links of Leith when news of the Irish rebellion reached him in 1642, and the circumstance is thus detailed in Wodrow's amusing "Analecta," on the authority of William, Lord Ross of Hawkhead, who died at a great age in 1738, and to whom it had been related, when in England, by Sir Robert Pye:—

The latter was then an old man of eighty years, "and he told

him that when a young man, he came down (1642) with King Charles the First to Edinburgh. That the king and court received frequent expresses from the queen; that one day the king desired those about him to find somebody who could ride post, for he had a matter of great importance to despatch to the queen, and he would give a handsome reward to any young fellow whom he could trust. Sir Robert was standing by, and he undertook it. The king gave him a packet, and commanded him to deliver it out of his own hand to the queen. Sir Robert made his journey in less than three days, and when he got access to the queen, delivered the packet. She retired a little and opened it, and pretty soon came out, and calling for the person that brought the letters, seemed in a transport of joy; and when he told her what he was, and his diligence to bring them to her Majesty, she offered

even to embrace him for joy, and would never forget that service. By what he afterwards learned, he supposed the contents were about the affairs of Ireland, and was of opinion that the king sent by him the warrant under the Privy Seal, or Sign Manual, for the rising of the Irish rebels. That

say that, overcome with emotion, he threw down his club, and quitted the ground in haste. One states that he called for his horse and galloped straight to the Privy Council; another that "he called suddenly for his coach, and, leaning on one of his attendants, and in great agitation, drove to



THE CITADEL PORT.

he either was present (returning again to Edinburgh to the king), or heard from some who were present that the king received the full accounts of the massacre in Ireland, when playing with the Court on the Links of Leith at the golph, and seemed in no ways commoved with it, but went on very cheerfully with his game."

Apart from the mischievous surmise of Sir Robert Pye, other and more trustworthy accounts

the palace of Holyrood House, from whence next day he set out for London."

The latter statement is a mistake, as he remained in Scotland till the dissolution of Parliament.

James VII.'s game at golf with Paterson, the shoemaker, we have related in the account of the Golfers' Land in the Canongate; and ten years before that period, in the note-book of Sir James Foulis, Bart., of Ravelston, published in *Nugæ*

Scotica, or "Miscellaneous Papers relating to Scottish Affairs" (1535—1781), we find some entries that prove the game was still a fashionable one:—

		£	s.	d.
1672.				
Jan. 13.	Lost at golf with Pitaro and Comissar Munro	0	13	0
"	Lost at golf with Lyon and Harry Hay	1	4	0
Feb. 14.	Spent at Leith at golf	2	0	0
" 26.	Spent at Leith at golf	1	9	0
March 3.	For three golf balls	0	15	0

In the year 1724 the Hon. Alexander Elphinstone (of whom more anon), elder brother of the unfortunate Lord Balmerino, engaged on Leith Links in what the prints of that time term "a solemn match at golf" with another personage, who is better known in history—the famous Captain John Porteous of the City Guard—for a twenty guineas' stake.

On this occasion the reputation of the players for skill excited great interest, and the match was attended by James, Duke of Hamilton, George Earl of Morton, and a vast crowd of spectators. Elphinstone proved the winner.

President Forbes was so enthusiastic a golfer that he frequently played on the Links of Leith when they were covered with snow. Thus Thomas Mathieson, minister of Brechin, in his quaint poem, "The Goff," first published in 1743, says:—

"— great Forbes, patron of the just,
The dread of villains, and the good man's trust,
When spent in toils in saving human kind,
His body recreates and unbends his mind."

Elsewhere he refers thus to these Links:—

"North from Edina eight furlongs or more,
Lies the famed field on Fortha's sounding shore.
Here Caledonian chiefs for health resort—
Confirm their sinews in the manly sport."

When the silver club was given by the magistrates and Town Council of Edinburgh, in 1744, to be played for annually on the Links of Leith, in the April of the following year, just before the rising in the Highlands, the Lord President Forbes was one of the competitors, together with Hew Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, and other men then eminent in the city.

Smollett, in his "Humphrey Clinker," after detailing the mode in which the game is played, says:—"Of this diversion the Scots are so fond that, when the weather will permit, you may see a multitude of all ranks, from the senator of justice to the lowest tradesmen, mingled together in their shirts, and following the balls with the utmost eagerness. Among others, I was shown one particular set of golfers, the youngest of whom was

turned of four-score. They were all gentlemen of independent fortunes, who had amused themselves with this pastime for the best part of a century without ever having felt the least alarm from sickness or disgust, and they never went to bed without having each the best part of a gallon of claret in his belly! Such uninterrupted exercise, co-operating with the keen air from the sea, must, without doubt, keep the appetite always on edge, and steel the constitution against all the common attacks of distemper."

The Golf House was built towards the close of the last century, near the foot of the Easter Road, and prior to its erection the golfers frequented a tavern on the west side of the Kirkgate, near the foot of Leith Walk, where, says the Rev. Parker Lawson, they usually closed the day with copious libations of claret, in silver or pewter tankards.

The Links of Leith were often the scene of meetings of a very different nature than the merry pursuit of golf—duels and executions, etc.

On the 25th of July, 1559, when the Queen Regent took possession of Edinburgh, on being assured of the friendship of Lord Erskine, then governor of the castle, the Lords of the Congregation and their adherents drew up their terms of accommodation at their muster-place on the Links, where the mounds of the breaching batteries were thrown up in the following year; and during the Cromwellian usurpation, the people of Leith, excluded from their churches, had to meet there in the open air for Divine worship.

Among the multitude of unmined petitions sent to the representative of the Republican Government in Leith, was one in 1655, craving that the port, or gate, nearest the Links (supposed to have been somewhere near the present Links Lane) might be left open "on Sabbath from seven o'clock in the morning till two o'clock in the afternoon, for outgoing of the people to sermon."

The first years of the next century saw less reputable assemblages on the same ground.

The spirit of cock-fighting had been recently introduced into Scotland from the sister kingdom, and the year 1702 saw a cock-pit in full operation on Leith Links, when the charges of admission were 10d. for the front row, 7d. for the second, and 4d. for the third (Arnot); and the passion for cock-fighting became so general among all ranks of the people, and was carried to such a cruel extent, that the magistrates of Edinburgh forbade its practice on the streets, in consequence of the tumults it excited. This was on the 16th February, 1704, according to the Council Register.

Yet in the following year Mr. William Machrie,

a teacher of fencing and cock-fighting in Edinburgh, published an "Essay on the Innocent and Royal Recreation and Art of Cocking," from which it may be learned that he it was who introduced it into the metropolis of Scotland, and entered into it *con amore*.

"I am not ashamed to declare to the world," he wrote, "that I have a special veneration and esteem for those gentlemen, without and about this city, who have entered in society for propagating and establishing the royal recreation of cocking, in order to which they have already erected a cock-pit in the Links of Leith; and I earnestly wish that their generous and laudable example may be imitated in that degree that, in cock-war, village may be engaged against village, city against city, kingdom against kingdom—nay, father against son—until all the wars in Europe, where so much Christian blood is spilt, may be turned into the innocent pastime of cocking."

This barbarous amusement was long a fancy of the Scottish people, and the slain birds and *fugies* (or cravens) became a perquisite of the village schoolmaster.

On the 23rd of December, 1729, the Hon. Alexander Elphinstone (before mentioned), who was leading a life of idleness and pleasure in Leith, while his brother was in exile, met a Lieutenant Swift, of Lord Cadogan's regiment (latterly the 4th or King's Own), at the house of Mr. Michael Watson, in Leith.

Some hot words had arisen between them, and Elphinstone rose haughtily to depart; but before he went he touched Swift on the shoulder with the point of his sword, and intimated that he expected to receive satisfaction next morning on the Links. Accordingly the two met at eleven in the forenoon, and in this comparatively public place (as it appears now) fought a duel with their swords. Swift received a mortal wound in the breast, and expired.

For this, Alexander Elphinstone was indicted before the High Court of Justiciary, but the case never came on for trial, and he died without molestation at his father's house in Coatfield Lane, three years after. Referring to his peaceful sport with Captain Porteous, the author of the "Domestic Annals" says "that no one could have imagined, as that cheerful game was going on, that both the players were not many years after to have blood upon their hands, one of them to take on the murderer's mark upon this very field."

Several military executions have taken place there, and among them we may note two.

The first recorded is that of a drummer, who was

shot there on the 23rd of February, 1686, by sentence of a court-martial, for having, it was alleged, said that he "had it in his heart to run his sword through any Papist," on the occasion when the Foot Guards and other troops, under General Dalzell and the Earl of Linlithgow, were under arms to quell the famous "Anti-Popish Riot," made by the students of the university.

One of the last instances was in 1754.

On the 4th of November in that year, John Ramsbottom and James Burgess, deserters from General the Hon. James Stuart's regiment (latterly the 37th Foot), were escorted from Edinburgh Castle to Leith Links to be shot. The former suffered, but the latter was pardoned.

His reprieve from death was only intimated to him when he had been ordered to kneel, and the firing party were drawn up with their arms in readiness. The shock so affected him that he fainted, and lay on the grass for some time motionless; but the terrible lesson would seem to have been given to him in vain, as in the *Scots Magazine* for the same year and month it is announced that "James Burgess, the deserter so lately pardoned when on his knees to be shot, was so far from being reformed by such a near view of death, that immediately after he was guilty of theft, for which he received a thousand lashes on the parade in the Castle of Edinburgh, on November 22nd, and was drummed out of the regiment with a rope round his neck."

During the great plague of 1645 the ailing were huddled in hundreds on the Links, and under its turf their bones lie in numbers, as they were interred where they died, with their blankets as shrouds. Balfour, in his "Annales," records that in the same year the people of Leith petitioned Parliament, in consequence of this fearful pest, to have 500 bolls of meal for their poor out of the public magazines, which were accordingly given, and a subscription was opened for them in certain shires.

A hundred years afterwards saw the same ground studded with the tents of a cavalry camp, when, prior to the total rout of the king's troops at Prestonpans, Hamilton's Dragoons (now the 14th Hussars) occupied the Links, from whence they marched, by the way of Seafield and the Figgate Muir, to join Sir John Cope.

During the old war with France the Links were frequently adopted as a kind of *Campus Martius* for the many volunteer corps then enrolled in the vicinity.

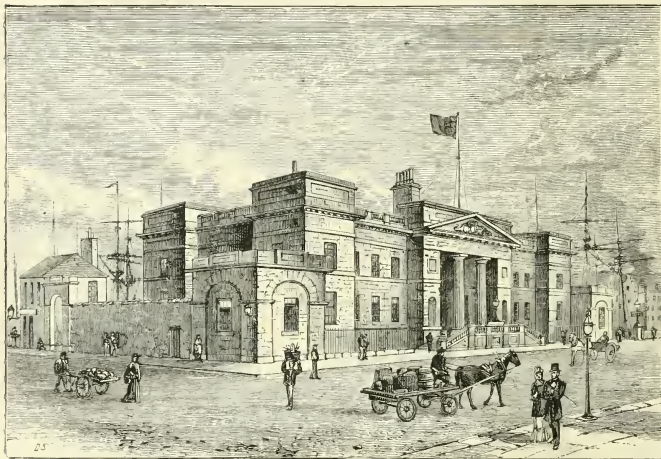
On the 4th of June, 1797, they had an unusual display in honour of the king's birthday and the

presentation of colours to the Royal Highland Regiment of Edinburgh Volunteers, who wore black feather bonnets, with grey breeches and Hessian boots.

On that occasion there paraded in St. Andrew Square, at twelve o'clock noon, the Royal Edinburgh Volunteer Light Dragoons (of whom, no doubt, Scott would make one on his black charger); the Royal Edinburgh Volunteers, and the Volunteer Artillery, with two field-pieces; the first battalion of the Second Regiment of Royal Edinburgh Volun-

The ground was kept by the Lancashire Light Cavalry while the troops were put through the then famous "Eighteen Manceuvres," published in 1788 by Sir David Dundas, after he witnessed the great review at Potsdam, and which was long a standard work for the infantry of the British army.

"The crowd of spectators," says the *Edinburgh Herald*, "attracted by the novelty and interest of the scene, was great beyond example. The city was almost literally unpeopled. Every house and



THE CUSTOM-HOUSE.

teers and the Royal Midlothian Artillery, with two field-pieces; the Royal Highland Volunteers and the Royal Leith Volunteers, all with their hair powdered and greased, their cross-belts, old "brown-besses," and quaint coats with deep cuffs and short square-cut skirts, white breeches, and long black gaiters.

Henry, Duke of Buccleuch, commanded the whole, which he formed first in a hollow square of battalions on the Links, and, by the hands "of Mrs. Colonel Murray," their colours were presented to the Highland Volunteers, after they had been "consecrated" by the chaplain of the corps—the Rev. Joseph Robertson Macgregor, the eccentric minister of the Gaelic Chapel.

every hovel displayed the verdant badges of loyalty as the procession passed. The elegant dress and appearance of the several corps formed a spectacle truly delightful; but the sentiment which neither mere novelty nor military parade, which all the pomp, pride, and circumstance, could never inspire, seemed to warm the breast and animate the countenance of every spectator."

What this "sentiment" was the editor omits to tell us; but, unfortunately for such spectacles in those days, the great cocked hats then worn by most of the troops were apt to be knocked off when the command "Shoulder arms!" was given, and the general picking-up thereof only added to the hilarity of the spectators.

About 1770 a few merchants in Leith began—as Kincaid tells us—to erect houses in the vicinity of the Links. These were rapidly followed by others; and since that time many handsome edifices have been built there, but no regular plan was thought of at first.

Incidentally we learn that several persons of position had their residences near the Links.

In 1800, Charles, Earl of Dalkeith (afterwards fourth Duke of Buccleuch and sixth Duke of

in classics, two in English, one in mathematics, one in writing and arithmetic. The predecessor of this edifice—which is neither burgh school nor parish school, but is anomalously managed by several bodies who have no common connection—stood in the Kirkgate, and, unlike the present one, was endowed with considerable funds.

“The United Secession Chapel of the Links,” says a recent *Gazetteer* “is a very fine edifice, more tasteful than most modern buildings of its



THE HIGH SCHOOL.

Queensberry), had one near the Golf House; and in 1802 the same place was in the occupation of George, Earl of Glasgow, G.C.H. and F.R.S. In 1783–9, James, Earl of Lauderdale, and his countess, resided in a mansion a little way eastward of the Hermitage, which in 1811 was occupied by Lady Fife; and to this day a spring on the Links is known as “Lady Fife’s Well.”

The Grammar School, or High School of Leith, built in 1806, occupies a conspicuous position in the south-west corner of the Links. It is a spacious and oblong building, two storeys in height, in the Grecian style of architecture, surmounted by a small spire, or cupola, and clock, and internally arranged into excellent apartments for two classes

class, quite ornamental to the district where it stands, and forming, with the Grammar School, a fine feature in the ecclesiastical fringing of a very spacious and airy promenade.” This congregation was formed about the year 1786, and the church was built in 1837.

In the most southern corner of the Links stands Watt’s Hospital, so named after the late Mr. John Watt, merchant in Leith, who, by his trust disposition and settlement, dated in 1827, bequeathed the residue of his means and estate to trustees, with directions to expend such part thereof as they might consider proper in the erection of an institution in Leith, to be called “John Watt’s Hospital.”

It was built accordingly, and is for the reception and maintenance of men and women in destitute circumstances, of fifty years of age and upwards, in the following priority : first, persons of the name of Watt ; second, natives of the parish of South Leith, of whatever name ; third, persons, of whatever name, who have constantly resided in that parish, for at least ten years preceding their admission ; and fourth, natives of or persons who have constantly resided in the city of Edinburgh or county of Midlothian, provided such persons are not pensioners, or in receipt of an allowance from any charitable institution except the Parochial Board of South Leith.

The trustees acquired what was formerly a golf house, with its ground, and there built the hospital, which was opened for inmates in the spring of 1862. There are eleven trustees and governors, including, *ex officio*, the Provost of Leith, the Master of the Trinity House, and the Master of the Merchant Company of Leith, with other officials, including a surgeon and matron.

South Leith Free Church confronts the west side of the Links, and has a handsome treble-faced Saxon façade.

The year 1880 saw a literal network of new streets running up from the Links, in the direction of Hermitage Hill and Park. According to a statement in the *Scotsman*, an enterprising firm of builders, who had obtained, five years previously, a fee from an industrial society, which had started building on the ground known as the Hermitage, during that period had erected buildings which were roughly estimated at the value of £35,000. These edifices included villas in East Hermitage Place, self-contained houses in Noble Place and Park Vale, while sixty houses had been erected in Rosevale Place, Fingzie Place, and Elm Place. A tenement of dwelling-houses, divided into half-flats, was subsequently constructed at Hermitage Terrace, and the remaining sites of this area have also now been occupied.

Eastward from them, the villas of Claremont Park extend to Pirniefield and Seafield ; and hence, the once lonely Links of Leith, where the plague-stricken found their graves, where duels might be fought, and deserters shot, are now enclosed by villas and houses of various kinds.

At one part of the northern side there are a bowling-green and the extensive rope walks which adjoin the ropery and sail-cloth manufactory. The "walks" occupy ground averaging fifteen hundred feet in length, by five hundred in breadth.

At the extreme east end of the Links stand Seafield Baths, built on the ground once attached

to Seafield House, overlooking one of the finest parts of a delightful beach. They were built in 1813, at a cost of £8,000, in £50 shares, each shareholder, or a member of his family, having a perpetual right to the use of the baths.

The structure is capacious and neat, and the hotel, with its suite of baths, is arranged on a plan which has been thought worthy of imitation in more recent erections of the same class at other sea-bathing resorts.

Their erection must have been deemed, though only in the early years of the present century, a vast improvement upon the primitive style of bathing which had been in use and wont during the early part of the century preceding, and before that time, if we may judge from the following suggestive advertisement in the *Edinburgh Courier* for 30th May, 1761 :—

"*Leith Bathing in Sea Water.*—This sort of bathing is much recommended and approved of, but the want of a machine, or wooden house on wheels, such as are used at sea-baths in England, to undress and dress in, and to carry those who intend bathing to a proper depth of water, hath induced many in this part of the country to neglect the opportunity of trying to acquire the benefits to health it commonly gives. To accommodate those who intend bathing in the sea, *a proper house on wheels*, with horse and servants, are to be hired on application to James Morton, at James Farquharson's, at the sign of the 'Royal Oak,' near the Glass House, who will give constant attendance during the remainder of the season ; each person to pay one shilling for each time they bathe."

This, then, seems to have been the first bathing-machine ever seen in Scotland.

On the 22nd December, 1789, the lonely waste where Seafield Baths stand now was the scene of a fatal duel, which took place on the forenoon of that day, between Mr. Francis Foulke, of Dublin, and an officer in the army, whose name is given in the *Edinburgh Magazine* of that year merely as "Mr. G.—" They had quarrelled, and posted each other publicly at a coffee-house, in the fashion then common and for long after. A challenge ensued, and they met, attended each by a second. They fired their pistols twice without effect ; but so bitter was their animosity, that they re-loaded, and fired a third time, when Foulke fell, with a ball in his heart.

He was a medical student at the university, where he had exhibited considerable talent, and in the previous year had been elected President of the Natural History Society and of the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh.

CHAPTER XXX.

LEITH—THE SANDS.

The Sands of Leith—Pirates Executed there—The *Kait of Lynne*—Captain Potts of the *Dreadnought*—A Duel in 1667—Horse-racing—"The Bell"—Leith Races in 1661—"Going Down with the Purse"—Races in 1763 and 1771, etc.

THE Sands of Leith, like other districts we have described, have a notabilia peculiarly their own, as the grim scene of executions for piracy, and of the horse-races, which were long celebrated there amid a jollity unknown now at the other locality to which they have been transferred—the Links of Musselburgh.

All pirates, and those who committed crimes or misdemeanours upon the high seas, were, down to 1822, hanged within the flood-mark; but there does not seem to have been any permanent erection, or even a fixed locality, for this purpose, and thus any part of the then great expanse of open sand must have been deemed suitable for the last offices of the law, and even the Pier and Shore were sometimes used.

On the 6th of May, 1551, John Davidson was convicted by an assize of piratically attacking a ship of Bordeaux, and sentenced to be hanged in irons on the Sands; and this, Pitcairn observes, is the earliest notice in Scotland of the body of a criminal being exposed in chains, to be consumed piecemeal by the elements.

In 1555, Hilbert Stalfurde and the crew of the *Kait of Lynne*, an English ship, were tried for piracy and oppression, "in reiving and spoiling furth of a hulk of the toun of Stateyne (Stettin), then lying in the harbour of Leith," a cable of ninety fathoms, three or four pistolettes, and other property, for which they were all hanged as pirates within the flood-mark.

Pitcairn gives this case in full, and it may not be uninteresting to note what constituted piracy in the sixteenth century.

In the "Talbot Papers," published by the Maitland Club, there is a letter, dated 4th July, 1555, from Lord Conyers to the Earl of Shrewsbury. After stating that some ships had been capiuired, very much to the annoyance of the Queen-Regent Mary of Lorraine, she sent a Scottish ship of war to search for the said ship of Lynne; and, as the former passed herself on the seas as a merchantman, the crew of the *Kait* "schott a piece of ordnance, and the Scottis shippe schott off but a slinge, as though she had been a merchant, and vailed her bonnet," or dipped her ensign.

The crew of the *Kait* then hailed, and asked

what she was laden with, and the reply was, "With victualles; and then they desired them to borde, and let them have a ton of bacon for their money."

The Scots answered that they should do so, on which there swarmed on board the *Kait* a hundred or eighty men, "well appoyntit in armour and stoutlie set," on the English ship, which they brought, with all her crew, into the haven of Leith; "and by that I can learn," adds Lord Conyers, "there is at least iij. or iiij. of the cheefest of the Englismenne like to suffer death. Other news I have none to certifie yr Lordschippe, and so I committ the same unto the tuicion and governement of Almightie God."—Berwick, 4th July, 1555.

The seamen of those days were not very particular when on the high seas, for in 1505 we find the King's Admiral, Sir Andrew Wood, obtaining a remission under the Great Seal for "ye rief an anchor and cabyll" taken from John of Bonkle on the sea, as he required these probably for the king's service; and some fifty years later an admiral of England piratically seized the ship coming from France with the horses of Queen Mary on board.

In 1610 nine pirates were sentenced by the mouth of James Lockhart of Lee, chancellor, to be hanged upon "the sandis of Leyth, within the floddis-mark;" and in the same year Pitcairn records the trial of thirty more pirates for the affair at Long Island, in Ireland, already related.

In 1612 two more were hanged in the same place for piracy.

Executions here of seamen were of constant occurrence in the olden times, but after that of Wilson Potts, captain of the *Dreadnought* privateer of Newcastle, on the 13th of February, 1782, none took place till the execution of Heaman and Gautiez, at the foot of Constitution Street, in 1822.

Potts was convicted before the Admiralty Court of having plundered the *White Swan*, of Copenhagen, of four bags of dollars. He was recommended to mercy by a majority of the jury, because it was in proof that he had committed the crime while in a state of intoxication, and had, on coming to his senses, taken the first opportunity of restoring the money to its owners; but the recommendation was made in vain.

In 1667 the Sands were the scene of that desperate duel with swords between William Douglas younger, of Whittingham, and Sir John Home, of Eccles, attended by the Master of Ramsay and Douglas of Spott, who all engaged together. Sir James was slain, and William Douglas had his head stricken from his body at the Cross three days after.

For many generations the chief place for horse-racing in Scotland was the long stretch of bare sand at Leith.

informer for the double thereof, half to him and half to the poor" (Glendoick).

In 1620 there were horse-races at Paisley, the details of which are given in the *Maitland Miscellany*, in which the temporary prize of the bell figures prominently; and after the Restoration there were horse-races every Saturday at Leith, which are regularly detailed in the little print called the *Mercurius Caledonius*. In the March of 1661 it states:—"Our accustomed recreations on the Sands of Leith was (*sic*) much injured because of



LEITH LINKS.

As a popular amusement horse-racing was practised at an early period in Scotland. In 1552 there was a race annually at Haddington, the prize being a bell, and hence the phrase to "bear away the bell;" and during the reign of James VI. races were held at Peebles and Dumfries—at the latter place in 1575, between Scots and English, when the Regent Morton held his court there; but as such meetings led to conflicts with deadly weapons, they were interdicted by the Privy Council in 1608; and by an Act of James VI., passed in his twenty-third Parliament, any sum won upon a horse-race above a hundred marks was to be given to the poor. Magistrates were empowered to pursue "for the said surplus gain, or else declared liable to the

a furious storm of wind, accompanied with a thick snow; yet we had some noble gamesters that were so constant in their sport as would not forbear a designed horse-match. It was a providence the wind was from the sea, otherwise they had run a hazard either of drowning or splitting upon Inchkeith. This tempest was nothing inferior to that which was lately in Caithness, when a bark of fifty tons was blown five furlongs into the land, and would have gone farther if it had not been arrested by the steepness of a large promontory."

The old races at Leith seem to have been conducted with all the spirit of the modern Jockey Club, and a great impetus was given to them by the occasional presence of the Duke of Albany,

afterwards James VII., during the time he was Royal Commissioner at Holyrood. "They have been rehearsed in verse by Robert Ferguson," says Robertson in 1851, "and still form a topic of converse with the elder part of our citizens, as one of the prominent features of the glorious days of old."

The earliest records of them have all been lost, he adds. They took place on the east side of the harbour, where now the great new docks are formed. The Leith race week was a species of carnival to the citizens of Edinburgh, and in many instances caused a partial suspension of

must have seen it many times, "that long before the procession could reach Leith the functionaries had disappeared, and nothing was visible amid the moving myriads but the purse on the top of the pole."

The scene at Leith races, as described by those who have been present, was of a very striking description. Vast lines of tents and booths, covered with canvas or blankets, stretched along the level shore; recruiting-sergeants with their drummers beating, sailors ashore for a holiday, mechanics accompanied by their wives or sweethearts, servant girls, and most motley groups, were constantly pass-



THE MARTELLO TOWER, FROM LEITH PIER.

work and business. They were under the direct patronage of the magistrates of the city, and it was usual for one of the town officers, in his livery, to walk in procession every morning from the Council Chambers to Leith, bearing aloft on a pole or halberd, profusely decorated with ribbons and streamers, the "City Purse," accompanied by a file of the City Guard, with their bayonets fixed and in full uniform, accompanied by a drummer, beating that peculiar cadence on his drum which is believed to have been the old "Scottish March."

This procession gathered in strength and interest as it moved along Leith Walk, as hundreds were on the outlook for the appearance of this accredited civic body, and who preferred "gaun doon wi' the Purse," as the phrase was, to any other mode of proceeding thither. "Such a dense mass of boys and girls finally surrounded the town officers, the drummer, and the old veterans," wrote one who

ing in and out of the drinking places; the whole varied by shows, roley-poleys, hobby-horses, wheels-of-fortune, and many of those strange characters which were once familiar in the streets of Edinburgh, and of whom, "Jamie, the Showman," a veteran of the Glengarry Fencibles, a native of the Canongate, who figures in "Hone's Year Book," was perhaps the last.

Saturday, which was the last day of the races, was the most joyous and outrageous of this sea-shore carnival. On that day was the "subscription" for the horses beaten during the week, and these unfortunate nags contended for the negative honour of not being the worst on the course. Then, when night closed in, there was invariably a general brawl, a promiscuous free fight being maintained by the returning crowds along the entire length of Leith Walk.

A few quotations from entries will serve to show that, in the progression of all things, racing

under distinguished patronage has in no way altered.

In 1763, on the 28th February, a thirty-guinea purse was run for by Cartouch, a chestnut horse, belonging to Lord Aberdour, Colonel of the old Scots 17th Light Dragoons, a bay colt, belonging to Francis Charteris of Amisfield, and a mare, belonging to Macdowal of Castlesemple. The colt won. In the following month, His Majesty's plate of a hundred guineas, was won, against several other horses, by Duncie, a chestnut, belonging to Charteris of Amisfield.

On the 4th March, the city purse of thirty guineas was won by a bay colt, belonging to the latter, against two English horses.

"List of horses booked for His Majesty's purse of 100 guineas, to be run for over the sands of Leith, 1st July, 1771 . . . 29th June, appeared William Sowerby, servant to Major Lawrie, and entered a bay horse called 'Young Mirza;' rider, said Wm.; livery crimson; and produced certificate, dated at Lowther Hall, signed by Edward Halls, dated 24th May, 1770, bearing the said horse to be no more than four years old last grass. . . .

Appeared the Right Hon. the Earl of Kellie, entered 'Lightfoot.' Appeared Sir Archibald Hope, Bart. (of Pinkie), entered 'Monkey.' Mirza won the purse.

For the race advertised for a pool of £60 and upwards, the Duke of Buccleuch, who signed the articles, marked £80, to be paid in money, not plate. "Compeared, Mr. James Rannie, merchant in Leith, and entered a bay horse, 'Cockspur,' belonging to His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch." It won.

The Duke of Hamilton and the Earl of Eglington repeatedly entered horses (says Robertson); and in 1777 the former gave the 100 guineas won to aid in the construction of the Observatory on the Calton Hill.

In the *Scots Magazine* for 1774 we find noted the appearance at these races of the Count de Fernanunez, "attended by the Chevalier Comanc," then on a tour through Scotland.

In 1816 the races were transferred to the Links of Musselburgh permanently, for the sake of the ground, which should be smooth turf; and though attempts were made in 1839 and 1840 to revive them again at Leith, they proved abortive.

CHAPTER XXXI.

LEITH—THE HARBOUR.

The Admiral and Bailie Courts—The Leith Science (Navigation) School—The Harbour of Leith—The Bar—The Wooden Piers—Early Improvements of the Harbour—Erection of Beacons—The Custom House Quay—The Bridges—Rennie's Report on the required Docks—The Mortons' Building-yard—The Present Piers—The Martello Tower.

THOUGH the Right Hon. the Lord Provost of Edinburgh is Admiral of the Firth of Forth, the Provost of Leith is Admiral of the port thereof, and his four bailies are admirals-depute. These, with the clerk, two advocates as joint assessors, and an officer, constitute the Admiral and Bailie Courts of Leith.

There is also a society of solicitors before this court, having a preses and secretary.

For the development of nautical talent here, there is the Leith Science (Navigation) School, in connection with the Department of Science and Art, with local managers—the provost and others, *ex officio*, the senior bailie, master and assistant-master of the Trinity House, chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, etc.

The harbour of Leith is formed by the little estuary of the river into the Firth of Forth, and is entirely tidal, and was of old, with the exception of being traversed by the shallow and unimportant stream which takes its rise at the western base of the Pentlands, quite dry at low water, and even

yet its depth is trifling. As the Water of Leith has to make its way seaward, across the very broad and flat shore called the Sands of Leith, alternately flooded by the tide and left nearly dry, the channel, in its natural state, was subject to much fluctuation, according to the setting in of the tides.

A bar, too—such as is thrown up at the entrance of almost every river mouth—lies across its entrance, formed at that point where the antagonistic currents of the river and tide bring each other into stagnation or equipoise, and then deposit whatever silt they contain. Thus, says a writer, "the river constantly, and to an important amount, varies both the depth of the harbour and the height of the position of the bar, according to the fluctuations which occur in the volume of its water or the rapidity of its discharge; for in a season of drought it leaves everything open to the invasion of sediments from the tide, at other times it scours away lodgments made on its bed, drives seaward and diminishes in bulk the bar, and deepens the channel towards the side streams of the Firth."

Hence all attempts, therefore, to obtain a good or workable harbour at Leith have been, of a necessity, limited to the construction of long lines of piers, to divert the current of the tides, to give the river mastery over them, and enable it, by the weight of its downward and concentrated volume, to sweep away, or at least diminish, the bar, and to the excavation of docks for the reception of vessels floated in at high water, and for retaining them safe from the inexorable power of the receding tide.

From the *Gentleman's Magazine* for May, 1786, we learn that, owing to a long continuance of easterly wind, the bar at the mouth of Leith harbour had attained such a height, that vessels could scarcely pass out or in with any chance of safety; that many were aground upon it; and that the magistrates of Edinburgh were considering how it could best be removed.

It is related that when, in the spring of the year 1820, Lord Erskine re-visited Edinburgh, after an absence of nearly half a century, on which occasion a banquet was given him in the Assembly Rooms, at which all the then master spirits of the Scottish bar were present, and Maxwell of Carriden presided, he returned to London by sea from Leith. He took his passage in the *Favourite*, one of the famous old fighting-smacks, Captain Mark Sanderson; but it so happened that she either grounded on the bar, or there was not in the harbour sufficient water to float her over it; thus for days no vessel could leave the harbour. Lord Erskine, with other disappointed passengers, was seen daily, at the hours of the tide flowing, waiting with anxiety the floating of the vessel; and when at last she cleared the harbour, and stood round the martello tower, he wittily expressed his satisfaction in the following verse:—

"Of depth profound, o'erflowing far,
I blessed the Edinburgh Bar;
While muttering oaths between my teeth,
I cursed the shallow Bar of Leith!"

In the cabin a motion was made, and unanimously carried, that this impromptu stanza should be printed on board by Mr. John Ruthven, who was among the passengers, and whose name is so well known as the inventor of the celebrated printing-press and other valuable improvements in machines. With one of his portable printing-presses he proceeded to gratify his companions, and struck off several copies of the verse, to which one of the voyagers added another, thus:—

"To Lord Erskine—
"Spare, spare, my lord, your angry feelings,
Nor lower us thus, as if at war;
'Twas only to retain you with us
We at our harbour placed a bar."

The first pier constructed at Leith was of wood, but was destroyed in 1544, at the time of the invasion in that year, and we have no means of indicating its precise site. During the earlier years of the seventeenth century another wooden pier was erected, and for two hundred and forty years its massive pillars and beams, embedded in a compact mass of whinstone and clay, withstood the rough contacts of shipping and the long up-coming rollers from the stormy Firth, and the last traces of it only disappeared about the year 1850.

Between the years 1720 and 1730, a stone pier, in continuation of this ancient wooden one, which only to a slight extent assisted the somewhat meagre natural facilities of the harbour, was carried seaward for a hundred yards, constructed partly of massive squared stones from a curious old coal-pit at Culross; and for a time this, to some degree, remedied the difficulty and hazard of the inward navigation, but still left the harbour mouth encumbered with its unlucky bar of unsafe and shifting sand.

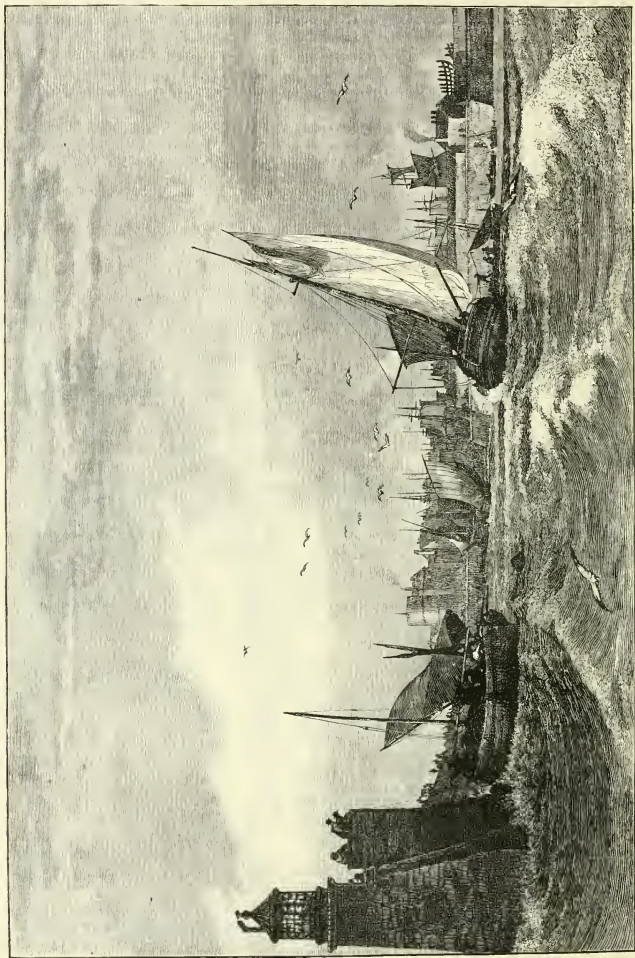
The old pier figures in more than one Scottish song, and perhaps the oldest is that fragment preserved by Cromek, in his "Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song":—

"Were ye at the Pier o' Leith?
Or cam ye in by Bennochie?
Crossed ye at the boat o' Craig?—
Saw ye the lad wha courted me?
Short hose and belted plaidie,
Garters tied below his knee:
Oh, he was a bonnie lad,
The blythe lad wha courted me."

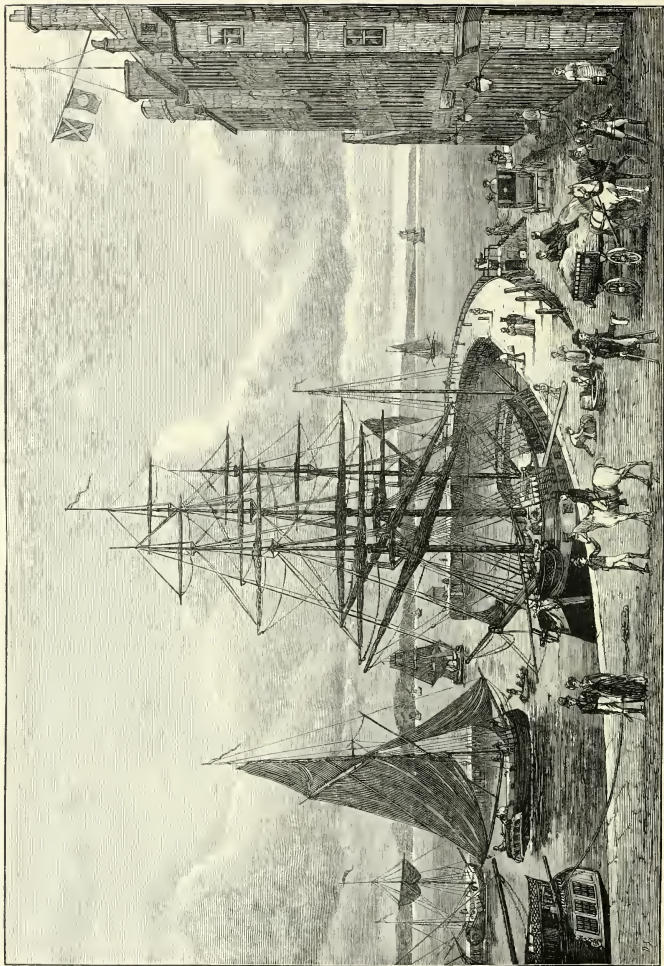
Contemporaneous, or nearly so, with this early stone pier was the formation of the oldest dock, which will be referred to in its place.

So early as 1454, the improvement and maintenance of a harbour at Leith was the care of James II. (that gallant king who was killed at the siege of Roxburgh); and in his charter granted in that year, and which was indorsed "Provost and Bailies, the time that thir letters war gottin, Alexander Naper, Andrew Craufurd, William of Caribas, and Richart Paterson," he gave the silver customs and duty of all ships and vessels entering Leith for the purpose of enlarging and repairing the port thereof (Burgh Charters, No. XXXII.).

In 1620 we first read of several beacons being erected, when, as Sir James Balfour records, the coal-masters on both sides of the Forth, "for the crydit of the countrey and safite of strangers trading to them for cole and salte," in the June of that year, erected marks and beacons on all the craigs and sunken rocks within the Firth, above the Roads at Leith, at their own expense.



ENTRANCE TO LEITH HARBOUR, 1856. (After Sir A. W. Calkett, R.A.)



LEITH PIER AND HARBOUR, 1798. (From a Drawing by J. Waddell, in possession of Mr. R. F. Todd, Edinburgh.)

In 1753 an Act was passed, in the reign of George II., for enlarging and deepening the harbour of Leith, but less was achieved than had been done in the reign of King James II., three hundred years before. As there were no adequate means provided by the statute for defraying the expense, says Arnot, "nothing was done in consequence."

Yet soon after we find that a curious scheme was formed for enlarging it on a greater scale, by making a canal from it eastward through Bernard's Nook to the old Glass House, and from thence into a basin. To carry this project into execution a Bill was framed by which an additional duty, from a penny to sixpence per ton, was to be laid upon the tonnage of all shipping in the harbour; but in consequence of the poverty and lethargy entailed by the Union, and some opposition also, the scheme was rapidly dropped.

These suggestions, however, led ultimately to the formation by the Town Council of Edinburgh of a short pier in 1777 on the west side of the harbour, afterwards known as the Custom House Quay; and the harbour was at the same time widened and deepened.

In 1785 a miserable apology for a naval yard (as it was pompously named) was established in Leith as a dépôt for supplying such material as might be wanted by His Majesty's ships coming into the Forth.

Five bridges now connect North and South Leith, the latest of which is the Victoria swing bridge.

One of the drawbridges at the foot of the Tolbooth Wynd (superseding that of Abbot Ballantyne) was erected in 1788-9, by authority of an Act of Parliament. The second drawbridge, opposite the foot of Bernard Street, was erected in 1800; and a third bridge, finished about 1820, connected the new streets at Hill House Field and the Docks with Leith Walk.

Notwithstanding the erection of the Custom House Quay, the accommodation for shipping remained insufficient and unendurable, the common quays being the chief landing-places, where the vessels lay four and five abreast, discharging their cargoes across each other's decks, amid confusion, dirt, and much ill-temper on the part of seamen and porters. Besides, the channel of the river, at the recess of the tides, offered only an expanse of uncovered and offensive mud and ooze, till, as the trade of the port increased towards the close of the century, demands were loud and long for an amelioration and enlargement of the then accommodation.

In 1789, the light that had first been placed at the pier-end was replaced by a new and improved

one, with reflectors, as the *Edinburgh Advertiser* specially mentions, adding that "its effect at sea is surprising, and the expense of maintaining it does not exceed that of the former one."

In 1799, John Rennie, the celebrated engineer, was employed to examine the entire harbour, and to form designs for docks and extended piers, on a scale somewhat proportioned to the necessities of the advancing age.

The gravamen of his report was that no permanent and uniform depth of water along the mouth of the harbour of Leith could ever be obtained, and that no achievement of science could destroy or prevent the formation of the shifting bar, unless by carrying a pier, or weir, on the east side of the channel, and quite across the sands into low water, and that, by this means, three, or possibly four, feet of additional depth of water might be obtained; but though the soundness of his principle has been fully vindicated by the result of subsequent operations which were carried out by its guidance, little or nothing was done at his suggestion, nor for many years afterwards, with regard to the piers or entrance.

The crowded state of the harbour was the cause of many a fatal accident, and of constant confusion. Thus we read that, between nine and ten in the morning of the 13th of August, 1810, as a foreign vessel, after passing the beacon, was about to enter the harbour, with two pilots on board, a shot was suddenly fired into her from a boat. This, the pilots imagined, was from a Greenland whaler, and they did not bring to. A few minutes after a second musket-shot was fired, which mortally wounded the mate in the right breast, and he expired in fifteen minutes. The boat belonged to H.M. gun-brig *Gallant*, of fourteen guns, commanded by Lieutenant William Crow, which was at that time what is technically called "rowing guard." The fatal shot had been fired by a rash young midshipman, named Henry Lloyd, whose hail had been unheard or unnoticed; and for this he was lodged in the prison of Edinburgh. As too often is the case in such calamities, the prints of the time announce that "the sufferer has left a widow and three young children, for whose relief a subscription has been opened."

In 1818 Messrs. J. and H. Morton invented their patent slip, and the first one was laid down by themselves in the upper part of the old harbour—an invention of more than European reputation. The firm began to build iron ships, but after completing a few steamers, a sailing-ship, and some large dredges, the trade came to a temporary stand; yet the business of ship-building was not abandoned

by the enterprising firm, but was conducted by them in conjunction with other departments of their trade.

The harbour of Leith is now a noble one, as it underwent vast improvements, at an enormous cost, during a long series of years up to 1877, including various docks, to be described in their place, with the best appliances of a prime port, and great ranges of storehouses, together with two magnificent wooden piers of great length, the west being 3,123 feet, the east 3,530 feet. Both are delightful promenades, and a small boat plies between their extremities, so that a visitor may pass out seaward by one pier and return by the other.

The formidable Martello Tower, circular in form,

bomb-proof, formed of beautiful white stone, and most massive in construction, occupies a rock called, we believe, of old, the Mussel Cape, but which forms a continuation of the reef known as the Black Rocks.

It stands 1,500 feet eastward, and something less than 500 south of the eastern pier-head, and 3,500 feet distant from the base of the ancient signal-tower on the shore.

It was built to defend what was then the entrance of the harbour, during the last long war with France, at the cost of £17,000; but now, owing to the great guns and military inventions of later times, it is to the fortifications on Inchkeith that the port of Leith must look for protection.

CHAPTER XXXII.

MEMORABILIA OF THE SHIPPING OF LEITH AND ITS MARITIME AFFAIRS.

Old Shipping Laws—Early Whale Fishing—Letters of Marque against Hamburg—Captures of English Ships, 1650-1—First recorded Tonnage of Leith—Imports—Arrest of Captain Hugh Palliser—Shore Dues, 1763—Sailors' Strike, 1792—Tonnage in 1881—Passenger Traffic, etc.
—Letters of Marque—Exploits of some—Glance at Shipbuilding.

THE people of Scotland must, at a very early period, have turned their attention to the art in which they now excel—that of shipbuilding and navigation, for in these and other branches of industry the monks led the way. So far back as 1249, the Count of St. Paul, as Matthew of Paris records, had a large ship built for him at Inverness, and history mentions the fleets of William the Lion and his successor, Alexander II.; and it has been conjectured that these were furnished by the chiefs of the isles, so many of whom bore lymphads in their coats-of-arms. During the long war with the Edwards, Scottish ships rode at anchor in their ports, cut out and carried off English craft, till Edward III., as Tytler records from the "*Rotuli Scotiæ*," taunted his admirals and captains with cowardice in being unable to face the Scots and Flemings, to whom they dared not give battle.

In 1336 Scottish ships swept the Channel coast, plundering Guernsey, Jersey, and the Isle of Wight; and Tytler records that the fleet which did so was under the command of David Bruce, but this seems doubtful.

When Edward of England was engaged in the prosecution of that wicked war which met its just reward on the field of Bannockburn, he had two Scottish traitors who led his ships, named John of Lorn, and his son, Alan of Argyle, whose names have deservedly gone to oblivion.

We first hear of shipping in any quantity in the Fifth of Forth in the year 1411, when, as Burchett and Rapin record, a squadron of ten English ships of war, under Sir Robert Umfraville, Vice-Admiral of England, ravaged both shores of the estuary for fourteen days, burned many vessels—among them one named the *Great Galliot of Scotland*—and returned with so many prizes and such a mass of plunder, that he brought down the prices of everything, and was named "Robin Mend-the-Market."

The Wars of the Roses, fortunately for Scotland, gave her breathing-time, and in that period she gathered wealth, strength, and splendour; she took a part in European politics, and under the auspices of James IV. became a naval power, so much so, that we find by a volume culled from the "*Archives of Venice*," by Mr. Rawdon Brown, there are many proofs that the Venetians in those days were watching the influence of Scotland in counteracting that of England by land and sea.

Between the years 1518 and 1520, the "*Burgh Records*" have some notices regarding the skippers and ships of Leith; and in the former year we find that "the maner of fraughting of schips of auld" is in form following: and certainly it reads mysteriously.

"Alexander Lichtman hes latten his schip callit the *Mairtene*, commonly till fraught to the nychtbouris of the Toune for thair guidis to be furit to Flanders, for the fraught of xix s. gr. and xvij s. gr.

the sirpleth of woll and skin, because sho is fraughtit in and furth, and the better chaip inwart becaus sho fraucht swa deir furthwart; and this frauchting is maid in the form of the statutes of the Toun and Act of Parliament, the port oppin and the nychtbouris firs seruit."

In 1519 the Provost and Council ordained the water bailie of Leith to await the entry of all ships at the port, and to see that no wine, timber, or other portions of the cargo be sold till duly entered and paid for, the king's grace and the city first served; and if any goods were sold or tapped, they should be arrested.

The numerous rules and laws which were enacted in those days with reference to shipping, navigation, and foreign commerce, evince that the attention of the Scottish legislature was particularly directed to maritime affairs. There was an enactment which ordained that ships and fishing-boats of not less than twenty tons should be built and equipped with appropriate nets and tackling by all burghs and seaport towns.

By an Act passed in the second Parliament of James III., in 1466, no ship from Leith or any other port could be freighted without a charter-party, whereof the points were: "What the master of the ship shall furnish to the merchant, that in case of debate betwixt them, they underly the law of the burgh whereto the ship is fraughted. That the goods be not spilt by ill-stalling; that no goods be shown or stricken up; that the master have no goods in his over-loft, or if he do, these goods pay no freight. That every ship exceeding five lasts of goods pay to the chaplain of the nation a sack freight, and if within five lasts, the half of it, under pain of five pounds; and that no drink-silver be taken by the master and his doers, under the same pain. And homeward, a tun freight to the kirkwork of the town they are fraughted to."

In 1488 it was ordained that all ships, Scottish or foreign, should arrive only at free burghs, and the prohibition of navigation between All Saints Day and Candlemas was renewed; and in 1535 it was ordered that ships should be freighted to Flanders only twice yearly, to the Easter market, and that held on the 3rd of May. The exportation of all tallow was strictly forbidden, as the realm only furnished a sufficient quantity for home consumption.

By an Act of James VI., no ship could sail without the king's consent, under pain of being arrested by the conservator.

In March, 1567, there was a frightful tempest of wind, which, says Birrel, "blew a very grate shippe out of the Rode of Leith." He records that in

1596, between July and August, sixty-six ships arrived in the harbour laden with victual.

In 1616 the same monarch granted a patent of the whale fishery for thirty-five years to Sir George Hay and Mr. Thomas Murray, who fitted out two ships for that purpose. Nicol mentions that, in 1652 "there came into the very Brig of Leith" a whale, which rendered much profit to the English garrison there.

In September, 1641, a Bill was brought before the Parliament at Edinburgh by John, Earl of Rothes, Sir George Hamilton of Blackburn, Andrew Eusley, and George Arnot, merchants, to enforce restitution from the Hamburgers to the value of 300,000 merks, taken from them in shipping and goods, and to grant Letters of Marque against the said Hamburgers; and in the ensuing November Letters of Reprisal by sea and land were granted under the Great Seal.

In 1651 an English ship, bound for Leith was captured by the captain of the Bass, and her crew made prisoners, some being placed on the isle and others sent to Tantallon. She had on board 10,000 pairs of shoes, 6,000 pairs of boots, 5 000 saddles and sets of horse furniture, "ten tons of London beerie and als muche bisquett as should have served Cromwell for a month," says Sir James Balfour. Her cargo was handed over to Sir John Smith, Commissary-General of the Scottish army. In the May of the same year Captain Murray, commander of a Scottish frigate, took another English ship, laden with provisions, which he handed over to the army, but retained the vessel as the prize of himself and crew.

In 1656 Leith possessed only three vessels of 250 tons, and eleven of 20 tons each.

In 1661 the Scottish Parliament passed an Act for the encouragement of shipping and navigation, ordaining that all goods be transported in Scottish ships "from the original places, whence they are in use first to be transported." That all Scottish ships should be navigated by a Scottish master, and that at least three-parts of his crew should be Scotsmen. The Act contains an order for verifying a ship to be Scottish, and getting a certificate thereof; and that no customer "allow the benefit of a Scot's skipper to any ship until the same be so verified, under pain of deprivation." This Act was not to extend to imports from Asia, Africa, America, Muscovy, or Italy.

The first return of tonnage for Leith, preserved in the "Archives of the Royal Burghs," is dated 1692, when the port could only boast of twenty-nine ships, with an aggregate tonnage of 1,702 tons, the estimated value of which was £7,100

sterling. The largest ship was only 150 tons, and the highest valued was 8,000 pounds Scots, or £666 13s. 4d. sterling. In the list of masters' names appear Brown, Barr, and Bertain (the old historic Barton), names, says Robertson, prominent in the maritime records of Leith, doubtless descendants of the respective families.

In 1692 the shore dues were only £466 13s. 4d. Scots, equivalent to £38 17s. 9½d. of the money of the present day.

times," says Arnot, "we must reflect that the prices paid formerly were simply the rates at which commodities could be furnished, almost without any duty to Government; whereas now, in many instances, the taxes levied by Government exceed the value of the articles upon which they are imposed."

Tea was imported about the end of the seventeenth century, and there is still preserved a receipt from the East India Company to an Edin-



LEITH ROADS, 1824. (After a Drawing by J. Galletly.)

Yet generally the connection of Scotland as regards trade was far from inconsiderable at that period with Denmark, the Baltic, Holland, and France. Her ships frequently made voyages from Leith to Tangiers and other ports on the Mediterranean; and from Leith were exported wool, woollen-cloth, druggets, and stuffs of all kinds, and, to a large extent, both linen and corn.

The imports to Leith were linen and fine woollen manufactures, wood in the form of logs and staves, wines of various kinds, and small quantities of sugar and miscellaneous articles of every-day use, from Rotterdam and Amsterdam. "In comparing the prices of a gallon of wine or ale, a pound of candles, or a pair of shoes in ancient and modern

burgh merchant for a chest of Bohea at 15s. per pound, which came to the value of £225 15s.

In 1705 green tea was 16s. per pound, and Bohea had risen to 30s.

In 1740 the shipping of Leith amounted to forty-seven sail, with a total of 2,628 tonnage. The names of these vessels were quaint—the *Charming Betty*, *Fair Susanna*, and *Happy Janet*, may be given as samples.

In the following year, Walter Scott, Bailie of Leith, issued a proclamation on the 8th August to this effect:—

"Whereas the separate commanders of the five East India ships, lying in the Roads of Leith, have signified that the said ships are to sail early

to-morrow; the sailors belonging to the said ships are to repair on board, under penalty of loss of wages and imprisonment as deserters. Their presents to be published by tuck of drumme through Leith, that none may pretend ignorance.

“WALTER SCOTTE, B.”

In 1752 the vessels of Leith amounted to sixty-eight, with a tonnage of 6,935; and two years subsequently we find an attempt upon the part of a captain in the royal navy there to defy the Scottish Court of Admiralty in the roads and harbour.

Captain (afterwards Sir Hugh) Palliser, when captain of H.M.S. *Seahorse*, in consequence of a petition presented to the Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, 20th March, 1754, by Thomas Ross, master, and Murdoch Campbell, owner of the Scottish ship *Cumberland*, of Thurso, was served with a notice to deliver up James Cormick, apprentice to the former, whom he had taken on board as a seaman.

Accordingly, by order of the judge, the macers of court, messengers-at-arms, and other officials, repaired on board the *Seahorse*, at the anchorage in Leith, to bring off James Cormick; “and the said Captain Hugh Palliser, and the other officers and sailors on board the said ship-of-war *Seahorse*,” ran the warrant, “are hereby ordered to be assisting” in putting it into execution, at their highest peril. “All others, shipmasters, sailors, and others his Majesty’s subjects,” were ordered to assist also, at their utmost peril.

James Lindsay, Admiralty macer, served this notice upon Captain Palliser, who foolishly and haughtily replied that he was subject to the laws of England only, and would not send Cormick ashore. “Upon which,” as the execution given into court bears, “I (James Lindsay) declared he had contemned the law, was guilty of a deforcement, and that he should be liable accordingly, having my blazon on my breast, and broke my wand of peace.”

On this, a warrant was issued to apprehend the commander of the *Seahorse*, and commit him to the next sure prison (*i.e.* the Tolbooth of Leith), but the captain having gone to Edinburgh, on the 26th of March he was seized and placed in the Heart of Midlothian, and brought before the High Court of Admiralty next day.

There he denied that its jurisdiction extended over a king’s ship, or over himself personally, or any man in the *Seahorse*, especially an enlisted sailor; and maintained that the court, by attempting to do so, assumed a right competent to the Lords of the Admiralty alone; “and by your imprisoning me,” he added, “for not delivering up one of the king’s

sailors, you have suspended my commission from the Lord High Admiral, and disabled me from executing the orders with which I am charged as commander of one of the king’s ships.”

This only led to the re-commitment of the contumacious captain, till he “found caution to obtemper (*sic*) the Judge Admiral’s warrant, in case it should be found by the Lords that he ought to do so.”

He was imprisoned for six weeks, until the apprentice was put on shore. On this matter, Lord Hardwicke, who was then Lord Chancellor, remarked that the Scottish Admiralty judge was a bold one, “but that what he had done was right.”

Captain Palliser, on his return to England, threatened to make the frauds on the revenue a matter for Parliamentary investigation, if not attended to, and the ministry then enforced the duties upon claret, which, before this time, had been drunk commonly even by Scottish artisans.

This officer afterwards behaved with great bravery at Newfoundland, in 1764; and on attaining the rank of Admiral of the White, was created a baronet, and died governor of Greenwich Hospital in 1796.

In 1763 the shore dues at Leith had increased to £580. The *Scots Magazine* for December, 1769, states that, “take one year with another, about 1,700 vessels are cleared out and in yearly at Leith. Some days ago an acute merchant took a serious view of the shipping in the harbour of Leith, and reckoned upon a calculation that there would be between 30,000 and 35,000 tonnage at one and the same time mooring there.” This seems barely probable.

In 1771 we meet with an indication of free trade, when the Court of Session, upon the application of the merchants of Edinburgh, ordered the port of Leith, and all other Scottish ports, to be open for the free importation of grain of all kinds.

Arnot states that in the year ending January 5th, 1778, there were, in Leith, 52 foreign ships, 6,800 tons, and 428 men; 44 coasting and fishing ships, 3,346 tons, and 281 men. Five years subsequently, the shore dues were £4,000; but in that year there was only one vessel trading with St. Petersburg. She made but one voyage yearly, and never carried tallow if any other freight could be obtained. Now the sailing vessels make three voyages to the same port annually.

In 1791 there was a proposal to form a joint-stock company, to cut a canal from Leith to the middle ward of Lanarkshire.

The tonnage in 1792 had increased to 18,468. In the same year, when those Radicals who

named themselves the "Friends of the People," were alarming the authorities by threatening to hold a national convention in Edinburgh, and to seize the Castle, the seamen in Leith seemed disposed to complicate affairs by absolutely refusing to go to sea unless they received a considerable advance of wages. A meeting was held for the purpose, if possible, of accommodating matters, and it was attended by the Provost, the Sheriff, the two Bailies of Leith, and a number of ship-masters and merchants belonging to that place; and, after a lengthened discussion, the following terms were offered to the banded seamen of Leith, who were then "on strike":—

I. The voyage to London, instead of three guineas as hitherto, to be £4 15s. in full of wages, loading or unloading.

II. The voyage to Hull £3 in full.

III. To Newcastle £2 10s. in full.

IV. All other runs to be in proportion to the above.

V. The monthly wages to be £2, instead of 30s.; the seamen to pay Greenwich money, and be at liberty to pay poor's money to the Trinity Hospital at option; but if omitting to pay, to derive no benefit from the funds of that establishment.

VI. The wives at home to get 10s. monthly out of their husband's wages.

VII. The latter to continue until the vessels are discharged by the crews, and to be in full of all demands.

These arrangements, having met with the warm approbation of the merchants and shipmasters of Leith, were presented to the seamen for acceptance, and they were required and enjoined "immediately to return to their duty, and behave in the most peaceable manner, with certification that if, after this date, they should be found assembling in any tumultuous manner, or stop or impede any person whatever in the execution of his duty, they would be prosecuted and punished in terms of law."

The proffered terms proved agreeable to the seamen, who at once returned to their duties, leaving the magistrates free to deal with the "Friends of the People," many of whom were arrested, and tried before the Court of Justiciary.

In 1805 five vessels sailed for the whale fishery, the largest number that had ever sailed from Leith in one year.

In 1816 there arrived in the port two vessels, each having a rather remarkable freight. They were entirely laden with broken musket-barrels, locks, sword-blades, and other warlike relics of the memorable retreat from Moscow, all of which were sent to the iron-works at Cramond, there to

be turned into ploughshares, harrows, spades, and other implements for the tillage of the earth.

In the same year the *Scots Magazine* records the pursuit of six smuggling luggers by one of the king's ships in the Roads, adding, "one of these luggers is armed with sixteen guns, and is commanded by an authorised British subject, who has expressed his determination not to be taken, and to a revenue cutter he would be found a dangerous enemy, though he would not stand long against a king's ship."

In the year 1820 the Edinburgh or Leith Seaman's Friendly Society was instituted. The Shipmasters' Widows' Fund had been established fifteen years before.

In 1849 the tonnage of the growing port of Leith increased to 22,499.

The tonnage dues on vessels, and shore dues, outwards and inwards, amounted to £24,566 6s. 11d. The aggregate revenue accruing to the docks was £29,209 10s. 11½d., while the Custom House returns for duties levied in the port was £566,312.

In 1881 we find the number and tonnage of vessels arriving and sailing from Leith to stand thus:—Sailing vessels arriving, 1,705; tonnage 262,871; departing, 1,702; tonnage 259,143. Steam vessels arriving, 2,695; tonnage 711,282; departing, 2,695; tonnage 712,056.

The chief articles of export are coal and iron, and the appliances for placing these on board ship are of the most approved kind. In 1881 there were 127,207 tons of pig-iron shipped. The chief imports are grain and flour; thus, 1,135,127 quarters of grain and 238,313 bags of flour were landed at Leith, and the importation of guano, wood, flax, and hemp was very considerable, according to the *Scotsman* for that year. The revenue of the port in 1881 was £87,491.

In 1880 the company owning the Arrow Line put on a number of steamers direct between Leith and New York; and the venture has been so successful that now there is regular communication between the former place and America every fortnight. By the prosperity that has come with the new docks, which we shall presently describe, Leith can now boast of a population of 58,000 souls, being an increase on the last decade of 13,000.

We have shown how, from small beginnings and under many depressing influences, the shipping and the tonnage of Leith has steadily increased, till the traffic has become great indeed.

Now steam vessels, either from Leith or Granton, ply to Hamburg, Rotterdam, Antwerp, Amsterdam, Bremerhaven, Copenhagen, Dantzic, Dunkirk, Ghent, regularly; to London, four times weekly;

to Hull, Newcastle, Thurso, Orkney, and Shetland, to Inverness, Fort George, and Invergordon, Cromarty, Findhorn, Burghhead, Banff, and other places in the north, twice weekly; to Dundee, Aberdeen, Stonehaven, Johnshaven, Montrose, and places farther south, four days a week. A number of steamers run in summer, on advertised days, between Leith, Aberdour, Elie, North Berwick, Alloa, etc.

The first screw steamer from Leith to London was put on the station in 1853.

Several ships belonging to the port are employed in the Greenland whale fishery, and a considerable number trade with distant foreign ports, especially with those of the Baltic and the West Indies.

"In consequence of the want of a powder magazine," says a statistical writer, "gunpowder sent from the mills of Midlothian for embarkation—too dangerous a commodity to be admitted to any ordinary storing-place, or to lie on board vessels in the harbour—has frequently, when vessels do not sail at the time expected, to be carted back to await the postponed date of sailing, and, in some instances, has been driven six times between the mills and the port, a distance each time, in going and returning, of twenty or twenty-four miles, before it could be embarked."

The lighthouse has a stationary light, and exhibits it at night so long as there is a depth of not less than nine feet of water on the bar, for the guidance of vessels entering the harbour.

The tall old signal-tower has a manager and signal-master, who display a series of signals during the day, to proclaim the progress or retrogression of the tide.

The general anchoring-place for vessels is two miles from the land, and in the case of large steamers, is generally westward of Leith, and opposite Newhaven. During the French and Spanish war, the roadstead was the station of an admiral's flagship, a guardship, and squadron of cruisers. Inverkeithing is the quarantine station of the port, eight and three-quarter miles distant, in a direct line, by west, of the entrance of Leith Harbour.

In connection with the naval station in the Roads, Leith enjoyed much prosperity during the war, as being a place for the condemnation and sale of prize vessels, with their cargoes; and in consequence of Bonaparte's great Continental scheme of prevention, it was the seat of a most extensive traffic for smuggling British goods into the north of Europe, by way of Heligoland, a system which employed many armed vessels of all kinds, crowded its harbour, and greatly enriched many of its bold and speculative inhabitants.

Foreign ventures, however, proved, in some instances, to be severely unsuccessful; "and their failure combined, with the disadvantages of the harbour and the oppression of shore dues, to produce that efflux of prosperity, the ebb of which seems to have been reached, to give place," says a writer in 1851, "to a steady and wealth-bearing flood."

The last prizes condemned and sold in Leith were some Russian vessels, chiefly brigs, captured by Sir Charles Napier's fleet in the Baltic and Gulf of Finland during the Crimean War.

It is singular that neither at the Trinity House, in the Kirkgate, nor anywhere else, a record has been kept of the Leith Letters of Marque or other armed vessels belonging to the port during the protracted wars with France, Spain, and Holland, while the notices that occur of them in the brief public prints of those days are meagre in the extreme; yet the fighting merchant marine of Leith should not be forgotten.

Taking a few of these notices chronologically, we find that the ship *Edinburgh*, of Leith, Thomas Murray commander, a Letter of Marque, carrying eighteen 4-pounders, with swivels and a fully-armed crew, on the 30th of August, 1760, in latitude 13° north, and longitude 58° west, from London, fell in with a very large French privateer, carrying fourteen guns, many swivels, and full of men.

This was at eleven in the forenoon. The *Edinburgh*, we are told, attacked, and fought her closely "for five glasses," and mauled her aloft so much, that she was obliged to fill her sails, bear away, and then bring to, and re-fit aloft. The *Edinburgh* continued her course, but with ports triced up, guns loaded, and the crew at quarters ready to engage again.

The privateer followed, and attempted to board, but was received with such a terrible fire of round shot and small-arms, that she was again obliged to sheer off. Many times the conflict was renewed, and at last ammunition fell short on board the *Edinburgh*.

The gallant Captain Murray now lay by, reserving his fire, while a couple of broadsides swept his deck; and then, when both ships were almost muzzle to muzzle, and having brought all his guns over to one side, poured in his whole fire upon her, "which did such execution that it drove all hands from their quarters; she immediately hoisted all her sails, and made off."

The crew of the *Edinburgh* now "sheeted home," and gave chase, but she was so heavily laden with the spoils of her cruise that the enemy out-sailed her, upon which Captain Murray, with a great

number of wounded men on his hands, bore away to Barbadoes to re-fit.

In the spring of the following year, a Leith sloop, coming from Strichen, laden with wheat and cheese, was taken off St. Abb's Head by two French privateers of twelve and sixteen guns—the latter was *Le Maréchal Duc de Noailles*, painted quite black. When the sloop struck a tremendous sea was running; Laverock, the master, ransomed her for 100 guineas, and reported at Leith that if these two great privateers were not taken soon, they would ruin the east coast trade of Scotland.

Soon after another ship of Leith was taken by them into Bergen, and ransomed for 500 guineas, though a few days before the privateer had been severely handled by the *Elizabeth*, merchant ship, Captain Grant, who had also to strike to her, after a most severe combat.

In 1794, the *Raith*, of Leith, was captured by a squadron of French ships on the 21st August, together with the *Dundee*, whaler, of Dundee. The latter was re-taken, and brought into Leith by H.M. brig *Fisher*, which reported that, previous to recapture, the *Dundee* had picked up a boat, having on board eight Frenchmen, part of a prize crew of sixteen put on board the *Raith* to take her to Bergen; but the mate and another Scottish seaman had daringly re-taken her, and had sailed none knew whither. Soon after a letter reached the owners in Leith from Lyons, the mate, dated from Lerwick, briefly stating that when fifteen miles west of Bergen, "I retook her from the French, sending nine of the Frenchmen away in one of the boats, and put the rest in confinement." Eventually these two brave fellows brought the ship to Leith, from whence their prisoners were sent to the Castle.

In those days the Glass House Company had their own armed ships, and one of these, the *Phoenix*, Cornelius Neilson, master, had the reputation of being one of the swiftest sailers in Leith, and was always advertised to sail with or without convoy, as she fought her own way.

In 1797, the *Breadalbane* Letter of Marque, of Leith, captured a large Spanish brig off the coast of South America, and sent her into Leith Roads for sale, under the convoy of the *Royal Charlotte*, Captain Elder.

During the latter end of the eighteenth century Leith possessed two frigate-built ships of remarkable beauty, the *Roselle*, a Letter of Marque, and the *Moreland*, her sister ship, which usually fought their own way; and the former was so like a man-of-war in her size and appearance, that she frequently gave chase for a time to large foreign privateers.

In the *Herald* for 1798 we read that on her appearance off Peterhead, in March, she created such consternation that the captain of the *Robert*, a Greenlandman, on a gun being fired from her, ran his ship ashore, according to one account, and, according to another, made his escape, with the assistance of his crew, from the supposed enemy. The *Moreland* and the *Lady Forbes*,* of Leith, another armed ship, seem always to have sailed in company, for protection, to and from the West Indies. After many escapes and adventures, the beautiful *Roselle*, which carried fourteen guns of large calibre, was captured at last by a Spanish line-of-battle ship, which, report said, barbarously sank her, with all on board, by a broadside.

On the 6th December, 1798, the *Betsy*, of Leith, Captain Mackie, having the Angus regiment of volunteers on board, from Shetland, in company with an armed cutter, was attacked off Rattray Head by two heavily-armed French privateers. A severe engagement ensued, in which the volunteers made good use of their small arms; the privateers were crippled and beaten off by the *Betsy*, which ran next day into Panff, and the troops were put on shore.

In the same month *The Generous Friends*, sailing from Leith to Hull, when a few miles off the mouth of the Humber, in a heavy gale of wind, was overtaken by a large black privateer, having a poop and fiddle-head painted red and white. The heavy sea prevented her from being boarded, and the appearance of the Baltic fleet compelling the enemy to sheer off, she bore up with the latter, and returned to Leith Roads; but such little excitements were of constant occurrence in those stirring times.

The *Nancy*, of Leith, Captain Grindley, was taken, in July, 1799, off Dungeness, by the *Adolph*, lugger, of eighteen guns and fifty men, who used him and his crew with great severity prior to their being cast into the horrible prison at Valenciennes.

"The behaviour of the Frenchmen to us, when taken, was most shameful," he wrote to his owners in Leith. "When they got upon our deck, they kept firing their pistols, cutting with swords for some time, and dragging those who were below out of their beds; they cut and mangled in a cruel manner one of our men, William Macleod, who was then at the helm, and afterwards threw him overboard. This obliged the rest of the crew to leave the deck and go below. In a short time we were

* It is interesting to remark that the original painting, after which the drawing of Plate 32 ("Leith Pier and Harbour, 1798") was made, was painted for Captain Gourley, who was part owner of the *Lady Forbes*, a Letter of Marque that carried 14 cannonades. The Editor is obliged to Mr. R. F. Todd, owner of the painting in question, for this information.

put on board the privateer and landed at Calais, from whence we were ten days marching to Valenciennes; we were lodged in the most horrid jails by the way, and were allowed nothing but bread and water."

In the May of the following year, the brig *Caledonia*, of Leith, and the *Mary*, of Kirkwall, were both captured, not far from Aberdeen, by a French privateer; but when within three miles of the coast of France, they escaped to Yarmouth, on the appearance of the *Lady Anne*, an armed lugger, commanded by Lieutenant Wright, R.N.

On the 6th March, 1800, the *Fox*, Letter of Marque, of Leith, fought a sharp battle, which her captain, James Ogilvy, thus details in the report to his owners there:—

"Last night, at 11 p.m., Dungeness, NNW, three leagues, I observed a lugger lying on my lee-bow; the moment he saw me he made sail and ran ahead to windward, and hove-to until I came up. I observed his motions, hoisted a light on my maintop, and hailed the *Junio*, of Kirkcaldy, Mr. James Condy, who came from Leith Roads along with me, and kept company all the way, to keep close by me, as he was under my convoy; which he immediately did—also two colliers. All my hands lay on deck, and were prepared to receive him (the enemy), being well loaded with round and grape shot from my small battery. He, with his great, or lug mainsail, bore down on my quarter within pistol-shot. I immediately gave him our broadside, which, from the confusion and mourning cries, gave me every reason to suppose he must have had a number killed and wounded, and he lay-to, with all his sails shaking in the wind, as long as I could see him. I am truly happy that the *Fox's* small force has been the means of saving herself, as well as the *Junio* and the two colliers, from a desperate set of thieves that so much infest this channel. We have fortunately arrived here (Portsmouth) safe to-day, with the *Junio*, in time to join the convoy for Gibraltar. Have got instructions from the *Champion* frigate, and sail to-morrow morning" (*Herald and Chron.*, 1800).

Captain Ogilvy was presented by the underwriters with a handsome present for his valour and good conduct in saving and defending four ships.

In the autumn of 1801, the whole of the shipcarpenters, rope-makers, joiners, and block-makers, to the number of 250 men, employed in the little Government naval yard at Leith, "voluntarily offered to be trained to the use of the great guns and of pikes, in defence of the town and port of Leith," refusing all pay. The enthusiasm spread at the same time to the fishermen of the Firth of

Forth, who, to the number of 1,243, made through Captain Clements an offer of their services in any way his Majesty might require, to defend the country from foreign invasion.

To return briefly to the arts of peace, we may state that both at Leith and Newhaven an extensive trade in shipbuilding has been carried on at various periods; but for some generations past no ships have been launched at the latter place, yet within the recollection of many still alive shipbuilding was one of the most important branches of industry carried on at Leith.

In 1840, two steamers, larger than any then afloat, were contracted for, and successfully launched from the building-yard of the Messrs. Menzies; and much about the same time other ships of such a size were built, that many persons began fondly to suppose that the Port of Leith would keep the lead in this great branch of industry; but, contrary to expectation, the trade gradually declined, while the fame and well-known character of the celebrated Clyde-built ships and Aberdeen clippers drew it to the west and north of Scotland. Some amount of fresh impetus was given to it, however, by the establishment of several yards for the construction of iron ships, from which have been launched a number of first-class vessels, and also magnificent steam yachts for the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Eglinton, and others.

But though the construction of new ships is not carried on to the extent it was formerly, a considerable number of shipcarpenters are employed in the port repairing vessels, some afloat and others in dry docks. In the winter and spring artisans of this class are most in demand, re-classing and overhauling vessels laid up during these seasons, after arriving from long voyages.

It has more than once been observed that by far the worst circumstance which in modern times has damaged the port, and at one time seriously menaced its trade with ruin, was its predicament with regard to steam vessels. Some of the latter, built to ply from it, have been so constructed as, with a sacrifice of their speed and sailing powers, not to suffer much injury when seeking harbourage; but others, such as are most serviceable and valuable to a great port, can barely enter it.

This consideration will lead us naturally to the description of the several docks that have been built from time to time with a view to meet the growing requirements both as to traffic and increased size of vessels. One of these docks, the Prince of Wales's Graving Dock, is capable of receiving the largest ship in the merchant service, except the *Great Eastern*.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

LEITH—THE DOCKS.

New Docks proposed—Apathy of the Government—First Graving Dock, 1720—Two more Docks constructed—Shellycoat's Rock—The Contract—The Dock of 1801—The King's Bastion—The Queen's Dock—New Piers—The Victoria Dock—The Albert Dock—The Edinburgh Dock—Its Extent—Ceremony of Opening—A Glance at the Trade of Leith.

IN the year when the first stone pier was built (1710) steps were taken towards building a regular dock in Leith, when the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of Edinburgh, petitioned Queen Anne, praying her to establish at Leith, "the port of her ancient and loyal city of Edinburgh, a wet and dry dock, for the commencing of building, fitting, and repairing her Majesty's ships of war and trading vessels, which would greatly conduce to the interests of trade in general."

Every Scottish project in those days, and for long after, was doomed to be blighted by the loss of the national legislature; so this petition had not the slightest effect.

Time went on, and another was presented, and ultimately, under instructions issued by the Earl of Pembroke, then Lord High Admiral, some naval officers surveyed the Firth of Forth, and were pleased to report that Leith was the most suitable port, and two docks were eventually formed on the west side of the old harbour, the first, a graving dock, being constructed in 1720, in front of the Sand Port, where now the Custom House stands.

The west quay, which now takes its name from that edifice, was built in 1777, but the accommodation still being inadequate for the requirements of the growing trade of the port, the magistrates of Edinburgh obtained, in 1788, an Act of Parliament empowering them to borrow the sum of £30,000 for the purpose of constructing a basin, or wet dock, of seven English acres, above the dam of the saw-mills at Leith, a lock at the Sheriff Brae, and a communication between the latter and the basin.

This plan, however—one by Mr. Robert Whitworth, engineer—was abandoned, and the magistrates applied again to Parliament, and in 1799 obtained an Act authorising them to borrow £160,000 to execute a portion of John Rennie's magnificent and more extensive design, which embraced the idea of a vast range of docks, stretching from the north pier of Leith to Newhaven, with an entrance at each of these places.

The site chosen for these new docks was parallel with what was known as the Short Sand, or from the Sand Port, at the back of the north pier westward, to nearly the east flank of the old battery; and here, for the last time, we may refer to one of the many

superstitions for which Leith was famous of old and perhaps the most quaint of these was connected with a large rock, which lay on the site of these new docks, and not far from the citadel, which was supposed to be the seat, or abode, of a demon called Shellycoat, a kind of spirit of the waters, who, in the "Traditions and Antiquities of Leith," has been described as "a sort of monster fiend, gigantic, but undefinable, who possessed powers almost infinite; who never undertook anything, no matter how great, which he failed to accomplish; his swiftness was that of a spirit, and he delighted in deeds of blood and devastation."

Shellycoat, so named from his skin or garment of shells, was long the bugbear of the urchins of Leith, and even of their seniors; but in the new dock operations his half-submerged rock was blown up or otherwise removed, and Shellycoat, like the Twelve o'clock Coach, the Green Lady, and the Fairy Drummer, is now a thing of the past.

In March, 1800, appeared in the Edinburgh papers the advertisement for contractors for the works at Leith thus:—

"All persons willing to contract for quarrying stones, at the quarry now opened near Rosyth Castle, westward of North Queensferry, and putting them on board a vessel, and also for the carriage and delivery at Leith, for the purpose of constructing a WET DOCK there, are desired, on or before the first Monday in April next, to send to John Gray, Town Clerk, proposals sealed, containing—First, the price per ton for which they are willing to quarry such stones and put them on board a vessel; and secondly, for the carriage and delivery of them at Leith.

"There will be wanted for the Sea Wall about two hundred and fifty thousand cubic feet of ashlar, and in the Quay Walls about one hundred and seventy thousand cubic feet, besides a quantity of rubble stones. A specification of the dimensions and shape of the stones, and the conditions of the contract, will be shown by Charles Cunningham, at the Dean of Guild's office, St. Giles's Church.

"Edinburgh, March 12th, 1800."

These details are not without interest now; but it is remarkable that the materials should have been brought from the coast of Fife, when the quarries at Granton had been known for ages.



Government advanced £25,000 to the city of Edinburgh on security of the future dock revenues, and on the 14th of May, 1801, the foundation-stone of the wet docks was laid by Robert Dundas, of Melville, Deputy Grand Master, in absence of Charles, Earl of Dalkeith, Grand Master of Scotland. An immense concourse of masonic brethren and spectators attended this ceremony, and the procession left the Assembly Rooms, and proceeded along the quay to the south-east corner of the first dock, where the first stone was laid.

When the procession reached that spot, the substitute Grand Master, after the usual formula, placed in the cavity of the stone a large phial, containing medals "of the first characters of the present age," coated with crystal, and two plates, whereon were engraved inscriptions so long that they occupy each half a column of the *Chronicle*.

A salute of twenty-one guns was fired by the squadron in the roads, under Captain Clements, R.N., and the militia formed the escort for the Grand Lodge; and the Dumfries-shire militia and other corps stationed in Edinburgh and its vicinity contributed largely by their manual labour, being employed by companies, and even battalions, in the excavation and general formation of these docks, the first of which, called now the old dock, was opened to the shipping in 1806; and in the preceding year a further sum of £25,000 had been advanced by Government on the dock property.

The Western, or Queen's Dock, begun in 1810, was finished in 1817, the suite being at a cost of about £285,000.

These two are each 250 yards long, and 100 wide, with three graving docks on their north side, and all protected from the sea by a retaining wall of enormous strength, composed of vast blocks of stone. The third, or largest dock of all, designed to reach nearly to Newhaven, was then projected; but this and all kindred matters which accorded with the magnificence of Mr. Rennie's design, and the intentions of his employers, the magistrates of Edinburgh, were thrown into abeyance during his life by a total failure of funds.

On the occasion of the jubilee of the 25th of October, 1809—the anniversary of the accession of George III. to the throne—the foundation-stone of what was named "King George's Bastion" was laid by the Earl of Moira, in the north-west angle of the western dock, amid a magnificent assemblage, and followed by a procession, including all the magnates of Edinburgh, escorted by the troops and volunteers, under a grand salute of heavy guns, fired by the crew of H.M.S. *Egeria*, on the west side of the basin, followed by a general salute of

fifty rounds from all the shipping in the roads, and, as the *Scots Magazine* has it, "the acclamations of twenty thousand people;" and a grand banquet was given in the Assembly Rooms, George Street.

The gates of the old dock were renewed, and the sill deepened in 1844.

The Western, or Queen's Dock, when the George Bastion had been built, was for some years mostly used by the naval service for repairing and fitting out.

In 1825 the city of Edinburgh borrowed from Government £240,000 more on security of the dock dues (after there had been a proposal to sell the whole property to a joint-stock company, a proposal successfully opposed by the inhabitants of Leith); and after Mr. W. Chapman, of Newcastle, had made surveys and plans for further improvements, as the result of his report and of subsequent voluminous correspondence with Government on the subject of a naval yard and store yard, it was decided to extend the eastern pier about 1,500 feet, so as to have an entire length there of 2,550 feet, or more than half a mile.

The ceremony of driving the first pile took place on the 15th of August, 1826, the fourth anniversary of the landing of George IV. at Leith, and was made the occasion, as usual, of an imposing demonstration. All the vessels in port were gaily decorated, and the various public bodies, accompanied by three regimental bands and escorted by Hussars, proceeded from the Assembly Rooms to the end of the old pier, where the Dock Commissioners and Lord Provost occupied a platform. The Provost having cut a rope, and allowed a heavy weight to fall upon the upright pile, wine, oil, and corn, were placed upon it, and the company then embarked in a tug and crossed to the other pier, where the same ceremony was repeated, and a banquet followed.

A western pier and breakwater were next erected, to the extent of 1,500 feet, terminating within 200 feet of the other.

The insolvency of the city of Edinburgh in 1833 led to important re-arrangements in connection with the management of their now valuable docks; and by virtue of an Act of Parliament passed in 1838, the care of the docks and harbour was vested in eleven Commissioners—five appointed by the Lords of the Treasury, three by the city of Edinburgh, and three by the town of Leith.

In the winter of 1838–9, Messrs. Walker and Cubbitt, two eminent engineers of London, were sent down by the Lords of the Treasury to undertake jointly the duty of providing their lordships "with such a plan as will secure to the Port of

Leith the additional accommodation required by its shipping and commercial interests, including the provision of a low-water pier."

These engineers, after a careful survey, failed to agree in opinion, and recommended three different plans—Mr. Walker two, and Mr. Cubbitt one. The details of only that to which the Lords of the Treasury gave preference, and which was one of Mr. Walker's, need not be stated, as they were never fully carried out, and in 1847 a Government

The Victoria Dock was formally opened by the steamer *Royal Victoria* (which traded between Leith and London), which carried the royal standard of Scotland at her mainmast head, but there was no public demonstration.

In 1860 the Harbour and Docks Bill passed the House of Lords on the 19th of July. This Act cancelled the debt of about £230,000 due to the Treasury for a present payment of £50,000. The passing of this measure, and its commercial im-



THE EDINBURGH DOCK, LEITH.

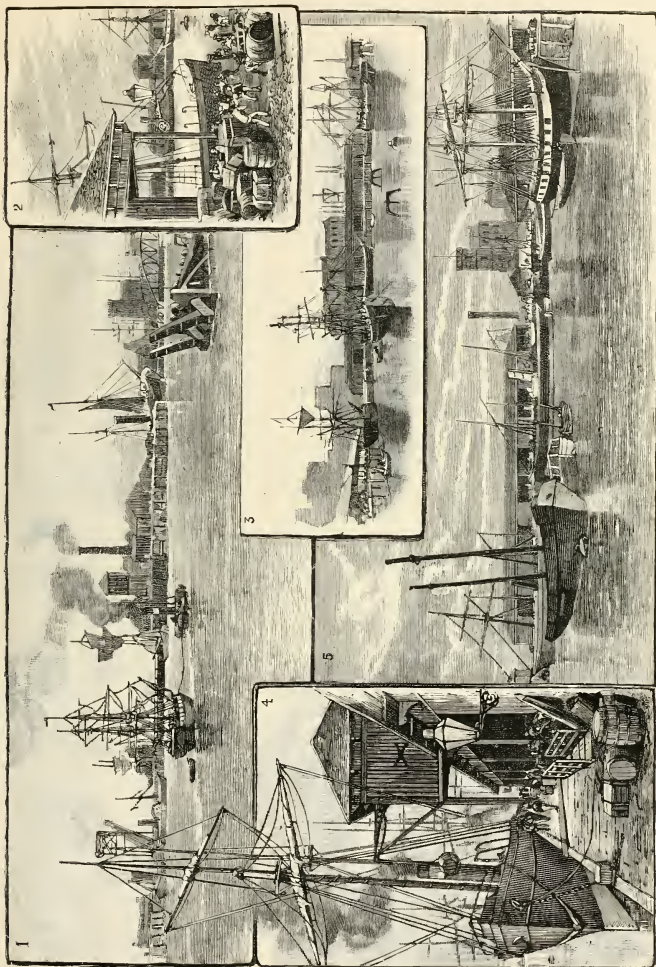
grant of £135,000 was obtained for a new dock by the new Commissioners, under whose care the entire property continued to prosper, while trade continued to increase steadily; thus the accommodation for shipping was further enlarged by the opening in 1852 of the Victoria Dock (parallel with the old dock), having an area of about five acres, with an average depth of twenty-two feet of water.

Here berthage has constantly been provided for the London and Edinburgh Shipping Company's fleet, and for most of Currie and Co.'s Continental trading steamers. It was contracted for by Mr. Barry, of Scarborough, who finished the piers about the same time as the dock; but the Victoria Jetty was not constructed till 1855.

portance to Leith, was celebrated there by displays of fireworks and the ringing of the church bells.

In the lapse of a few years after the opening of the Victoria Dock, the trade of the port had increased to such an extent that the construction of a still larger and better dock than any it yet possessed became necessary. Thus the Commissioners felt justified in making the necessary arrangements with that view.

Consequently, in 1862, Mr. Rendell, C.E., London, and Mr. Robertson, C.E., Leith, in accordance with instructions given to them, submitted a plan, by which it was proposed to reclaim no less than eighty-four acres of the East Sands (the site of the races of old) by means of a great



VIEWS IN LEITH DOCKS.
 1, General Entrance to the Docks; 2, Allert Dock, looking North; 3, Queen's Dock; 4, Allert Dock, looking East; 5, Victoria Dock.

embankment, 3,480 feet in length. The engineers fixed upon this site because these sands afforded a larger area near the level of half-tide than could be got on the west side of the harbour above low water, and were capable of being more cheaply reclaimed, and of giving the most ample accommodation for quays and stores.

Mr. William Scott, of Kilmarnock, contracted for the work of excavation, embanking, masonry, and other appliances, for the sum of £189,285. The cranes and sheds were separately estimated for; but the total cost amounted to £224,500.

This dock, which is perhaps one of the most complete of its kind—its quays being fitted up with all the most improved and newest appliances for loading and unloading—was opened on the 21st of August, 1869, and was named the Albert Dock; and the hydraulic cranes, made at the works of Sir William Armstrong, were introduced into Scotland for the first time. Provost Watt performed the opening ceremony, the vessel used on the occasion being the screw steamer *Florence*, belonging to Messrs. Currie and Co.

The gentlemen on board numbered two hundred, including the Dock Commissioners and certain representative men of Edinburgh and Leith. After steaming round Inchkeith, the vessel proceeded into the dock, breaking a ribbon on her way, while a band played "Rule Britannia," and a salute was fired by a battery of the Royal Artillery. At a subsequent *déjeuner* in the Assembly Rooms, Mr. D. R. Macgregor, M.P. for the Leith Burghs, referring to the advantages under which the Dock Commission laboured, said they had now "no Act of Parliament to fight for: they had the privilege of succeeding to the great advantages enjoyed at one time by the city of Edinburgh, of having the whole of the foreshore, from Wardie Point to the Figgate Whins; they had been able to reclaim land to build on, and had more to the eastward to build a dozen docks of similar extent." This statement is borne out by the fact that the Albert Dock at Hull, which was opened about the same time, and has the same amount of water surface, though not so great an extent of land surface, cost upwards of a million of money, the promoters having been compelled to get an Act of Parliament, at great expense, to purchase a site.

The Albert Dock is nearly double the size of any of the three older principal docks, the water area being ten and three-quarter acres; and the newer dock (to be yet described) is longer still, with a jetty giving double the berthage accommodation. "These docks are reached through a tidal harbour, formed by two noble piers, a mile each in length,"

says the *Scotsman* in 1869; "the first of these are on the west, and the Albert and new dock on the east side, east and west being connected by a massive hydraulic bridge, equal to the heaviest traffic, and spanning the harbour to the south of the dock-gates."

This is called the Victoria Swing Bridge. We must not omit to remark more particularly the small, but valuable, addition that was made to the dry dock accommodation of Leith by the Prince of Wales's Graving Dock, in the same quarter, which was opened in 1858, and is 370 feet long, and sixty at the entrance in width. Several steamers of large size have been repaired in this dock, which was built by Mr. Alexander Wilson. Mr. Rendell, C.E., was the engineer, and it is considered a very splendid work of the kind.

The Edinburgh Dock, as it is now named, is one of the most important of all the late measures taken for the improved accommodation of shipping at Leith. The first part of the undertaking was the formation of a formidable sea-wall, stretching from the east end of the Albert Dock to a point near Seafield Toll; and though several severe storms were encountered during the time it was in progress, when the long waves of the Firth came inland with a force and fury to which the German Sea gave an impetus, the wall was completed without accident.

Only once did the sea excite any anxiety, and even on that occasion the cost of repairing the damage did not exceed £500; and that for contingencies, which in a work of such magnitude are always provided for, may be regarded as a very trifling sum.

There has been reclaimed from the sea here a territory of one hundred and eight acres, thus giving to the Dock Commissioners ample space for sheds and dépôts, and to two railway companies every facility for ensuring the most prompt transition of goods. The chief embankment by which the reclamation was effected consists of a massive dry rubble wall, thirty feet broad at the base and ten feet six inches at the top. It is covered on its surface with fine ashlar two feet deep, and partly with Portland cement concrete two feet six inches thick.

The seaward slope is adapted to resist the pressure of the heaviest waves, and the wall is backed with puddled clay, averaging five feet six inches thick, and the space behind is filled in with rough packing or quarry shivers. A rubble scarcement (or species of berme), twelve feet wide and two feet deep, is built on the outside, to protect the foot of the embankment from the perpetual wash of the sea.

This embankment was finished in February, 1877, and thereafter the excavation of the dock was proceeded with by a force of about five hundred men, who worked daily at it. Two "steam navvies," each of which filled a railway waggon in three minutes, were used.

Thus, in a day of ten hours one of these excavated, on an average, 400 cubic yards, representing 550 tons of material, equal to the work of forty able-bodied men; and several other approved appliances were employed by the contractors to economise manual labour. In the progress of excavation no remarkable difficulties, in an engineering point of view, were encountered, the ground being what is technically termed "dry."

Water, of course, gathered in the works, but was led to a tank on the north side, and pumped into a sewer-pipe running under the north embankment. The walls are constructed of stone from Craigmillar quarry, and the lime came from the kilns at Lyme Regis, and was crushed by machinery erected on the Leith side of the dock. From the bottom of the latter the walls are thirty-five feet in height, and at high tide the depth of water is twenty-seven feet. The entire amount of masonry about the west dock is 100,000 cubic yards, and the quayage accommodation amounts to 6,775 feet.

The total length of the parallel walls on the north and south sides is 1,500 feet, and the extreme breadth of the dock 750. From the eastern end, a jetty, 250 feet in width by 1,000 in length, runs up the centre of the dock, which is thus formed into two basins. This, of course, greatly increases the quay accommodation. The western end forms an open basin, 500 feet in length by the entire breadth of the dock. In the centre of this noble jetty a graving dock has been constructed, 350 feet long, forty-eight feet wide at the bottom, and seventy at the top. Its gates are at the western end of the jetty, and have twenty feet of water on the sill, and are opened and closed by means of four crab hand-winchies.

The pumping machinery is placed in an edifice, built of fire-clay brick, near the gates. The entrance to the Edinburgh Dock is through the Albert Dock, the channel being 270 feet long by 65 broad; and across it, for the accommodation of traffic, is an iron swing bridge, worked by hydraulic machinery. The space round the dock for the accommodation of shipping traffic extends to about thirty acres; and in addition to this, the Caledonian and North British Railways have each acquired twenty-seven acres of the reclaimed ground from the Dock Commissioners, which at their own expense they filled up to the level of the quays.

On the south side of this truly noble dock has been built a line of goods sheds, each 80 feet wide by 196 feet long. On the north side a powerful hydraulic coal-hoist has been erected specially for the coal traffic.

The designs included a promenade and drive along the sea-wall, thus giving a magnificent outlook on the Forth. The whole works, including the railway undertakings, cost about £400,000. Mr. Clark, C.E., the engineer of Scott's Trustees, and Mr. J. R. Allan, C.E., representing Messrs. Rendell and Robertson, the engineers of the Commission, carried them out.

By the 15th of June, 1881, preparations were made for letting in the water of the ocean, and for that purpose gangs of workmen had been busy night and day for some time previous. A wooden platform was erected underneath a large pipe, which had been built into the sea-wall for the purpose of breaking the fall of the water in admitting it into the dock. That pipe, 3 feet 6 inches in diameter, was part of the old Edinburgh and Leith main outfall sewer, which had been diverted round the end of the dock. It extended from the north side of the reclamation wall to the inside of the quay, under the water-line, and a piling-ram of more than a ton weight had to be used in breaking it off flush with the face of the masonry.

At four p.m. on the day mentioned, the valve in the pipe was partly lifted to admit the outer tide into the vast basin, the water being turned on by Mr. Torry, W.S., Clerk to the Leith Dock Commissioners. The water then rushed furiously and steadily in, but, owing to the extent of the dock, several days elapsed before it was filled.

The wall between the Albert Dock and the new one had to be removed before vessels could be admitted, and to accomplish this a number of holes were bored in it and charged with dynamite to blow it up, and seven divers were brought from London to assist in clearing away the wreckage.

As the reserve squadron of the ironclad fleet was expected in the Firth of Forth in July, 1881, under the command of H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh, the latter was invited by the local authorities to open and to name the dock, alike after the city and himself—an event which passed off with the greatest éclat.

The opening took place on the 26th of July. The reserve squadron was moored in the Roads in two lines, and could be seen from the shore looming large through a somewhat vapoury atmosphere. The *Hercules*, with the duke's flag flying at her mizen, was the last of the line nearest to the Leith Shore. Ahead of her were the *Warrior*,

Defence, and *Valiant*; while in the port line were the *Lord Warden*, the *Hector*, and the *Penelope*.

Great preparations had necessarily been made for the accommodation of spectators, and a display of flags, usual on such occasions, was made across Constitution Street on the public buildings, and everywhere else suitable. In the Roads, immediately off the pier-head, lay the *Garth Castle*, of Currie's line, a magnificent ship, 370 feet long, which cost £100,000, was fitted up so as to be able at any time to act as a cruiser, and was capable of conveying 1,200 troops to the Cape or India. On board of her were Sir Donald Currie, M.P., and a select party, including many members of the House of Commons. A vast fleet of yachts and pleasure-boats was grouped about the anchorage ground, which was smooth and still as a millpond.

Provost Henderson, with the magistrates and Town Council of Leith, in their robes of office, proceeded by steamer to H.M.S. *Hercules*, and presented to the Duke of Edinburgh—to whom they were introduced by Captain Colville—an address, enclosed in a valuable casket, made of pierced silver-work. The document was written on vellum, and after stating how heartily the bearers welcomed him, added :—"A member of our beloved royal family we rejoice at all times to see among us, but when we combine your position with the remembrance of early days spent by you in this neighbourhood, and with the high rank you so worthily hold in the gallant service to which you have allied yourself, together with your many good qualities, which we recognise, but forbear to mention here, we feel, and are sure the inhabitants of the burgh feel, a peculiar pleasure in your present visit. We would also desire to welcome the fleet of which you have command, and which we are proud to think has also come to the Forth."

At noon, the duke, accompanied by Prince Henry of Prussia, General Macdonald, and the staff at head-quarters in Scotland, and a host of other officers, including the Dock Commissioners, left the flagship in the *Berlin* steamer, which was covered with bunting, and amid loud cheering from the fleet and pleasure yachts, stood in shore under a salute from the *Garth Castle*.

The *Berlin* threaded her way up the harbour into the Albert Dock, under the eyes of more than eighty thousand spectators. The quays were lined by the Leith Volunteers, but at the landing place stood a guard of honour, furnished by the Black Watch.

The swing gate of the new dock had been opened at twelve o'clock, and a silk ribbon only stretched across the aperture as a fanciful bar to the vast

expanse of water which lay beyond, and which was now for the first time to bear a vessel on its bosom. Increasing her speed a little, the *Berlin* cut the ribbon with her bow, and as the ends fluttered away on either side, the duke, standing on the deck amidships, exclaimed—

"I declare this dock to be open, and name it the Edinburgh Dock!"

At the same time a salute of cannon was fired from the sea wall at the dock, and the most vociferous cheering came from the crowds on the quays, the grand stands, and the manned yards of the adjacent shipping.

After being banqueted by the Dock Commissioners, the Duke drove to Edinburgh by the way of Leith Walk, and at the Council Chambers received an address of welcome, which was placed in his hands by Lord Provost Boyd, and which was contained in a magnificent silver casket. He returned to Leith by the way of Fettes College and Inverleith Row.

At the latter place he alighted at the Botanical Gardens, where, at the request of the professor of botany, he planted in front of the botany classroom a Hungarian oak, about ten feet high. He reached the Victoria Dock at six in the evening, and was soon after on board the *Hercules*. The signal was then given to weigh anchor, and long before nightfall the whole squadron was steaming out of the Firth.

It may be mentioned that the swing bridge over the entrance of the Edinburgh Dock, and which weighs 400 tons, has hydraulic machinery of a nature so delicate that it was opened on the above occasion by a boy four years of age, a younger son of the resident engineer. It cost £15,000.

In 1876 the constitution of the Leith Dock Commission was again altered by Act of Parliament. Now the board numbers fifteen members—three elected by the Town Council of Edinburgh, three by the Town Council of Leith, one by the Edinburgh Merchant Company, one by the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce, one by the Leith Chamber of Commerce, two by the shipowners, and four by the ratepayers.

Besides the ordinary police force of the town, there is a regular dock police, under a superintendent, consisting of watchmen entirely for dock service, paid and governed by the Dock Commissioners. The superintendent of the town police has no authority over them; but as the commission has no police office, they bring their prisoners to that of the town.

Before quitting this subject, a glance at the trade of the port may not be uninteresting.

Even in times of undoubted depression the docks at Leith have always retained an appearance of bustle and business, through the many large sailing ships laden with guano and West Indian sugar lying at the quays; but guano having been partly superseded by chemical manures, and West Indian by Continental sugar, the comparatively few vessels that now arrive are discharged with the greatest expedition. In the close of 1881 one came to port with the largest cargo of sugar ever delivered at Leith, the whole of which was for the Bonnington Refinery.

As a source of revenue to the Dock Commission, steamers which can make ten voyages for one performed by a sailing vessel are, of course, very much preferred; and, as showing the extent of the Continental sugar trade, it may be mentioned that quite recently 184,233 bags were imported in a single month. Most of this sugar is taken direct from the docks to the refiners at Greenock.

A very important element in the trade of Leith is the importation of esparto grass, both by sailing vessels and steamers. This grass is closely pressed by steam power into huge square bales, and these are discharged with such celerity by the use of donkey-engines and other appliances, that it is a common thing to unload 150 tons in a single day.

The facilities for discharging vessels at Leith with extreme rapidity are so admirable that few ports can match it—the meters, the weighers, and the stevedore firms who manage the matter, having every interest in getting the work performed with the utmost expedition.

As a wine port Leith ranks second in the British Isles, and it possesses a very extensive timber trade; and though not immediately connected with shipping, the wool trade is an important branch of industry there, the establishments of Messrs. Macgregor and Pringle, and of Messrs. Adams, Sons, and Co., being among the most extensive in Scotland.

The largest fleet of Continental trading steamers sailing from Leith is that of Messrs. James Currie and Co. In 1881 this firm had twenty-two steamers, with a capacity of 17,000 tons. Messrs. Gibson and Co. have many fine steamers, which are constantly engaged, while the Baltic is open and free of ice, in making trading voyages to Riga, Cronstadt, and other Russian ports.

A trade with Iceland has of late years been rapidly developed, the importation consisting of ponies, sheep, wild fowl, and dried fish; while in the home trade, the London and Edinburgh Shipping Company do a very active and lucrative business, having usually two, and sometimes three large steamers plying per week between Leith and Lon-

don; and in 1880, important additions were made to the lines of trading steamers by several large vessels owned by the Arrow Line being put on the berth, to ply between Leith and New York; while the North of Scotland Steam Shipping Company transferred their business to the port from Granton.

So steadily has the trade with New York developed itself, that from three to four steamers per month now arrive at Leith, bringing cargoes of grain, butter, oil-cakes, linseed meal, tinned meats, grass seeds, etc. Over 200,000 sacks of flour came to Leith in one year from New York, and in one month alone 33,312 sacks were imported.

Some of the Leith steamers sail direct to New York with mixed cargoes; others load with coal, and proceed there, *via* the Mediterranean, after exchanging their cargo for fruit. Then Messrs. Blaik and Co., of Constitution Street, have large steamers of 3,650 tons burden each, built specially for this trade. The passage from New York, “north about,” *i.e.*, through the Pentland Firth, usually occupied sixteen days, but now it is being reduced to twelve.

Prior to the opening of the Edinburgh Dock a difficulty was found in berthing some of the great ocean-going steamers, and many that used to bring live stock from New York had to land them on the Thames or Tyne, the regulations of the Privy Council not permitting these animals to be landed at Leith.

“Permission was first asked by the Commission,” says a local print in 1881, “to enable the animals to be taken to the Leith slaughter-house, which is on the south side of the new docks, and only a few yards from one of the entrances. The Privy Council having refused this request, the Dock Commission, with a desire to foster the trade, then made arrangements with the Leith Town Council, by which they could build a slaughter-house within the docks. A site was proposed and plans prepared; but being objected to again by the Privy Council, the subject was allowed to lie over.”

We have mentioned the transference of the North of Scotland steamers from Granton to Leith, and this change has proved monetarily advantageous, not only to the Commission, but to the majority of the shippers and passengers, and a special berth was assigned at the entrance of the Prince of Wales's Dock for the Aberdeen steamers, so that they sail even after high water. Besides the usual consignments of sheep, cattle, and ponies, vast quantities of herrings, in barrel, are brought to Leith, generally for re-shipment to the Continent of Europe.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

INCHKEITH.

The Defences of Leith—Inchkeith Forts—St. Serf—The Pest-stricken in 1497—Experiment of James IV.—The Old Fort—Johnson and Boswell—The New Channel—Colonel Moggridge's Plans—The Three New Forts—Magazines and Barracks—The Lighthouse.

THE long piers of Leith are now seaward of the Martello tower, and the battery at the fort is no longer on the seashore, but—owing to the reclamation of land, the erection of the goods and passenger stations of the Caledonian Railway, and the formation beyond these of a marine parade to Anchorfield—is now literally far inland and useless. This circumstance, coupled with the vast progress made of late years in the science of gunnery and projectiles, led to the construction of the Inchkeith forts for the protection of Leith and of the river; and to them we have already referred as the chief or only defences of the seaport.

This island stands nearly midway between Leith and Kinghorn, four miles distant from the Martello tower, and is said to take its name from the valiant Scot named Robert, who slew the Danish general at the battle of Camustone or Barrie in Angus, and obtained from Malcolm II., in 1010, the barony of Keith in Lothian, with the office of Marischal of Scotland. It has, however, claims to higher antiquity, and is supposed to be the *caer guidi* of the venerable Bede, and to have been fortified in his time.

Among the anecdotes of St. Serf, extracted by Pinkerton from the Chronicles of Winton, a Canon Regular of St. Andrews who lived in the end of the 14th or beginning of the 15th century, mention is made of some matters that are evidently fabulous—that the saint left Rome, and embarking for Britain, in the sixth century, with a hundred men, landed on this island, where he was visited by St. Adamnan, with whom he went to Fife.

Inchkeith is half a mile in length and about the eighth of a mile in breadth. Throughout its surface is very irregular and rocky, but in many places it produces the richest herbage, well suited for the pasturage of cattle and horses; yet there are no animals on it, except grey rabbits, and Norwegian rats brought thither by the Leith shipping. Near the middle of the island, but rather towards its northern end, it rises gradually to the height of 180 feet above the level of the river, and thereon the well-known lighthouse is erected. The island possesses abundance of springs; the water is excellent, and is collected into a cistern near the harbour, from which the shipping in the Roads is supplied.

In Maitland's "History of Edinburgh" there is mentioned an order from the Privy Council, in the year 1497, addressed to the magistrates of Edinburgh, directing "that all manner of persons within the freedom of this burgh who are infected with the contagious plague called the grand-gore, devoid, rid, and pass forth of this town, and conpeer on the sands of Leith, at ten hours before noon; and these shall have and find boats ready in the harbour, ordered them by the officers of this burgh, ready with victuals, to row them to the Inch (Inchkeith), and there to remain till God provide for their health."

There, no doubt, many of these unfortunate creatures found their last home, or in the waves around it.

It was long in possession of the Keith family, and undoubtedly received its name from them. When their connection with it ceased there are no means of knowing now, but it afterwards belonged to the Crown, and was included with the grant of Kinghorn to Lord Glamis, with whose family, according to Lamont's "Chronicles of Fife," it remained till 1649, when it was bought, together with the Mill of Kinghorn and some acres of land, by the eccentric and sarcastic Sir John Scott of Scotstarvit, Director of the Chancery, for 20,000 merks. It afterwards became the property of the Buccleuch family, and formed part of the barony of Royston, near Granton.

Regarding this island Lindesay of Pitscottie records a curious experiment undertaken by the gallant James IV., for the purpose of discovering the primitive language of mankind. "He caused tak ane dumb woman," says that picturesque old chronicler, "and pat hir in Inchkeith and gave hir two bairnes with hir, and gart furnish hir with all necessaries thingis pertaining to theiour nourishment, desiring heirby to know what language they had when they cam to the aige of perfyte speach. Same say they spak guid Hebrew; but I know not by authoris rehearse."

Balfour records in his "Annals," that in 1548 the English Navy, of twenty-five ships of war, arrived in the Firth, and fortified Inchkeith, leaving five companies of soldiers to defend it. Hayward says this fleet was commanded by Admiral Seymour, and after burning the shipping in Burntis-

land harbour, was repulsed in an attempt upon St. Minoe (St. Monance) by the Laird of Dun, "and so without glory or gain, returned to England."

The re-capture of Inchkeith during the French occupation of Leith has already been related; but the garrison there were in turn blockaded by Elizabeth's squadron of sixteen ships under Admiral Winter, in 1560, which cut off their provisions and communication with the shore.

The works erected by the English at first were thrown down by the French, who built a more regular castle, or work, and "upon a portion of the fort, which remained about the end of the last century," says Fullarton's "Gazetteer," "were the initials M. R. and the date 1556;" but the exactness of the date given seems doubtful. During the French occupation the island was, as has been said, used as a grazing ground for the horses of the gendarmes, which could not with safety be pastured on Leith Links.

To prevent the island from ever again being used by the English the fortifications were dismantled in 1567, and the guns thereon were brought to Edinburgh. In the Act of Parliament ordaining this they are described as being ruinous and utterly decayed.

In 1580, Inchkeith, with Inchgarvie, was made a place of exile for the plague-stricken by order of the Privy Council. After this we hear no more of the isle till 1652, when in the July of that year, as Admiral Blake at the head of sixty sail appeared off Dunbar in search of the Dutch under Van Tromp, the appearance of the latter off the mouth of the Firth, "put the deputy-governor of Leith, called Wylkes, in such a fright," says Balfour, "that he with speed sent men and cannon to fortify Inchkeith, that the enemy, if he come up the Fyrthe, should have none of the freshe watter of that iyland."

From this we may gather that Major Wilks (the same Cromwellian who shut up the church of South Leith and kept the keys thereof) was a prudent and active officer.

At this time, probably, all intercourse between Leith and London by sea was cut off, as Lamont in the August of this year, records that Lady Crawford departed from Leith to visit her husband, then a prisoner in the Tower of London; adding that she travelled "in the journey coach that comes ordinarlie betwixt England and Scotland."

When Dr. Johnson visited Scotland in 1773, Lord Hailes mentioned to Boswell the historical anecdote of the Inch having been called "*L'isle des Chevaux*" by the soldiers of Maréchal Strozzi;

but when the lexicographer and his satellite landed there, they found sixteen head of black cattle at pasture there.

That the defensive works had not been so completely razed as the Parliament of 1567 ordained, seems apparent from the following passage in Boswell's work:—"The fort with an inscription on it, MARIA RE 1504 (?), is strongly built."

Dr. Johnson examined it with much attention. "He stalked like a giant among the luxuriant thistles and nettles. There are three wells in the island, but we could not find one in the fort. There must probably have been one, though now filled up, as a garrison could not subsist without it. . . . When we got into our boat again, he called to me. 'Come, now, pay a classical compliment to the island on quitting it.' I happened, luckily, in allusion to the beautiful Queen Mary, whose name is on the fort, to think of what Virgil makes Æneas say on having left the country of the charming Dido:—

'Invitus, regina, tuo litore cessi.'

'Unhappy Queen,

Unwilling I forsook your friendly state.'

Boswell was in error about the date on the stone, and showed a strange ignorance of the history of his own country, as Mary was not born till 1542; and there now remains, built into the wall of the courtyard round the lighthouse, and immediately above the gateway thereof, a stone bearing the royal arms of Scotland with the date 1564.

There are now no other remains of the old fortifications, though no doubt all the stones and material of them were used in building the somewhat extensive range of houses, stores, and retaining walls connected with the light-house. If the fort was still strong, as Boswell asserts, in 1773, it is strange that the works were not turned to some account, when Admiral Fourbin was off the coast in 1708, and during the advent of Paul Jones in 1779.

We first hear of the new channel adjoining the island in September, 1801, when the newspapers relate that the *Wrights*, armed ship of Leith, Captain Campbell, commander, and the *Safeguard*, gun-vessel, under Lieutenant Shields, the former with a convoy for Hamburg, and the latter with a convoy for the Baltic, in all one hundred sail, put to sea together, passing "through the new channel to the southward of the island, which has lately been buoyed and rendered navigable by order of Government, for the greater safety of His Majesty's ships entering the Firth of Forth. This passage which is also found to be of the greatest utility to the trade of Leith, and ports higher up the Firth, has

greatly enhanced the beauty and grandeur of this interesting prospect by bringing the ships so much nearer to this coast, and consequently so much more within the immediate view of the metropolis and its environs." (*Herald and Chronicle*.)

From this it would appear that, prior to 1801, all vessels leaving the Firth from Leith and above it, must have taken the other channel, north of Inchkeith.

With the exception of erecting the now almost useless Martello tower, Government never made any effort of consequence to defend Leith or any other port in Scotland; thus it was said that Napoleon I., aware of the open and helpless condition of the entire Scottish coast, projected at one time the landing of an invading army in Aberlady Bay; but in defiance of the recommendation and urgent entreaty of many eminent engineers and military officers, that Inchkeith, the natural bulwark of the Forth, and more particularly of the port of Leith, should be fortified, the British Government let a hundred years, from the time of the pitiful Paul Jones scare, elapse, "leaving," as the *Scotsman* of 1878 has it, "the safety of the only harbour of refuge on the east coast, and the wealthiest and most commanding cities and towns of Scotland 'to the effectual fervent prayers' of 'longshore parish ministers.'"

For five and twenty years the Corporations of Edinburgh and Leith, the Merchant Company, the Chambers of Commerce and other public bodies, urged the necessary defence of Leith in vain.

Shortly before the Crimean war, the apathetic authorities were temporarily roused by the number of petitions that poured in upon them, and by frequent deputations from Fifeshire as well as Midlothian, and slowly and unwillingly they agreed to proceed with the fortification of Inchkeith.

Colonel John Verbury Moggridge, of the Royal Engineers in Scotland, was instructed to visit the island and prepare plans, in 1878, based upon sketches and suggestions, furnished some twenty years before, and a commencement was made in the summer of that year, the work being entrusted to Messrs. Hill and Co., of Gosport, the contractors who built most of the powerful fortifications at Portsmouth and Spithead.

In shape Inchkeith may be described as an irregular triangle, with its longest side parallel to the shore at Leith. Three jutting promontories form the angles—one looking up the Firth at the west end is above a hundred feet in height; another faces the direction of Kinghorn, and is fifty feet less in altitude; the third, facing the south or Leith

quarter, shows a more rounded outline than the other two.

On these it was suggested the forts should be built, and connected together by a military road a mile and a half long.

The workmen, at first 120 in number, were huddled on the island for the week, and only came back to Leith on Saturday night to return to their labour on the Monday morning. The August of 1878 saw Colonel Moggridge fairly at work, and the little cove or landing-place at the south-west quarter of the island, encumbered with piles of rails, tools, tackling, and all the paraphernalia of the contractor, while the operations for cutting the military road, in face of the cliff, ninety feet high, overhead, were at once proceeded with.

The huts of the workmen were double lined wooden houses, covered with felt, like those in Aldershot camp, and were situated in the hollow between the lighthouse hill and the west promontory. Around the interior of the huts were sleeping bunks for the men, ranged in three tiers, and in the centre were tables on each side of a cooking stove. No spirituous liquor was allowed to be landed. The old wells were all cleaned out and deepened, and as the work proceeded the aspect of the whole western face of the island changed rapidly.

The men worked from six in the morning till eight in the evening, with two hours interval for dinner and tea, and were paid extra for the two hours between six and eight o'clock in the evening.

In the formation of the military road, two objects had to be kept in view—easy gradients, and as much cover as possible from the long range guns of an enemy coming up the Firth. Thus, the path commences at the north emplacement, and bends westward from the lighthouse hill, which completely shelters it from the north and west. A short branch diverges towards the western battery, but the main road, eighteen feet wide, is carried under and partly along the face of the cliffs, which overlook the cove, where alone a landing could be effected by an armed force; and there, no doubt, it was that Strozzi was slain, when the island was stormed by the French.

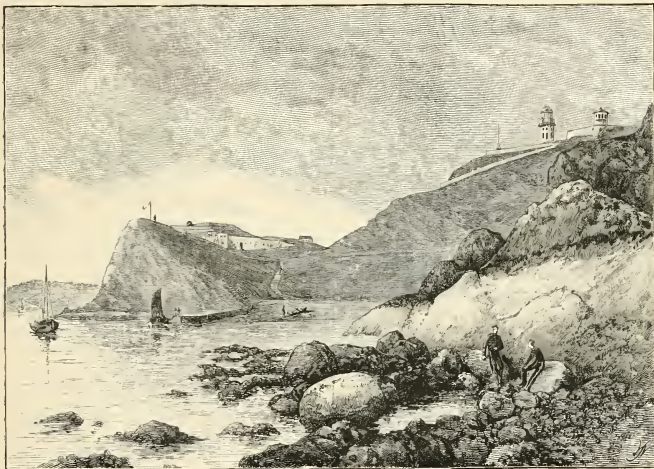
Trending then southwards, the road passes along a small plateau facing Leith; and beyond it, the steep face of the hill has been cut into, and the road built up, till it emerges on the comparatively level southern point. The whinstone and conglomerate blasted from the cuttings were utilised in the formation of seaward parapets, and in making the foundation of the road solid and dry to bear the heaviest traffic.

As it was impossible to use carts, donkeys with panniers were employed for the conveyance of light materials. The forts are entirely isolated from the island by a deep ditch, twenty feet broad and as many deep; and, fortunately, the natural contour of the ground selected for the fortifications enabled this to be done with excellent effect; thus each fort can be held and defended by its garrison, even though the island should be in possession of an enemy.

post or old cannon, to form the pivot of the platform of the gun arming the battery—the platform to revolve like a railway turn-table, so that the muzzle of the gun may traverse a very wide area.

In rear of the gun-platforms are the magazines—that in the north battery being sunk in the solid rock many feet deep.

From each fort access is given to the bottom of the ditch by a covered way; and from the ditch to the mainland by a flight of steps.



INCHKEITH.

Generally speaking the exterior slopes of the forts follow the coast lines of the promontories, and the earth of which they are formed was thoroughly compact and rammed down previous to being riveted with sods—stonework never being employed in the external faces of modern fortifications, to preclude the dangerous chance of wounds inflicted by splinters and stone shivers.

The parapet walls are of great thickness, and rise about four feet six inches above the floor of the interior of each fort. The interior, in the instance of the north and west batteries, takes a circular form, and the floor is composed of a solid mass of concrete several feet thick. In the centre of this concrete is sunk, in an upright position, an iron

The crest of the west headland was removed, to permit a solid concrete foundation being laid for the gun-platform.

By July, 1881, the Inchkeith forts were completed, and ready for being armed with their guns.

The three forts mount altogether four guns, and have been constructed at advantageous points, and there can be no fear of an enemy ever cutting off the supply of water, as it gushes plentifully from the rocks. Each fort covers a space of between half an acre and an acre of ground, and the points chosen for them are of the first strategical importance.

From the shape of the isle they form the points of an irregular triangle, and each being in sight of

the other, the garrisons could level their united fire in any given direction. The situation of No. 3, or the south-east fort, facing Leith, which is the largest of the whole, and is certainly the strongest, is on a sloping, turf-covered plateau, above the peninsula of rock which runs south-eastward through the island.

It will mount two 18-ton guns, on Moncrieff carriages, and be able to bear upon any vessel coming westward, or attempting to traverse the south or north channels. A formidable ditch separates the corner in which it stands from the rest of the island, and the summit of the battery is on a level with the ground, from which it has been excavated. After a drawbridge has been crossed, the fort is entered by a strong iron door, leading into a covered way. Here are situated the only two barrack-rooms for troops that have as yet been erected there.

In one of these resides a sergeant of the Coast Artillery, and in the other the three gunners under his orders, to superintend the forts in the meanwhile.

The guns are placed on granite platforms, in the centre of a circle, formed by a bomb-proof parapet, and are to be fired *en barbette* over the slope, and not through embrasures, as they are worked on the Moncrieff swivel principle, which permits them to be turned so as to sweep any point within three fourths of a circle. The parapets, which are very massively constructed, have each half a dozen bomb-proof casemates, in which the artillerymen who work the guns may seek protection with ease and safety.

In a hollow between two of the batteries there has been constructed a bomb-proof subterranean magazine, in which to store shot, live shell, and cartridges for the service of the guns. The walls and roof of this magazine have been formed of brick, with a thick layer of concrete, and such a deep covering of earth that any attempt from without to blow it up must prove futile. A long stair, winding down into the bowels of the earth, as it were, leads to where the materials of destruction are stored.

To preclude any accident which might lead to the explosion of a magazine from within, the subterranean passages which lead to them, and are quite dark, are lighted by a very simple plan. Along the back of the chambers a long passage has been constructed, communication with which is obtained by a private staircase. In this passage are a number of windows, one into each of the chambers, and whenever the batteries should happen to be engaged a man would be sent below to place in each of

the windows lighted candles, which would effectually light up the chambers, while the pane of glass would prevent all peril of ignition.

The war material is sent up by a lift which opens into the passage, each end of which leads to a battery. Close to each of the latter, and somewhat beneath them, is seen a covered way, facing the sea, loopholed for musketry, in case of the near approach of enemy's boats.

This passage can also be used as a safe *caponnière* from one work to another, and as a place for the storage of arms.

In short, more perfect batteries of the kind have not as yet been constructed. The whole of No. 3 is embedded, as it were, in the earth, and so closely concealed from view that it can only be discovered by a practised eye.

The other two forts are on the bluff headlands of the northern end of the island. That to the north-west, known as No. 1 Battery, will amply protect the upper portion of the Forth, as it can cover the whole channel down as far as Prestonpans. In construction it is precisely similar to No. 3, but is smaller than the other, having accommodation only for one gun of equal weight and calibre.

The third redoubt, which is similar to No. 1, and is named "No 2, North-east Battery," occupies the north end of the isle, and in conjunction with the fort on Kinghorn-ness, commands the entire north channel.

In July, 1881, a detachment of sixty men of the Royal Artillery was located on the island to receive and plant the four 18-ton guns in their places, and found temporary quarters in tents pitched in a sheltered hollow on the north-west. It was at first contemplated to erect barracks, for the accommodation of a garrison, on the grassy slope at the south side of Inchkeith; plans were prepared for this, and the foundations were actually dug, but the usual parsimony of Government in Scottish matters prevailed, and the order was countermanded.

To complete the defence of the Forth, the construction of a powerful battery was begun, in unison with the Inchkeith forts, in 1878, on Kinghorn-ness, 150 yards long by 50 broad, with a face to the beach, which at that point runs north-east and south-west at right angles to the face of the north emplacement on Inchkeith.

The graves of many Russian seamen, who were buried on the isle when a plague was on board their fleet in the Roads were long visible, and are referred to in the "Reminiscences" of Carlyle.

In 1803 the lighthouse was first built upon Inchkeith. It was then a stationary one; but in

1815 it was changed to a revolving light, as at present. Its elevation is 235 feet above the water-line.

On the 1st October, 1835, the reflecting light was discontinued, and a dioptric light was put in its place. It consists of seven annular lenses, which circulate round a great lamp having three concentric wicks and produce brilliant flashes once in every minute, and of five rows of curved mirrors, which, being fixed, serve to prolong the duration of the flashes from the lenses. The appearance of the new light does not, therefore, differ materially

from that of the old one—save that the flashes which recur at the same periods, are considerably more brilliant, and of shorter duration. In clear weather the light is not totally eclipsed between the flashes at a distance of four or five miles, and it is visible at the distance of eighteen nautical miles. The expense of this lighthouse in 1839 was £467 14s. 5d.

The old light of 1803, with all its apparatus, was purchased by the Government of Newfoundland, and is still in use on Cape Spear, near the Narrows of St. John.

CHAPTER XXV.

NEWHAVEN.

Cobbett on Edinburgh—James IV.'s Dockyard—His Gift of Newhaven to Edinburgh—The *Great Michael*—Embarkation of Mary of Guise—Works at Newhaven in the Sixteenth Century—The Links—Viscount Newhaven—The Feud with Prestonpans—The Sea Fencibles—Chain Pier—Dr. Fairbairn—The Fishwives—Superstitions.

It may not be uninteresting to quote the ideas entertained of Edinburgh by an English visitor in the first years of the nineteenth century, as he was—in his time—considered a typical John Bull.

"I now come back to this delightful and beautiful city," wrote William Cobbett in his *Register*. "I thought Bristol, taking in its heights and Clifton with its rocks and river, was the finest city in the world; but it is nothing to Edinburgh, with its castle, its hills, its pretty little seaport detached from it, its vale of rich land lying all around, its lofty hills in the background, its views across the Firth. I think little of its streets and its rows of fine houses, though all built of stone, and though everything in London and Bath is *beggary* to these; I think nothing of Holyrood House; but I think a great deal of the fine and well-ordered streets of shops; of the regularity which you perceive everywhere in the management of business; and I think still more of the absence of that foppishness and that affectation of carelessness and insolent assumption of superiority in almost all the young men you meet in the fashionable parts of the great towns in England. I was not disappointed, for I expected to find Edinburgh the finest city in the kingdom.

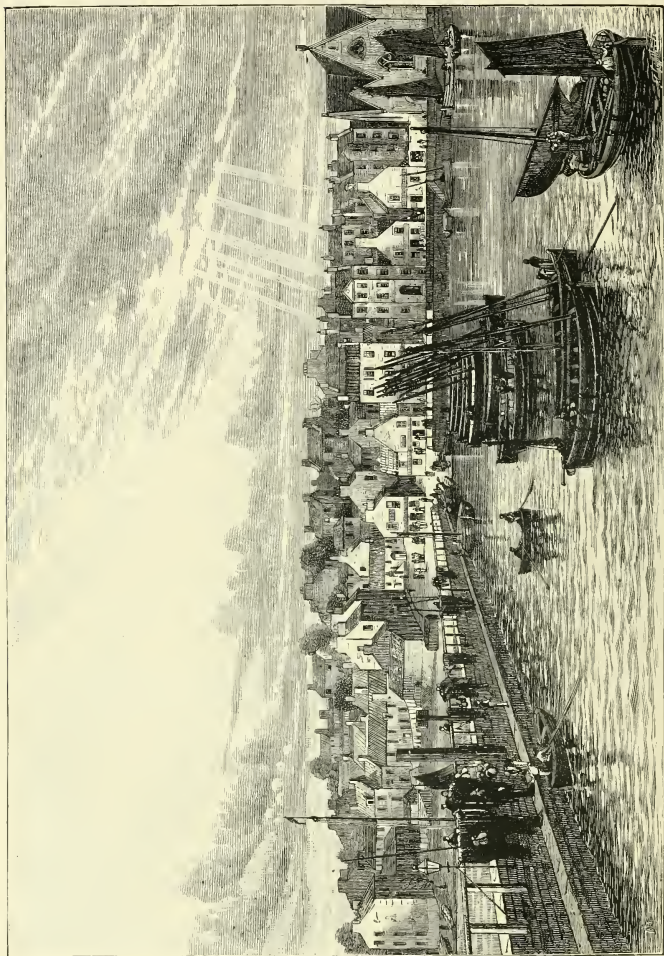
. . . . The people, however, still exceed the place; here all is civility; you do not meet with rudeness, or with the want of disposition to oblige, even in the persons of the lowest state of life. A friend took me round the environs of the city; he had a turnpike ticket, received at the first gate, which cleared five or six gates. It was sufficient for him to tell the gate-keepers that he had it.

When I saw that, I said to myself, '*Nota bene*: gate keepers take people's word in Scotland,' a thing I have not seen before since I left Long Island."

Now its seaport is no longer "detached," but has become an integral part of Edinburgh, and all "the vale of rich land" between it and the Forth to Granton, Trinity, and Newhaven, is covered by a network of fine roads and avenues, bordered by handsome villas.

Newhaven now conjoined to Leith, and long deemed only a considerable fishing village, lies two miles north of Princes Street, and yet consists chiefly of the ancient village which is situated, *quoad civilia*, in the parish of North Leith, and whose inhabitants are still noted as a distinct community, rarely intermarrying with any other class. The male inhabitants are almost entirely fishermen, and the women are employed in selling the produce of their husbands' industry in the streets of the city and suburbs. Intermarriage seems to produce among them a peculiar cast of countenance and physical constitution. The women, inured to outdoor daily labour in all weathers, are robust, active, and remarkable for their florid complexions, healthy figures, and regular features, as for the singularity of their costume.

In the fifteenth century this village was designated "Our Lady's Port of Grace," from a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St. James, some portions of which still exist in the ancient or unused burial-ground of the centre of the village. The nearly entire west gable, with a square window in it, can still be seen in the Vennel, a narrow



NEWHAVEN, FROM THE PIER.

alley which lies between the main street and Pier Place.

In 1506 James IV. erected here a building-yard and dock for ships (the depth of water favouring the plan), besides a rope-walk and houses for the accommodation of artisans. Some portions of the Royal Roperie were visible here till the middle of the eighteenth century; and in a work in MS. preserved in the Advocates' Library (a Latin description of Lothian), written about 1640, mention is made of

by the said king, on the sea coast, with the lands thereunto belonging, lying between the chapel of St. Nicholas (at Leith) and Wierdy Brae."

This charter gave the community of Edinburgh free and common passage from Leith to Newhaven, "with liberty and space for building and extending the pier and bulwark of the said port, and unloading their merchandise and goods in ships, and of unloading the same upon the land, and to fix ropes on the shore; from the sea-shore of the said port to



REMAINS OF ST. JAMES'S CHAPEL, NEWHAVEN.

a manufactory of ropes and cables as having existed in Newhaven a short time before that period.

In 1508, for the accommodation of his shipwrights and others, the king built the chapel. It was founded on the 8th of April; it was "conveyed" into the hands of James by the chaplain thereof, Sir James Cowie, "Sir" being then the substitute for *dominus*, when designating a priest. Indeed, James IV. seems to have been the entire originator of Newhaven.

In 1510, the city of Edinburgh, fearing that this new seaport might prove prejudicial to theirs at Leith, purchased the whole place from the king, whose charter, dated at Stirling, 9th March of that year, describes it as "the new haven lately made

the inner front of the houses of the South Row, which are built on the south side of the street of the said port. . . . We also will and ordain that they uphold the bulwarks and other defences necessary for receiving and protecting the ships and vessels riding thereto, for the good and benefit of us, our kingdom and lieges." (Burgh Charters, No. lxiv.)

From this we learn that in 1510 Newhaven had a pier and at least one street, known then, as now, by the name of South Row. Among the witnesses to this charter are Mathew, Earl of Lennox, Archibald, Earl of Argyle, George, Abbot of Holyrood, and many others.

At this now small and rather obscure harbour

there was built and launched, in 1511, the famous war-ship of James IV., the *Great Michael*, said to have been the largest vessel that, in those days, had ever floated on the sea. Jacques Tarette was the builder or naval architect, and certainly he left nothing undone to gratify the desire of James to possess the greatest and most magnificent ship in the world. "The fame of this ship spread over Europe," says Buchanan, "and emulous of the King of Scotland, Francis I. and Henry VIII. endeavoured to outvie each other in building two enormous arks, which were so unwieldy that they floated on the water useless and immovable, like islands." This extraordinary vessel is said to have been sometimes confounded in history with another huge argosy, built in the preceding reign by Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews, and known as the *Bishop's Barge*. But the latter was purely a merchant vessel, and was wrecked and pillaged on the coast of England about 1474, whereas the *Great Michael* was in all respects a formidable ship of war, and she may with some truth be claimed as the first "armour-clad," as amidships her sides were padded with solid oak ten feet thick. She cost £30,000, an enormous sum in those days; but James IV. was lavish in his ship-building, and among his many brilliant and romantic schemes actually planned a voyage to the Mediterranean, with a Scottish fleet, to visit Jerusalem.

Lindesay of Pitscottie says that this enormous vessel required for her construction so much timber that, save Falkland, she consumed all the oak wood in Fife and all that came out of Norway. She was 240 feet long by 36 feet wide, inside measurement, and 10 feet thick in the walls. She was armed with many heavy guns, and "three great bassils, two behind in her dock (stern) and one before," and no less than 300 "shot of small artillery," that is to say, "moyennes, falcons, quarter falcons, slings, pestilent serpentines, and double dags, with hacbuts, culverins, cross-bows and hand-bows." She had 300 mariners, 120 cannoniers, and 1,000 soldiers, with their captains and quartermasters. At Tullibardine her dimensions were long to be seen, planted in hawthorn, by Jacques Tarette, "the wright that helped to make her," adds Pitscottie. "As for other properties of her, Sir Andrew Wood is my author, who was quartermaster of her, and Robert Barton, who was master skipper. The ship lay still in the Roads of Leith, the King every day taking pleasure to pass her, and to dine and sup in her with his lords, letting them see the order of his ship."

The ambassador of Henry VIII. also gives a description of the *Michael*, but merely says she had

"sixteen pieces of great ordnance on each side," besides many more of smaller calibre. Shortly before the formal declaration of war against England, the Governor of Berwick, in writing to Henry VIII. concerning the designs of his brother-in-law, stated that the King of Scotland intended to lead the fleet against England himself, leaving his generals to lead the army: and had he done so, the tale of Flodden field had perhaps been a different and less sorrowful one.

In 1510 Sir Andrew Wood had been created "Admiral of the Seas," by James IV.; thus, when appointed to the *Great Michael* in the following year it must have been in the capacity of commander and not "quartermaster," as the garrulous Pitscottie has it. Buchanan asserts that the great ship was suffered to rot in the harbour of Brest; it may have done so eventually; but it is now ascertained that in April, 1514, she was sold to Louis XII. by the Duke of Albany, in the name of the Scottish Government, for the sum of forty thousand livres. Two other Scottish war-ships, the *James* and *Margaret*, were sold at the same time.

The chapel at Newhaven appears to have been a dependency of the Preceptory of St. Anthony at Leith. In 1614, with its grounds, it was conveyed in the same charter with the latter, to the Kirk Session of South Leith, by James VI., and they are described, "all that place and piece of ground whereon the Chapel of St. James, anciently called the Virgin Mary of Newhaven stood, lying within the town of Newhaven and our sheriffwick of Edinburgh."

They now form a portion of the North Leith parish, as stated. When the chapel became a ruin is unknown. The area is now included in the Fishermen's burying-ground, which contains no tombstones save one to an inhabitant of Edinburgh, and has been long unused.

Early in September, 1550, there came to anchor off Newhaven sixty stately galleys and other ships, under the command of Strozzi, Prior of Capua, and there the queen mother embarked to visit her daughter Mary in France. On this occasion she was accompanied by a brilliant train, including the Earls of Huntly, Cassillis, Sutherland, and Marischal; the Prior of St. Andrews (the Regent Moray of the future), the Lords Home, Fleming, and Maxwell, the Bishops of Caithness and Galloway; three of her French commanders from Leith, Paul de Thermes, Biron, La Chapelle, the French Ambassador, General D'Osell, and many ladies, with whom, after being forced to take refuge from storms in more than one English port, she landed at Dieppe on the 19th of the same month.

Newhaven was deemed a place of much more importance in those days than it has been in subsequent times.

Thus, in 1554, the works then occupied the attention of the Provost and Council repeatedly. In February that year £500 was given for timber to repair the harbour, to be taken with a portion of the tax laid on the town for building forts upon the Borders; and in 1555 we read of timber again for Newhaven, brought there by Robert Quintin, but which was sold by the advice of Sir William Macdowall, master of the works. ("Burgh Records.")

In the Burgh Account, under date 1554-5, we find some references to the locality, thus:—

"Item, the vj day of July, 1555, for cords to bind and hang the four Inglismen at Leyth and Newhaven, iijjs.

"Item, geven to Gorge Tod, Adam Purves, and ane servand, to mak ane gibbet at Newhaven, in haist and evil wedder (weather), vjs.

"Item, for garroun and plansheour nailis, xx^d.

"Item, for drink to them at Newhaven, vj^d.

"Item, to twa workmen to beir the wrychtis lomis to the Newhevin and up again, and to beir the work and set up the gibbet, xx^d."

In the same year extensive works seem to have been in operation, as, by the Burgh Accounts, they appear to have extended from August to November, under Robert Quintin, master of the works. The entries for masons' wages, timber work, wrights' wages, "on Saiterday at evin to thair supperis," are given in regular order. John Arduthy in Leith seems to have contracted for the "standarts to the foir face of the Newhevin;" and for the crane there, eighteen fathoms of "Danskin tow" (rope), were purchased from Peter Turnett's wife, at tenpence the fathom.

John Ahannay and George Bennet did the smith-work at the crane, bulwarks, and worklooms. The works at Newhaven, commenced in August, 1555, under John Preston, as City Treasurer, were continued till the middle of December eventually, under Sir John Wilson, "master of work at the Newhevin," when they were suspended during winter and resumed in the spring of 1556; and "drink silver," to all the various trades engaged, figures amply among the items. ("Burgh Accounts.")

In 1573 the Links of Newhaven were let by the city, at an annual rent of thirty merks per annum as grazing ground, thus showing that they must then have been about the extent of those at Leith. In 1595 they only produced six merks, and from this rapid fall Maitland supposes that the sea had made extensive encroachments on the ground; and as they are now nearly swept away, save a space

500 yards by 250, at the foot of the Whale Brae, we may presume that his conjecture was a correct one.

Kincaid states that at one period Newhaven had Links both to the east and west of it. Even the road that must have bordered the east Links was swept away, and for years a perilous hole, known as the "Man-trap," remained in the place—a hole in which, till recently, many a limb was fractured and many a life lost.

In one of the oldest houses in Newhaven, nearly opposite the burial-ground, there is a large sculptured pediment of remarkable appearance. It is surmounted by a thistle, with the motto *Nemo me impune lacessit*, on a scroll, and the date 1588, a three-masted ship, with the Scottish ensign at each truck, pierced for sixteen guns, and below the motto, in Roman letters,

IN THE NEAM OF GOD.

Below this again is a deeply-cut square panel, decorated with a pair of globes, a quadrant, cross, staff, and anchor; and beneath these part of the motto "*Virtute sydera*" may, upon very close examination, still be deciphered; but the history of the stone, or of the house to which it belonged, is unknown.

Some hollows near the place were known as the Fairy Holes, and they are mentioned in the indictment of Eufame McCulzane for witchcraft, who is stated to have attended a convention of witches there in 1591, and also at others called the "Brume Hoillis," where she and many other witches, with the devil in company, put to sea in riddles.

In 1630 and 1631 we find from "Durie's Decisions," James Drummond, tacksman to the Lord Holyroodhouse, of the Tiend Fishes of Newhaven, "pursuing spulzie" against the fishers there. The year 1630 was the first year of the tack, and the fishermen alleged that they had been in use to pay a particular duty, that was condescended on, "of all years preceding this year now acclaimed." The Lords found there was no necessity to grant an inhibition, and reserved to themselves the modification of the duty or quantity to be paid.

Newhaven gave the title of Viscount to an English family who never had any connection with the place, when in 1681 Charles II. raised to the peerage of Scotland Charles Cheyne, of Cogenho, in Middlesex (descended from an ancient family in Buckinghamshire), with the titles of "Lord Cheyne and Viscount Newhaven, near Leith, in the county of Midlothian," by patent dated at Windsor. His son, the second Viscount Newhaven, who was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Bucks by Queen

Anne in 1712, lost the office on the accession of the House of Hanover, and, dying without heirs, in 1728, the title became extinct.

We read of a ropework having been established here about the period of the Revolution (very likely on the site of the old one, formed by James IV. for his dockyard), by James Deans, Baillie of the Canongate, and one of his sons, who, however, were compelled to discontinue it for want of encouragement. In November, 1694, another

Prestonpans about the right to certain oyster beds, which the former claimed as tacksmen of the metropolis, and many conflicts in the Forth ensued between them. One of them is recorded in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, under date March 22nd, 1788, thus:—

“On Wednesday a sharp contest took place at the back of the Black Rocks, near Leith Harbour, between a boat's crew belonging to Newhaven and another belonging to Prestonpans, occasioned by



MAIN STREET, NEWHAVEN.

of his sons, Thomas Deans, “expressed himself as disposed to venture another stock in the same work, at the same place or some other equally convenient, provided he should have it endowed with the privileges of a manufactory, though not to the exclusion of others disposed to try the same business. His wishes were complied with by the Privy Council.”

In the year 1710, “Evan Macgregor, of Newhaven,” entailed all his lands there, as appears from Shaw, the date of tailzie being given as August, 1707.

In the latter years of the eighteenth century a regular feud—and a very bitter one—existed between the fishermen of Newhaven and those of

the latter's dragging oysters on the ground laid claim to by the former. After a severe conflict for about half an hour with their oars, boat-hooks, etc., the Newhaven men brought in the Prestonpans boat to Newhaven, after many being hurt on both sides. This is the second boat taken from them this season.”

In 1790 the quarrel took a judicial form, after five fishermen of Prestonpans had been imprisoned for dredging oysters near Newhaven, in defiance of an interdict issued by the Judge-Admiral.

“For more than a year past,” it was stated, “a case has been pending in the Court of Admiralty between sundry fishermen in Newhaven, as tacks-

men of the town of Edinburgh, and Lady Greenwich, on one part, and certain fishermen of Prestonpans on the other. The point in dispute is certain oyster scalps, to which each party claims an exclusive right. Accusations of encroachment were mutually given and retorted. At dredging, when the parties met, much altercation and abusive language took place—bloody encounters ensued, and boats were captured on both sides. . . . A scarcity of fish at first gave rise to these disputes; but it would appear that the combatants fought not so much for oysters as for victory.

"The Newhaven fishermen contend that the community of Edinburgh, whose tacksmen they are, have the sole right to the Green Scalp on the breast of Inchkeith, and to the beacon grounds, lying off the Black Rocks. To instruct this right they produce a notarial copy of a charter from King James VI., and likewise from Charles I., in 1636, wherein *fishings* are expressly mentioned. There was also produced a charter in favour of Lady Greenwich, in which *fishings* are comprehended. On the other hand, the Prestonpans fishers contended that the Newhaven men have encroached on the north shores, belonging to the Earl of Morton and burgh of Burntisland, of which they are tacksmen. They accordingly produced an instrument of seisin dated November 10, 1786, in virtue of which his lordship was infeft, *inter alia*, in the oyster scalps in question. They also condescended on a charter granted by King James VI., in 1585, to the town of Burntisland, which is on record, and which they say establishes their right. They further contend that the magistrates have produced no proper titles to prove their exclusive right to the scalps they have let in tack to the Newhaven fishermen.

"The charter of King James VI. was resigned by the town in the time of Charles I., and the new charter granted by the latter, gives no right to the oyster scalps in dispute. The word '*fishings*,' in general, is not contained in the dispositive clause,

but only occurs in the *Tenendas*, like hawkings, huntings, or other words of style.

"After various representations to the Judge-Admiral, his lordship pronounced an interlocutor, ordaining both parties to produce their prescriptive rights to their fishings, and prohibited them from dredging oysters in any of the scalps in dispute till the issue of the cause.

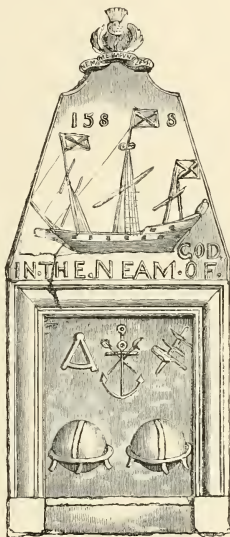
"A petition was presented to his lordship on the 6th January, 1790, by the Newhaven fishers, stating that by the late interdict they find themselves deprived of the means of supporting themselves and families, while the Prestonpans fishers are pursuing their usual employment by dredging on other scalps than those in dispute, and praying his lordship would recall or modify the said interdict; which petition, being served on the agent for the east-country fishers, his lordship, by interlocutor of 5th February last, 'allowed both parties to dredge oysters upon the scalps they respectively pretended right to; and before going to fish to take with them any of the six sworn pilots at Leith, to direct each party where they should fish, to prevent them from encroaching on each others' scalps or taking up the seedlings.'

Eventually the cause was decided by the Admiralty Court (an institution which, it may be incidentally mentioned,

was abolished in defiance of the principles of the Treaty of Union) in favour of the Newhaven men; but each party had to pay their own expenses.

So far back as 1789 we begin to read of the encroachments made by the sea in this quarter, and probably of what was afterwards so long known as the "Man-trap," as the *Advertiser* mentions that "a young lady coming from Newhaven to Leith fell over the precipice on the side of the sea," and that within six weeks the same catastrophe had befallen four others, "the road being so narrow and dangerous that people at night run a great risk of their lives."

It was not till 1793 that the new herring fishery



SCULPTURED STONE, NEWHAVEN.
(After a Drawing by the Author.)

began in the Firth of Forth, and it is not very creditable to the vigilance of the fishermen of Fife, Newhaven, and elsewhere, that this great fund of wealth was not developed earlier, as when the herrings left the shore near the mouth of the Firth it was supposed they had taken their departure to other waters, and no attempts were made to seek them further up the estuary.

The discovery was made accidentally by Thomas Brown, near Donnibristle, who had been for years wont to fish with hook and line for haddocks and podlies, near the shore, and who found the herrings in such numbers that he took them up in buckets. In 1793 the fishermen of the Queensferry began to set their nets with a result that astonished them, though twenty years before it had been reported to them in vain that when the mainsail of a vessel fell overboard in Inverkeithing Bay, and was hauled in, it was found to be full of herrings. The success of the Queensferry boats excited attention generally, and this fishery has been followed with perseverance and good fortune, not only by the fishermen of Fife and Lothian, but of all the east coast of Scotland.

During the old war with France the patriotism of the Newhaven fishermen was prominent on more than one occasion, and they were among the first to offer their services as a marine force to guard their native coast against the enemy. So much was this appreciated that the President of the "Newhaven Free Fishermen's Society," instituted, it is said, by a charter of James VI., was presented with a handsome silver medal and chain by the Duke of Buccleuch, in presence of several county gentlemen. On one side this medal, which is still preserved at Newhaven, bears the inscription:—"In testimony of the brave and patriotic offer of the fishermen of Newhaven to defend the coast against the enemy, this mark of approbation was voted by the county of Midlothian, November 2nd, 1796." On the reverse is the thistle, with the national motto, and the legend *Agmine Remorum Celeri*.

The medal the box-master wears, in virtue of his office, when the Society has its annual procession through Leith, Edinburgh, Granton, and Trinity. This body is very exclusive, no strangers or others than lawful descendants of members inheriting the privileges of membership—a distinguishing feature that has endured for ages. The Society is governed by a preses, a box-master, secretary, and fifteen of a committee, who all change office annually, except the secretary.

Their offer of service in 1796 shows that they were ready to fight "on board of any gunboat or

vessel of war that Government might appoint," between the Red Head of Angus and St. Abb's Head, "and to go farther if necessity urges." This offer bears the names of fifty-nine fishermen—names familiar to Newhaven in the present day. In the January of the following year the Lord Provost and magistrates proceeded to Newhaven and presented the fishermen with a handsome stand of colours in testimony of their loyalty, after a suitable prayer by the venerable Dr. Johnston, of North Leith.

Formed now into Sea Fencibles, besides keeping watch and ward upon the coast, in 1806 two hundred of them volunteered to man the *Texel*, sixty-four guns, under Captain Donald Campbell, and proceeding to sea from Leith Roads, gave chase to some French frigates, by which the coast of Scotland had been infested, and which inflicted depredations on our shipping. For this service these men were presented by the city of Edinburgh with the rather paltry gratuity of £250. An autograph letter of George III., expressing his satisfaction at their loyalty, was long preserved by the Society, but is now lost.

With the *Texel*, in 1807, they captured the French frigate *Neyden*, and took her as a prize into Yarmouth Roads, after which they came home to Newhaven with great *édlat*; and for years afterwards it was the pride of many of these old salts, who are now sleeping near the ruined wall of Our Lady's and St. James's Chapel, to recur to the days "when I was aboard the *Texel*."

It was an ancient practice of the magistrates of Edinburgh, by way of denoting the jurisdiction of the city, in virtue of the charter of James IV., to proceed yearly to Newhaven, and drink wine in the open space called the square.

When a dreadful storm visited the shores of the Firth, in October, 1797, the storm bulwark at Newhaven, eastward of the Leith battery, was completely torn away, and large boulders were "rolled towards the shore, many of them split," says the *Herald*, "as if they had been blown up by gunpowder."

The road between Newhaven and Trinity with its sea-wall was totally destroyed. A brig laden with hemp and iron for Deptford Yard, was flung on shore, near Trinity Lodge. This must have been rather an ill-fated craft, as the same journal states that she had recently been re-captured by H.M.S. *Cobourg* in the North Sea, after having been taken by the French frigate, *Républicaine*. Another vessel was blown on shore near Caroline Park, and the *Lord Hood*, letter of marque, was warped off, with assistance from Newhaven.

In 1820 there were landed at the old stone pier of Newhaven, John Baird and fourteen other prisoners, "Radicals" who had been taken after the skirmish at Bonny Bridge, by the 10th Hussars and the Stirlingshire yeomanry. They had been brought by water from the castle of Stirling, and were conveyed to gaol from Newhaven in six carriages, escorted by a macer of judiciary, and the detachment of a Veteran Battalion.

In the following year, and while railways were still in the womb of the future, the *Scots Magazine* announces, that a gentleman who had left Belfast on a Thursday, "reached Glasgow the same evening, and embarked on board the *Tourist* (steamer) at Newhaven on Friday, and arrived at Aberdeen that night. Had such an event been predicted fifty years ago, it would have been as easy to make people believe that this journey would have been accomplished by means of a balloon."

About five hundred yards westward of the stone pier, a chain pier was constructed in the year 1821, by Captain (afterwards Sir Samuel) Brown, of the Royal Navy, at the cost of £4,000. It is five hundred feet long, four feet wide, has a depth at low water of from five to six feet, and served for the use of the steam packets to Stirling, Queensferry, and other places above and below Leith; yet, being unable to offer accommodation for the bulky steam vessels that frequent the harbour of the latter or that of Granton, it is now chiefly used by bathers, and is the head-quarters of the Forth swimming club.

It was opened on the 14th of October, 1821, and was afterwards tested by a weight of twenty-one tons placed upon the different points of suspension. In 1840 it became the property of the Alloa Steam Packet Company.

In 1838 Newhaven was erected into a *quoad sacra* parish, by the authority of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, when a handsome church was erected for the use of the community, from a design by John Henderson of Edinburgh.

Near it, in Main Street, is the Free Church, designed in good Gothic style by James A. Hamilton of Edinburgh, an elegant feature in the locality, but chiefly remarkable for the ministry of the late Rev. Dr. Fairbairn, who died in January, 1879—a man who came of a notable race, as the well-known engineers of the same name were his cousins, as was also Principal Fairbairn of Glasgow. He was ordained minister at Newhaven in 1838. The great majority of his congregation were fishermen and their families, who were always keenly sensible of the mode in which he prayed for those who were exposed to the dangers of the deep.

During his long pastorate these prayers were a striking feature in his ministrations, and Charles Reade, while residing in the neighbourhood, frequently attended Newhaven Free Church, and has, in his novel of "Christie Johnstone," given a life-like portrait of his demeanour when administering consolation, after a case of drowning.

Perhaps the most useful of this amiable old pastor's philanthropic schemes was that of the reconstruction of the Newhaven fishing fleet. He perceived early that the boats in use were wholly unsuited for modern requirements, and some years before his death he propounded a plan for replacing them by others having decks, bunks, and other compartments. As soon as a crew came forward with a portion of the money required, Dr. Fairbairn had no difficulty in getting the remainder advanced. Thirty-three large new boats, each costing about £250, with as much more for fishing gear, were the result of his kindly labours. They have all been prosperous, and hundreds of the inhabitants of Newhaven, when they stood around his grave, remembered what they owed to the large-hearted and prudent benevolence of this old minister.

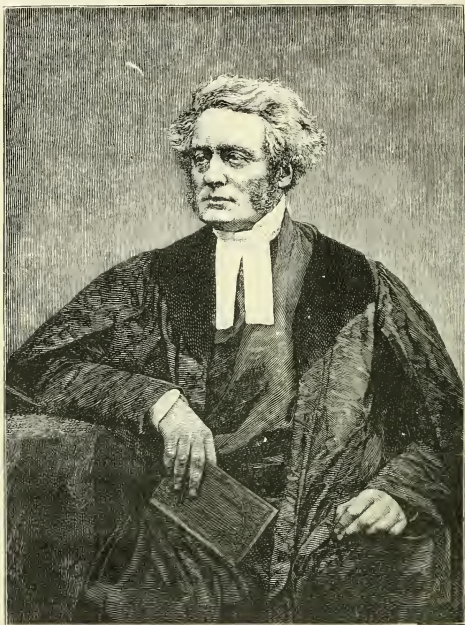
In 1864 a local committee was appointed for the purpose of erecting a breakwater on the west side of the present pier, so as to form a harbour for the fishing craft. Plans and specifications were prepared by Messrs. Stevenson, engineers, Edinburgh, and the work was estimated at the probable cost of £5,000; and while soliciting aid from the Board of Fisheries, the Board of Trade, and the magistrates of Edinburgh, the fishermen honourably and promptly volunteered to convey all the stonework necessary in their boats or otherwise from the quarry at Queensferry.

The fishermen of Newhaven rarely intermarry with the women of other fisher communities; and a woman of any other class, unacquainted with the cobbling of nets, baiting and preparation of lines, the occasional use of a tiller or oar, would be useless as a fisherman's wife; hence their continued intermarriages cause no small confusion in the nomenclature of this remarkable set of people.

The peculiar melodious and beautiful cry of the Newhaven oyster-woman—the last of the quaint old Edinburgh street cries—is well known; and so also is their costume; yet, as in time it may become a thing of the past, we may give a brief description of it here. "A cap of linen or cotton," says a writer in *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, "surmounted by a stout napkin tied below the chin, composes the investiture of the hood; the showy structures wherewith other females are adorned

being inadmissible from the broad belt which supports the creel, that is, fish-basket, crossing the forehead. A sort of woollen pea-jacket with vast amplitude of skirt, conceals the upper part of the person, relieved at the throat by a liberal display of handkerchief. The under part of the figure is

endued upon a masculine but handsome form, notwithstanding the slight stoop forward, which is almost uniformly contracted—fancy the firm and elastic step, the toes slightly inclined inwards—and the ruddy complexion resulting from hard exercise, and you have the *beau idéal* of fishwives."



REV. DR. FAIRBAIRN. (After a Photograph by John Moffat, Edinburgh.)

invested with a voluminous quantity of petticoat, of substantial material and gaudy colour, generally yellow with stripes, so made as to admit of a very free inspection of the ankle, and worn in such numbers that the bare mention of them would be enough to make a fine lady faint. One half of these ample garments is gathered over the haunches, puffing out the figure in an unusual and uncouth manner. White worsted stockings and stout shoes complete the picture. Imagine these investments

The unmarried girls when pursuing the trade of hawking fish wear the same costume, save that their heads are always bare.

The Buckhaven fisher people on the opposite coast are said to derive their origin from Flemish settlers, and yet adhere to the wide trousers and long boots of the Netherlands; but there is no reason for supposing that those of Newhaven or Fisherrow are descended from any other than a good old Scottish stock.

" Dwelling only a few bow-shots from the metropolis of an ancient kingdom, this people remain isolated," says a writer in 1865—" apart—distinct

or if so, in veiled language. To think of dogs is unlucky ; of hares, terrible ! Should a reference be made to a " minister " as such, vague and unde-



NEWHAVEN FISHWIVES.

in costume, and dialect in manners and mode of thinking. The customs, laws, and traditions of their forefathers appear as if they had been stereotyped for their use."

They believe in many of the whimsical and ideal terrors of past generations, and have many superstitions that are not, perhaps, entirely their own. While at sea, if the idea of a cat or a pig float across the mind, their names must not be uttered,

finest terror fills every bronzed visage, as he should be spoken of only as "the man in the black coat;" and Friday is an unlucky day for everything but getting married; and to talk of a certain man named Brounger is—according to the writer quoted—sure to produce consternation.

John Brounger was an old fisherman of Newhaven, who, when too feeble to go to sea, used to ask for some oysters or fish from his neighbours on their return, and if not amply supplied, he cursed them, and wished them—on their next trip—"ill-

luck," and it sometimes came; to propitiate him, his moderate demands became, ere he died, an established claim. Hence it would seem that now to say to a crew at sea, "John Brounger's in your head-sheets," or "on board of you," is sufficient to cause her crew to haul in the dredge, ship their oars, and pull the boat thrice round in a circle, to break the evil spell, and enough sometimes to make the crew abandon work.

But apart from such fancies, the industrious fishermen of Newhaven still possess the noble qualities ascribed to them by the historian of Leith, in the days when old Dr. Johnston was their pastor: "It was no sight of ordinary interest to see the stern and weather-beaten faces of these hardy seamen subdued by the influence of religious feeling into an expression of deep reverence and humility, before their God. Their devotion seemed

to have acquired an additional solemnity of character, from a consciousness of the peculiarly hazardous nature of their occupation, which, throwing them immediately and sensibly on the protection of their Creator every day of their lives, had imbued them with a deep sense of gratitude to that Being, whose outstretched arm had conducted their little bark in safety through a hundred storms."

In the first years of the present century there was a Newhaven stage, advertised daily to start from William Bell's coach-office, opposite the Tron church, at ten a.m., three and eight p.m.

We need scarcely add, that Newhaven has long been celebrated for the excellence and variety of its fish dinners, served up in more than one old-fashioned inn, the best known of which was, perhaps, near the foot of the slope called the Whale Brae.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

WARDIE, TRINITY, AND GRANTON.

Wardie Muir—Human Remains Found—Bangholm Bower and Trinity Lodge—Christ Church, Trinity—Free Church, Granton Road—Filton—Royston—Caroline Park—Granton—The Piers and Harbours—Morton's Patent Slip.

WARDIE MUIR must once have been a wide, open, and desolate space, extending from Inverleith and Warriston to the shore of the Firth; and from North Inverleith Mains, of old called Blaw Wearie, on the west, to Bonnington on the east, traversed by the narrow streamlet known as Anchorfield Burn.

Now it is intersected by streets and roads, studded with fine villas rich in gardens and teeming with fertility; but how waste and desolate the muirland must once have been, is evinced by those entries in the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, with reference to firing Mons Meg, in the days when royal salutes were sometimes fired with shotted guns!

On the 3rd of July, 1558, when the Castle batteries saluted in honour of the Dauphin's marriage with Queen Mary, Mons Meg was fired by the express desire of the Queen Regent; the pioneers were paid for "their laboris in mounting Meg furth of her lair to be schote, and for finding and carrying her bullet from Wardie Muir to the Castell," ten shillings Scots.

Wardie is fully two miles north from the Castle, and near Granton.

In this district evidences have been found of the occupation of the soil at a very remote period by

native tribes. Several fragments of human remains were discovered in 1846, along the coast of Wardie, in excavating the foundations for a bridge of the Granton Railway; and during some earlier operations for the same railway, on the 27th September, 1844, a silver and a copper coin of Philip II. of Spain were found among a quantity of human bones, intermingled with sand and shells; and these at the time were supposed to be a memento of some great galleon of the Spanish Armada, cast away upon the rocky coast.

In the beginning of the present century, and before the roads to Queensferry and Granton were constructed, the chief or only one in this quarter was that which, between hedgerows and trees, led to Trinity, and the principal mansions near it were Bangholm Bower, called in the *Advertiser* for 1789 "the Farm of Bangholms," adjoining the lands of Warriston, and which was offered for lease, with twelve acres of meadow, "lying immediately westward of Canonmills Loch;" Lixmount House, in 1810 the residence of Farquharson of that ilk and Invercauld; Trinity Lodge, and one or two others. The latter is described in the *Advertiser* for 1783 as a large mansion, pleasantly situated on the sea-shore, about a mile north of the New Town.

Now Trinity possesses a great number of handsome villas in intersecting streets, a railway station, and an Episcopal chapel called Christ Church, which figured in a trial before the law courts of Scotland, that made much noise in its time—the Yelverton case.

At Wardie, not far from it, there died, in only his thirty-eighth year, Edward Forbes, who, after being a Professor in King's College, London, was appointed to the chair of Natural History in the University of Edinburgh in May, 1854. He was a man of distinguished talent and of an affectionate nature, his last words being "My own wife!" when she inquired, as he was dying, if he knew her.

Soon after she contracted a marriage with the Hon. Major Yelverton, whose battery of artillery had just returned from Sebastopol, and was quartered in Leith Fort. The marriage took place in the little church at Trinity, and was barely announced before the Major was arrested on a charge of bigamy by the late Miss Theresa Longworth, with whom he had contracted, it was averred, an irregular marriage in Edinburgh. Before this she had joined the Sisters of Charity at Varna, and lived a life of adventure. Not satisfied with the Scottish marriage, they went through another ceremony before a Catholic priest in Ireland, where the ceremony was declared legal, and she was accepted as Mrs. Yelverton. She then endeavoured to prove a Scottish marriage, by habit and repute, residence at Circus Place, and elsewhere, but judgment was given against her by the late Lord Ardmillan, and after twenty years of wandering all over the world, writing books of travel, she died at Natal in September, 1881, retaining to the last the title of Viscountess, acquired on old Lord Avonmore's death.

Horatio Macculloch, R.S.A., the well-known landscape painter, lived latterly in a villa adjoining Trinity Grove, and died there on the 15th June, 1867.

In 1836 some plans were prepared by Messrs. Grainger and Miller, the eminent Edinburgh engineers, and boldly designed for the construction of a regular wet dock at Trinity, with a breakwater outer harbour of twenty acres in extent, westward of Newhaven pier and the sunken rock known as the West Bush; but the proposal met with no support, and the whole scheme was abandoned.

On the noble road leading westward to Queensferry there was completed in April, 1880, near the head of the Granton thoroughfare, a Free Church for the congregation of Granton and Wardie, which, since its organisation in 1876, under the Rev. P. C. Purves, had occupied an iron build-

ing near Wardie Crescent. The edifice is an ornament to the swiftly-growing locality. The relative proportions of the nave, aisles, and transepts, are planned to form a ground area large enough to accommodate the increasing congregation, and galleries can be added if required. This area is nearly all within the nave, and is lighted by the windows of the clerestory, which has flying buttresses. The style is Early English, the pulpit is of oak on a stone pedestal. This church has a tower seventy-five feet high, and arrests the eye, as it stands on a species of ridge between the city and the sea.

Ashbrook, Wardieburn House, and other handsome mansions, have been erected westward, and ere long the old farmsteading of Windlestrawlee (opposite North Inverleith Mains) will, of course, disappear. It is called "Winlestraley" in Kincaid's "Local Gazetteer" for 1787, and is said to take its name from "windlestrae" (the name given to crested dogstail grass—*Cynosurus pristatus*), and applied in Scotland to bent and stalks of grass found on moorish ground."

An old property long known as Cargilfield, lay to the north-east of it, and to the westward are Easter and Wester Pilton, an older property still, which has changed owners several times.

On the 16th of May, 1610, Peter Rollock, of Pilton, had a seat on the bench as Lord Pilton. He had no predecessor. He had been removed, when Bishop of Dunkeld (in 1603), says Lord Hailes, that the number of extraordinary lords might be reduced to four, and he was restored by the king's letter, with a special proviso that this should not be precedent of establishing a fifth extraordinary lord. The lands—or a portion thereof—afterwards became a part of the barony of Royston, formed in favour of Viscount Tarbet; but previous to that had been in possession of a family named Macculloch, as Monteith in his "Theatre of Mortality," inserts the epitaph upon the tomb on the east side of the Greyfriars Church, of Sir Hugh Macculloch, of Pilton, Knight, descended from the ancient family of Macculloch of Cadboll. He died in August, 1688, and the stone was erected by his son James. About 1780 Pilton became the property of Sir Philip Ainslie, whose eldest daughter Jean was married there, in 1801, to Lord Doune, eldest son of the Earl of Moray—a marriage that does not appear in the "Peerages" generally, but is recorded in the Edinburgh *Herald* for that year. She was his second wife, the first being a daughter of General Scott of Bellevue and Balcomie. Lord Doune then resided, and for a few years before, in the old Wrightshouse, or "Bruntsfield Castle," as it is

called in the *Herald* for 1797-9 in its announcements of the purchase of the buildings for the erection of Gillespie's Hospital.

In one of the villas at Boswell Road, Wardie, immediately overlooking the sea, Alexander Smith the well-known poet and essayist, author of the "Life Drama," which was held up to Continental admiration in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, "City Poems," "Dreamthorpe," and other works, and whom we have already mentioned in the account

in the western part of Royston and the adjacent lands of Wardie, both above and below the tide mark, and that when fuel was scarce, the poor even went to carry the coal away; also that a pit was sunk in Pilton wood in 1788, but was abandoned, owing to the inferiority of the coal. In the links of Royston there are vestiges of ancient pits.

Bower mentions that a great "carrick" of the Lombards was shattered on the rocks at Granton,



MAP OF GRANTON AND NEIGHBOURHOOD.

of Warriston Cemetery, resided for many years, and there he died on the 5th of January, 1867.

The Duke of Buccleuch is proprietor of Caroline Park, and has at his own expense raised erections which will attract shipping to the incipient town and seaport of Granton, and lead to the speedy construction of another great sea-port for Edinburgh, to which it will soon be joined by a network of streets; in many quarters near it these are rising fast already.

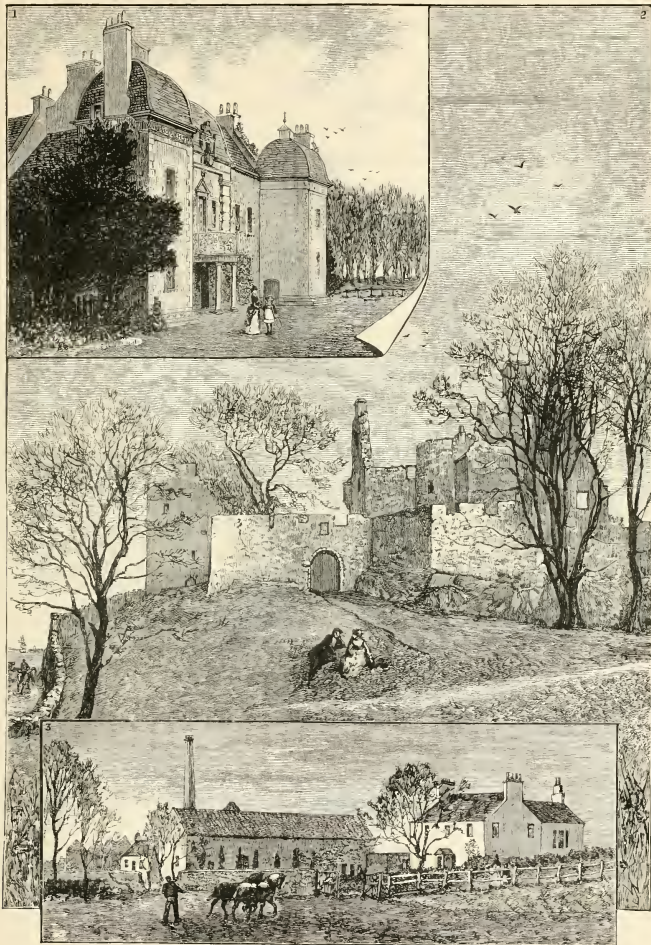
But before describing its stately eastern and western piers, we shall glance at some of the past history of the locality.

In the "Old Statistical Account," we find it stated, that there are appearances of coal on the sea-side,

in October, 1425, where, curiously enough, some ancient Italian coins were found not long ago.

The place at which the English army landed in 1544, and from there they began their march on Leith, was exactly where Granton pier is now. In an account of the late "Expedition in Scotland," sent to the Ryght Honorable Lord Russell, Lorde Privie Seale, from the kings armye there by a network of hys," the landing is described thus (modernised), and is somewhat different from what is generally found in Scottish history.

"That night the whole fleet came to anchor under the island of Inchkeith, three miles from the houses of Leith. The place where we anchored hath long been called the English Road; the



1, CAROLINE PARK; 2, RUINS OF GRANTON CASTLE; 3, EAST PILTON.

Scots now taken this to be a prophecy of the thing which has happened. The next day, 4th May, the army landed two miles bewest the town of Leith, at a place called *Grantaine Cragge*, every man being so prompt, that the whole army was landed in four hours." As there was no opposition, a circumstance unlooked for, and having guides, "We put ourselves in good order of war," continues the narrator, "marching towards Leith in three battayles (columns), whereof my lord admiral led the vanguard, the Earl of Shrewsbury the rearguard, the Earl of Hertford the centre, with the artillery drawn by men. In a valley on the right of the said town the Scots were assembled to the number of five or six thousand horse, besides foot, to impeach our passage, and had planted their artillery at two straits, through which we had to pass. At first they seemed ready to attack the vanguard." But perceiving the English ready to pass a ford that lay between them and the Scots, the latter abandoned their cannon, eight pieces in all, and fled towards Edinburgh; the first to quit the field was "the holy cardynall, lyke a vallyant champion, with him the governor, Therles of Huntly, Murray, and Bothwell."

The fame of Granton for its excellent freestone is not a matter of recent times, as in the City Treasurer's accounts, 1552-3, we read of half an ell of velvet, given to the Laird of Carube (Carrubber?) for "licence to wyn stones on his lands of Granton, to the schoir, for the hale space of a year."

In 1579 a ship called the *Jonas* of Leith perished in a storm upon the rocks at Granton, having been blown from her anchorage. Upon this, certain burgesses of Edinburgh brought an action against her owner, Vergell Kene of Leith, for the value of goods lost in the said ship; but he urged that her wrecking was the "providence of God," and the matter was remitted to the admiral and his deputies (Privy Council Reg.)

In 1605 we first find a distinct mention legally, of the old fortalice of Wardie, or Granton, thus in the "Retours." "Wardie-muir cum turre et fortalicio de Wardie," when George Tours is served heir to his father, Sir John Tours of Inverleith, knight, 14th May.

In 1685, by an Act of Parliament passed by James VII., the lands and barony of Royston were "ratified," in favour of George Viscount Tarbet, Lord Macleod, and Castlehaven, then Lord Clerk Register, and his spouse, Lady Anna Sinclair. They are described as comprehending the lands of Easter Granton with the manor-house, dovecot, coalheughs, and quarries, bounded by

Granton Burn; the lands of Muirhouse, and Pilton on the south, and the lands of Wardie and Wardie Burn, the sea links of Easter Granton, the lands of Golden Riggs or Acres, all of which had belonged to the deceased Patrick Nicoll of Royston.

The statesmen referred to was George Mackenzie, Viscount Tarbet and first Earl of Cromarty, eminent for his learning and abilities, descended from a branch of the family of Seaforth, and born in 1630. On the death of his father in 1654, with General Middleton he maintained a guerrilla warfare with the Parliamentary forces, in the interests of Charles II.; but had to leave Scotland till the Restoration, after which he became the great confidant of Middleton, when the latter obtained the chief administration of the kingdom.

In 1678 he was appointed Justice-General for Scotland, in 1681, a Lord of Session and Clerk Register, and four years afterwards James VII. created him Viscount Tarbet, by which name he is best known in Scotland.

Though an active and not over-scrupulous agent under James VII., he had no objection to transfer his allegiance to William of Orange, who, in 1692, restored him to office, after which he repeatedly falsified the records of Parliament, thus adding much to the odium attaching to his name. In 1696 he retired upon a pension, and was created Earl of Cromarty in 1703. He was a zealous supporter of the Union, having sold his vote for £300, for with all his eminence and talent as a statesman, he was notoriously devoid of principle. He was one of the original members of the Royal Society, and was author of a series of valuable articles, political and historical works, too numerous to be noted here. He died at New Tarbet in 1714, aged eighty-four, and left a son, who became second Earl of Cromarty, and another, Sir James Mackenzie, Bart., a senator with the title of Lord Royston. His grandson, George, third Earl of Cromarty, fought at Falkirk, leading 400 of his clan, but was afterwards taken prisoner, sent to the Tower, and sentenced to death. The latter portion was remitted, he retired into exile, and his son and heir entered the Swedish service; but when the American war broke out he raised the regiment known as Macleod's Highlanders (latterly the 71st Regiment), consisting of two battalions, and served at their head in the East Indies.

Lord Royston was raised to the bench on the 7th of June, 1710; and a suit of his and the Laird of Fraserdale, conjointly against Haliburton of Pitcur, is recorded in "Bruce's Decisions" for 1715.

He is said to have been "one of the wittiest

and most gifted men of his time," and had his town residence in one of the flats in James's Court, where it is supposed that his eccentric daughter, who became Lady Dick of Prestonfield, was born.

In 1743, John, the celebrated Duke of Argyle, entitled his "lands of Roystoun and Grantoun, called Caroline Park" ("Shaw's Reg."), doubtless so called after his eldest daughter Caroline, who, in the preceding year, had been married to Francis, Earl of Dalkeith, and whose mother had been a maid of honour to Queen Caroline. The estates of Royston and Granton were hers, and through her, went eventually to the house of Buccleuch. The Earl of Dalkeith, her husband, died in the lifetime of his father, in 1750, in his thirtieth year, leaving two children, afterwards Henry, Duke of Buccleuch, and Lady Frances, afterwards wife of Lord Douglas.

Lady Caroline Campbell, who was created a peeress of Great Britain, by the title of Lady Greenwich, in 1767, had, some years before that, married, a second time, the Right Hon. Charles Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Her barony of Greenwich being limited to the issue male of her second marriage, became extinct on her death at Sudbrooke, in her seventy-seventh year, one of her two sons, who was a captain in the 45th Foot, having died unmarried; and the other, who was a captain in the 59th, having committed suicide; thus, in 1794, the bulk of her real and personal property in Scotland and England, but more particularly the baronies of Granton and Royston, devolved upon Henry, third Duke of Buccleuch, K.G. and K.T., in succession, to the Duke of Argyle, who appears as "Lord Royston," in the old valuation roll.

Old Granton House, sometimes called Royston Castle, which is founded upon an abutting rock, was entered from the north-west by an archway in a crenelated barbican wall, and has three crow-stepped gables, each with a large chimney, and in the angle a circular tower with a staircase. The external gate, opening to the shore, was in this quarter, and was surmounted by two most ornate vases of great size; but these had disappeared by 1854. The whole edifice is an open and roofless ruin.

On the east are the remains of a magnificent carriage entrance with two side gates, and two massive pillars of thirteen courses of stone work, gigantic beads and panels alternately, each having on its summit four inverted trusses, capped by vases and ducal coronets, overhanging what was latterly an abandoned quarry.

The Hopes had long a patrimonial interest in

Granton. Sir Thomas Hope, of Craighall, King's Advocate to Charles I., left four sons, three of whom were Lords of Session at one time, who all married and left descendants—namely, Sir John Hope of Craighall, Sir Thomas Hope of Kerse, Sir Alexander Hope of Granton, and Sir James Hope of Hopetown.

Sir Alexander of Granton had the post at court of "Royal Carver Extraordinary, and he was much about the person of his Majesty."

The best known of this family in modern times, was the Right Hon. Charles Hope of Granton, Lord Advocate of Scotland in 1801, afterwards Lord President of the Court of Session, to whom we have already referred amply, elsewhere.

The more modern Granton House, in this quarter, was for some time the residence of Sir John McNeill, G.C.B., third son of the late McNeill of Colonsay, and brother of the peer of that title, well known as envoy at the court of Persia, and in many other public important capacities, LL.D. of Edinburgh, and D.C.L. of Oxford.

George Cleghorn, an eminent physician in Dublin, and his nephew, William Cleghorn, who was associated with him as Professor of Anatomy in Trinity College, Dublin, were both natives of Granton. George, the first man who established, what might with any propriety, be called an anatomical school in Ireland, was born in 1716 of poor but reputable and industrious parents, on a small farm at Granton, where his father died in 1719, leaving a widow and five children. He received the elements of his education in the parish school of Cramond village, and in 1728 he was sent to Edinburgh to be further instructed in Latin, Greek, and French, and, to a great knowledge of these languages, he added that of mathematics. Three years after he commenced the study of physics and surgery under the illustrious Alexander Monro, with whom he remained five years, and while yet a student, he and some others, among whom was the celebrated Dr. Fothergill, established the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh.

In 1736 he was appointed surgeon of Moyle's Regiment, afterwards the 22nd Foot (in which, some years before, the father of Laurence Sterne had been a captain) then stationed in Minorca, where he remained with it thirteen years, and accompanied it in 1749 to Ireland, and in the following year published, in London, his work on "The Diseases of Minorca."

Settling in Dublin in 1751, in imitation of Monro and Hunter he began to give yearly lectures on anatomy. A few years afterwards he was admitted into the University as an anatomical

lecturer, and was soon made professor. "It is to him," says the *Edinburgh Magazine* for 1790, "we are indebted for the use of acescent vegetables in low, remittent, and putrid fever, and the early and copious exhibition of bark, which has been

of the College of Physicians in Dublin, in 1784. He died in 1789.

The principal feature at Granton is in its well-planned, extensive, massively built, and in every respect magnificent pier, constructed at the expense of



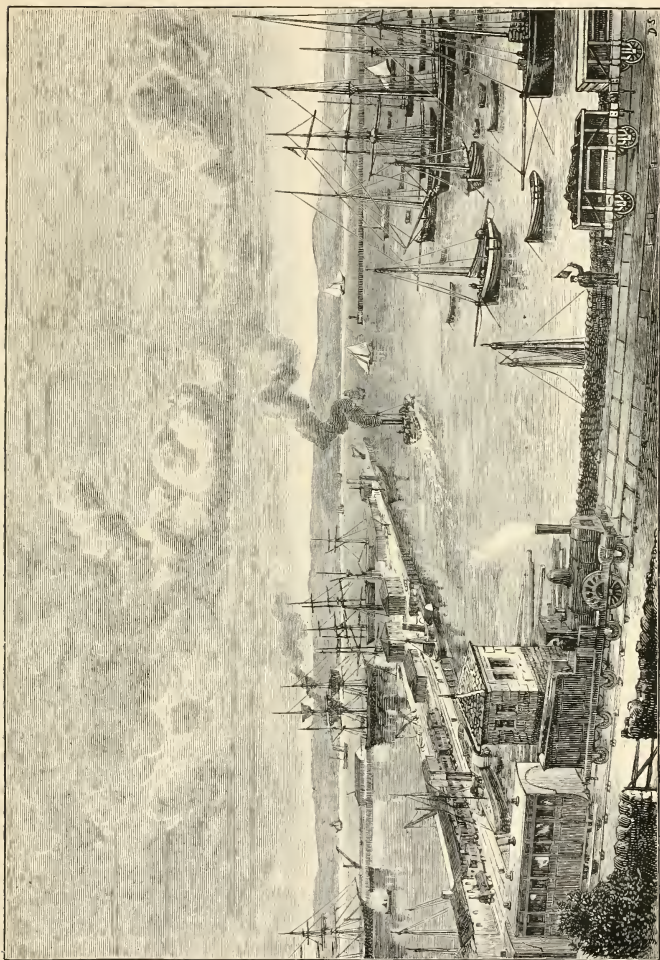
OLD ENTRANCE TO ROYSTON (NOW CAROLIN PARK), 1851. (After a Drawing by William Channing.)

interdicted from mistaken facts deduced from false theories."

In 1774, on the death of his only brother in Scotland, he brought over this brother's widow, with her nine children, and settled them all in Ireland. His eldest son, William, who had graduated in physic at Edinburgh in 1779, he took as an assistant, but he died soon after, in his twenty-eighth year. When the Royal Medical Society was established at Paris he was named a fellow of it, and

the Duke of Buccleuch, and forming decidedly the noblest harbour in the Firth of Forth. It was commenced in the November of 1835, and partially opened on the Queen's coronation day, 28th of June, 1838, by the duke's brother, Lord John Scott, in presence of an immense crowd of spectators, and in commemoration of the day, one portion of it is called the Victoria Jetty.

The pier can be approached by vessels of the largest class. A commodious and handsome hotel



GRANTON HARBOUR AND PIER.

has been erected by the duke near it, at the foot of the Granton Road, and on the opposite side of the way are the Custom-house and other edifices, the nucleus of an expanding seaport and suburb.

The stone used in the construction of the pier was chiefly quarried from the duke's adjacent property, and the engineers were Messrs. Walker and Burgess of London. The length of the pier is 1,700 feet, and its breadth is from 80 to 160 feet. Four pairs of jetties, each running out 90 feet, were designed to go off at intervals of 350 feet, and two slips, each 325 feet long, to facilitate the shipping and loading of cattle.

A strong high wall, with a succession of thoroughfares, runs along the centre of the entire esplanade. A light-house rises at its extreme point, and displays a brilliant red light. All these works exhibit such massive and beautiful masonry, and realise their object so fully, that every patriotic beholder must regard them in the light of a great national benefit.

The depth of the water at spring tides is twenty-nine feet. By the 7th William IV., c. 15, the Duke of Buccleuch is entitled to levy certain dues on passengers, horses, and carriages.

Eastward of this lies a noble breakwater more than 3,000 feet in length; westward of it lies another, also more than 3,000 feet in length, forming two magnificent pools—one 1,000 feet in breadth, and the other averaging 2,500.

At the west pier, or breakwater, are the steam cranes, and the patent slip which was constructed in the year 1852; since that time a number of vessels have been built at Granton, where the first craft was launched in January, 1853, and a considerable trade in the repair of ships of all kinds, but chiefly steamers of great size, has been carried on.

Through the efforts of the Duke of Buccleuch and Sir John Gladstone a ferry service was established between the new piers of Granton and Burntisland, and they retained it until it was taken over by the Edinburgh and Northern, afterwards called the Edinburgh, Perth, and Dundee Railway Company, which was eventually merged in the North British Railway.

Westward of the west pier lie some submerged masses, known as the General's Rocks, and near them one named the Chestnut.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE ENVIRONS OF EDINBURGH.

Cramond—Origin of the Name—Cramond of that ilk—Ancient Charters—Inchmickery—Lord Cramond—Burnton—Gogar and its Proprietors—Saughton Hall—Riccarton.

WITHIN a radius of about five miles from the Castle are portions of the parishes of Cramond, Liberton, Newton, Lasswade, Colinton, and Dud-dingstone, and in these portions are many places of great historical and pictorial interest, at which our remaining space will permit us only to glance.

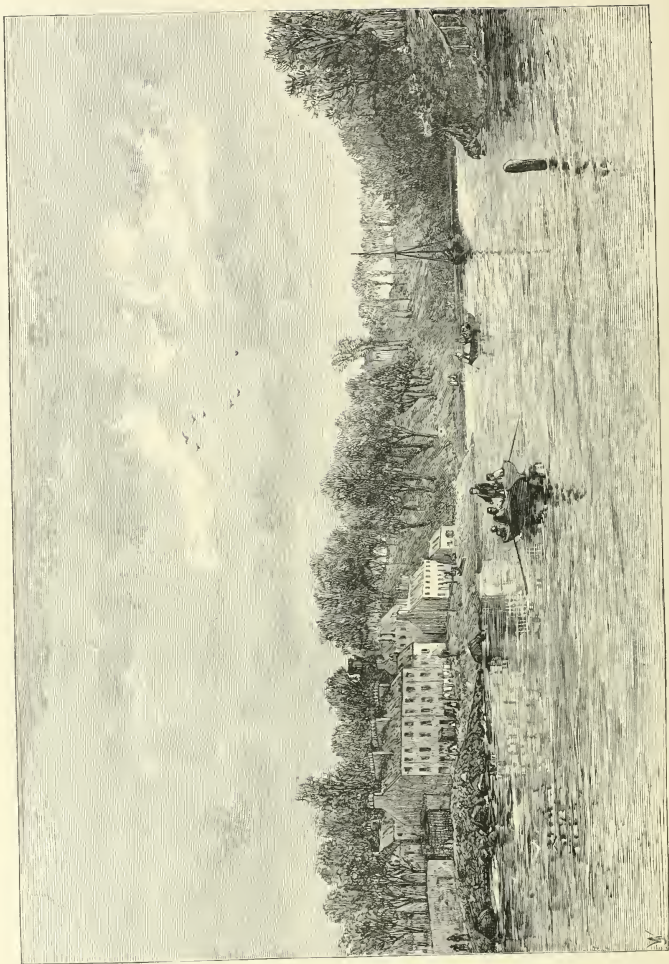
Two miles and a half westward of Granton lies Cramond, embosomed among fine wood, where the river Almond, which chiefly belongs to Edinburghshire, though it rises in the Muir of Shotts, falls into the Firth of Forth, forming a small estuary navigable by boats for nearly a mile.

Its name is said to be derived from *caer*, a fort, and *avon*, a river, and it is supposed to have been, from a disinterred inscription, the *Alaterva* of the Romans, who had a station here—the *Alauna* of Ptolemy. Imperial medals, coins, altars, pavements, have been found here in remarkable quantities; and a bronze strigil, among them, is now preserved in the Museum of Antiquities. On the eastern bank of the river there lay a Roman

mole, where doubtless galleys were moored when the water was deeper. Inscriptions have proved that Cramond was the quarters of the II. and XX. Legions, under Lollius Urbicus, when forming the Roman rampart and military road in the second century—relics of the temporary dominion of Rome in the South Lowlands.

According to Boece and Sir John Skene, Constantine IV., who reigned in 994, was slain here in battle by Malcolm II., in 1002, and his army defeated, chiefly through the wind driving the sand into the eyes of his troops.

In after years, Cramond—or one-half thereof—belonged ecclesiastically to the Bishops of Dunkeld, to whom Robert Avenel transferred it, and here they occasionally resided. There was a family named Cramond of that ilk, a son of which became a monk in the Carmelite monastery founded at Queensferry early in the fourteenth century by Dundas of that ilk, and who died Patriarch of Antioch.



CRAMOND.

In the reign of David II. Roger Greenlaw obtained a royal charter of the Butterland in the town of Cramond, "quhilk William Bartlemow resigned;" and Robert II. granted, at Edinburgh, in the eighteenth year of his reign, a charter of certain lands in King's Cramond to William Napier, on their resignation by John, son of Simon Rede, in presence of the Chancellor, John, Bishop of Dunkeld, and others.

In 1587 Patrick Douglas of Kilspindie became

the south as the Pinnacle. In December, 1769, a whale, fifty-four feet long, was stranded upon it by the waves. About a mile northward and east of it, lies another rocky islet, three or four furlongs in circumference, named Inchmickery, only remarkable for a valuable oyster bed on its shore, and for the rich profusion of sea-weed, mosses, and lichens, on its beach and surface.

North from the point known as the Hunter's Craig or Eagle's Rock, westward of the harbour,



THE "TWA BRIGS," CRAMOND.

caution for John Douglas, in Cramond, and his son Alexander, that they would not molest certain parishioners there, nor "their wives, bairns, or servants."

The little harbour of Cramond is specified in the Exchequer Records as a creek within the port of Leith. It possesses generally only a few boats, but in 1791 had seven sloops, measuring 288 tons, employed by the iron works. Cramond Island, 19 acres in extent, lies 1,440 yards NNE of the pretty village. It rises high in the centre, with steep granite cliffs on the east, formerly abounded with rabbits, and is generally accessible on foot at low water. It now belongs to Lord Rosebery. The north point of the isle is known as the Binks;

the stretch known as the Drum Sands extends for more than a mile.

In 1639, Alexander, sixth Earl of Eglinton, halted for two days at Cramond with his contingent for the Scottish army, consisting of 200 horse and 1,800 foot, *en route* for Leith.

In the time of Charles I. Cramond gave a title in the Scottish peerage, when Dame Elizabeth Beaumont, the wife of Sir Thomas Richardson, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in England, was, for some reason now unknown, created Baroness Cramond for life, with the title of baron to the Chief Justice's son and his heirs male; "in failure of which, to the heirs male of his father's body"—the first female creation on record in

Scotland. But it does not appear that any of this family ever sat in Parliament. The title is supposed to be extinct, though a claim was advanced to it recently.

The parish church is cruciform, and was erected

Cromwell, as a commissioner for forfeited estates, in 1654.

In 1795 there was interred here William Davidson, of Muirhouse, who died in his 81st year, and was long known as one of the most eminent of



OLD CRAMOND BRIG.

in 1656, and is in the plain and tasteless style of the period. On the north side of it is a mural tomb, inscribed—"HERE LYES THE BODY OF SIR JAMES HOPE, OF HOPETOWN, WHO DECEASED ANNO 1661." It bears his arms and likeness, cut in bold relief. He was the fourth son of Sir Thomas Hope, of Craighall, was a famous alchemist in his time, and the first who brought the art of mining to any perfection in Scotland. He was a senator of the College of Justice, and was in league with

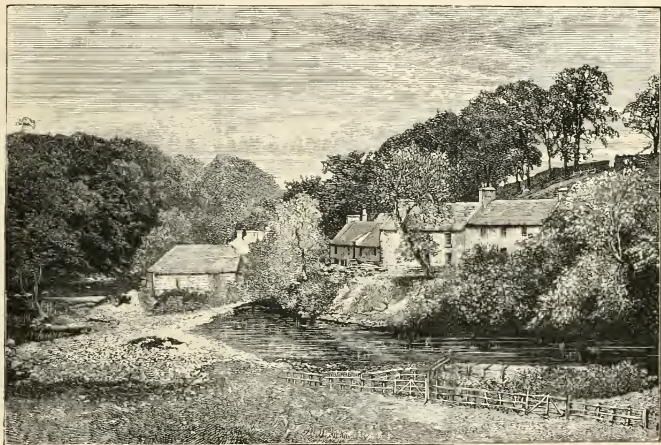
Scottish merchants at Rotterdam, where he amassed a fortune, and purchased the barony of Muirhouse in 1776.

Among the many fine mansions here perhaps the most prominent is the modern one of Barnton, erected on the site of an old fortalice, and on rising ground, amid a magnificently-wooded park 400 acres in extent. Barnton House was of old called *Cramond Regis*, as it was once a royal hunting seat, and in a charter of Muirhouse, granted by

Robert Bruce, "the King's meadow and muir of Cramond" are mentioned. Among the missing charters of Robert III., are two to William Touris, "of the lands of Berntoun," and another to the same of the superiority of King's Cramond. William Touris, of Cramond, was a bailie of the city in 1482. These Touris were the same family who afterwards possessed Inverleith, and whose name appears so often in Scotstarvit's "Calendar." In 1538 the family seems to have passed to Bristol, in England, as Protestants, Pinkerton supposes, for

and has already been referred-to in a preceding chapter. In February, 1763, there died in Barn-ton House, in the sixty-fourth year of her age, Lady Susannah Hamilton, third daughter of John, Earl of Ruglen, whose son William was styled Lord Daer and Riccarton. She was buried in the chapel royal at Holyrood.

In 1771 the *Scots Magazine* records the demise of John Viscount Glenorchy "at his house of Barnton, five miles west of Edinburgh." He was husband of Lady Glenorchy of pious memory.



VIEW BELOW CRAMOND BRIG. (After a Photograph by G. W. Wilson & Co.)

in that year a charter of part of Inverleith is granted to George Touris, of Bristol; but Lord Durie, in 1636, reports a case concerning "umquhile James Touris, brother to the laird of Inverleith."

As stated elsewhere, Overbarnton belonged, in 1508, to Sir Robert Barnton, who was comptroller of the household to James V. in 1520, and who acquired the lands by purchase with money found by despoiling the Portuguese; but a George Maxwell of Barnton, appears among the knights slain at Flodden in 1513. He obtained Barnton by a royal charter in 1460, on his mother's resignation, and was a brother of John, Lord Maxwell, who also fell at Flodden. This property has changed hands many times. James Elphinston of Barnton, was the first Lord Balmerino, a Lord of the Treasury,

In after years it became the property of the Ramsays, one of whom was long known in the sporting world.

The quaint old bridge of Cramond is one of the features of the parish, and is celebrated as the scene of that dangerous frolic of James V., related in our account of Holyrood. It consists of three Pointed arches, with massively buttressed piers. It became ruinous in 1607, and was repaired in 1619, 1687, and later still in 1761 and 1776, as a panel in the parapet records. Adjoining it, and high in air above it, is the new and lofty bridge of eight arches, constructed by Rennie.

A little to the eastward of the village is Cramond House, a fine old residence within a wooded domain. Sir John Inglis of Cramond was made

a baronet of Nova Scotia by James VII., in 1687.

The close of the family is thus recorded in the *Scottish Register for 1795*:—"September 1. At Cramond House, died Adam Inglis, Esq., last surviving son of Sir John Inglis of Cramond, Bart. He was instructed in grammar and learning at the High School and University of Edinburgh, and at the Warrington Academy in Lancashire; studied law at Edinburgh, and was called to the bar in 1782. In May, 1794, was appointed lieutenant of one of the Midlothian troops of cavalry, in which he paid the most assiduous attention to the raising and discipline of the men. On the 23rd August he was attacked with fever, and expired on the 1st September, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, unmarried." Cramond House is now the seat of the Craigue-Halkett family.

Some three miles south of Cramond lies the district of Gogar, an ancient and suppressed parish, a great portion of which is now included in that of Corstorphine. *Gogar* signifies "light," according to some "etymological notices," by Sir James Foulis of Colinton, probably from some signal given to an army, as there are, he adds, marks of a battle having taken place to the westward; but his idea is much more probably deduced from the place named traditionally "the Flashes," the scene of Leslie's repulse of Cromwell in 1650. The name is more probably Celtic. The "Ottadeni and Gadeni," says a statistical writer, "the British descendants of the first colonists, enjoyed their original land during the second century, and have left memorials of their existence in the names of the Forth, the Almond, the Esk, the Leith, the Gore, the *Gogar*, and of Cramond, Cockpen, Dreghorn," etc.

The church of Gogar was much older than that of Corstorphine, but was meant for a scanty population. A small part of it still exists, and after the Reformation was set apart as a burial-place for the lords of the manor.

Gogar was bestowed by Robert Bruce on his trusty comrade in many a well-fought field, Sir Alexander Seton, one of the patriots who signed that famous letter to the Pope in 1330, asserting the independence of the Scots; and vowing that so long as one hundred of them remained alive, they would never submit to the King of England. He was killed in battle at Kinghorn in 1332.

Soon after this establishment the Parish of Gogar was acquired by the monks of Holyrood; but before the reign of James V. it had been constituted an independent rectory. In 1429 Sir John Forrester conferred its tithes on his collegiate church at

Corstorphine, and made it one of the prebends there.

In June, 1409, Walter Haliburton, of Dirleton, in a charter dated from that place, disposed of the lands and milne of Gogar to his brother George. Among the witnesses were the Earls of March and Orkney, Robert of Lawder, and others. In 1516 the lands belonged to the Logans of Restalrig and others, and during the reign of James VI. were in possession of Sir Alexander Erskine, Master of Mar, appointed Governor of Edinburgh Castle in 1578.

Though styled "the Master," he was in reality the second son of John, twelfth Lord Erskine, and is stated by Douglas to have been an ancestor of the Earls of Kellie, and was Vice-Chamberlain of Scotland. His son, Sir Thomas Erskine, also of Gogar, was in 1606 created Viscount Fenton, and thirteen years afterwards Earl of Kellie and Lord Dirleton.

In 1599, after vain efforts had been made by its few parishioners to raise sufficient funds for an incumbent, the parish of Gogar was stripped of its independence; and of the two villages of Nether Gogar and Gogar Stone, which it formerly contained, the latter has disappeared, and the population of the former numbered a few years ago only twenty souls.

Grey Cooper, of Gogar, was made a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1638.

In 1646 the estate belonged to his son Sir John Cooper, Bart., and in 1790 it was sold by Sir Grey Cooper, M.P., to the Ramsays, afterwards of Barton. A Cooper of Gogar is said to have been one of the first persons who appeared in the High Street of Edinburgh in a regular coach. They were, as already stated, baronets of 1638, and after them came the Myrtons of Gogar, baronets of 1701, and now extinct.

On the muir of Gogar, in 1606, during the prevalence of a plague, certain little "lodges" were built by James Lawriston, and two other persons named respectively David and George Hamilton, for the accommodation of the infected; but these edifices were violently destroyed by Thomas Marjoribanks, a portioner of Ratho, on the plea that their erection was an invasion of his lands, yet the Lords of the Council ordered them to be re-built "where they may have the best commodity of water," as the said muir was common property.

The *Edinburgh Courant* for April, 1723, records that on the 30th of the preceding March, "Mrs. Elizabeth Murray, lady to Thomas Kincaid, younger, of Gogar Mains," was found dead on the road from Edinburgh to that place, with all the appearance of having been barbarously murdered.

He was at once—for some reasons known at the time—accused of having committed this outrage, and had to seek shelter in Holland.

Eastward of this quarter stands the old mansion of Saughton, gable-ended, with crowsteps, dormer windows, steep roofs, and massive chimneys, with an ancient crowstepped dovecot, ornamented with an elaborate string-moulding, and having a shield, covered with initials, above its door. Over the entrance of the house is a shield, or scroll-work, charged with a sword between two helmets, with the initials P. E., the date, 1623, and the old Edinburgh legend, “BLISIT. BE. GOD. FOR. AL. HIS. GIFTS.” This edifice is in the parish of St. Cuthbert’s; but New Saughton and Saughton Loan End are in that of Corstorphine.

For many generations the estate of Saughton was the patrimony and residence of the Bairds, a branch of the house of Auchmedden.

James, eldest son and heir of Sir James Baird, Knight of Saughton, in the shire of Edinburgh, was created a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1695–6. He entailed the lands of Saughton Hall in 1712, and married the eldest daughter of Sir Alexander Gibson, of Pentland, and died, leaving a son and successor, who became involved in a serious affair, in 1708.

In a drinking match in a tavern in Leith he insisted on making his friend Mr. Robert Oswald intoxicated. After compelling him to imbibe repeated bumpers, Baird suddenly demanded an apology from him as if he had committed some breach of good manners. This Oswald declined to do, and while a drunken spirit of resentment remained in his mind against Baird, they came to Edinburgh together in a coach, which they quitted at the Nether Bow Port at a late hour.

No sooner were they afoot in the street than Baird drew his sword, and began to make lunges at Oswald, on whom he inflicted two mortal wounds, and fled from the scene, leaving beside his victim a broken and bloody sword. On the ground of its not being “forethought felony,” he was some years after allowed by the Court of Justiciary to have the benefit of Queen Anne’s Act of Indemnity.

He married a daughter of Baikie, of Tankerness, in Orkney, and, surviving his father by only a year, was succeeded by his son, an officer in the navy, at whose death, unmarried, the title devolved upon his brother Sir William, also an officer in the navy, who married, in 1750, Frances, daughter of Colonel Gardiner who was slain at the battle of Prestonpans. He died in 1772, according to Schomburg’s “Naval Chronology,” “at his seat of Saughton

Hall,” in 1771 according to the *Scots Magazine* for that year.

From Colonel Gardiner’s daughter comes the additional surname now used by the family.

The old dovecot, we have said, still remains here untouched. In many instances these little edifices in Scotland survive the manor-houses and castles to which they were attached, by chance perhaps, rather than in consequence of the old superstition that if one was pulled down the lady of the family would die within a year of the event. By the law of James I. it was felony to destroy a “dovecot,” and by the laws of James VI., no man could build one in “a heugh, or in the country, unless he had lands to the value of ten chalders of victual yearly within two miles of the said dovecot.”

The ancient bridge of Saughton over the Leith consists of three arches with massive piers, and bears the date of repairs, apparently 1670, in a square panel. Through one of the arches of this bridge, during a furious flood in the river, a chaise containing two ladies and two gentlemen was swept in 1774, and they would all have perished had not their shrieks alarmed the family at Saughton Hall, by whom they were succoured and saved.

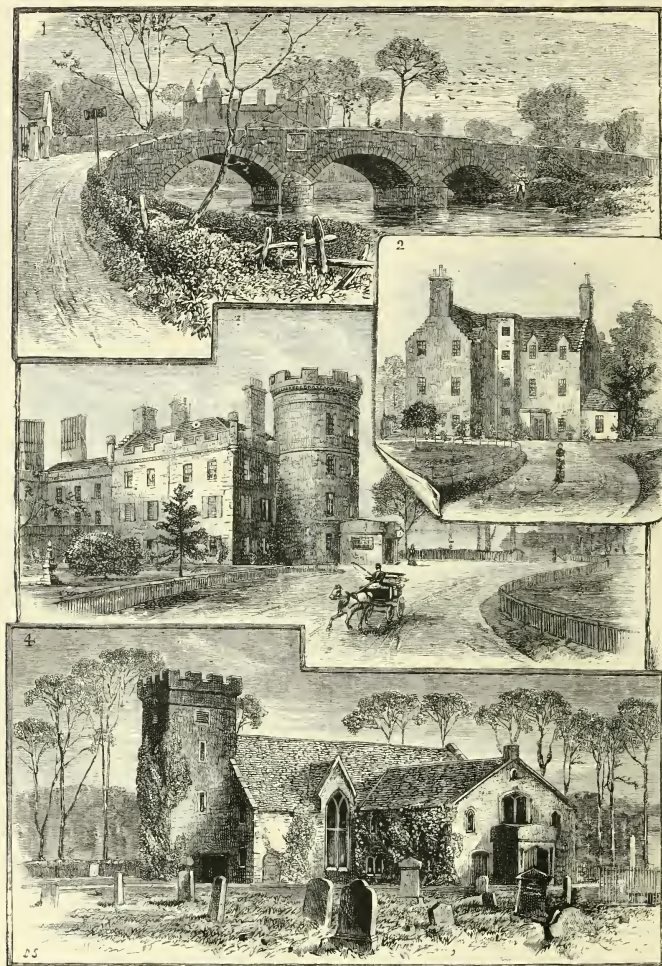
There is a rather inelegant old Scottish proverb with reference to this place, “Ye breed o’ Saughton swine, ye’re neb is ne’er oot o’ an ill turn.”

Throughout all this district, extending from Coltbridge to the Redheughs, by Gogar Green and Milburn Tower, the whole land is in the highest state of cultivation, exhibiting fertile corn-fields, fine grass parks and luxuriant gardens, interspersed with coppice, with the Leith winding amidst them, imparting at times much that is sylvan to the scenery.

South of Gogar Bank are two old properties—Baberton, said to be a royal house, which, in the last century, belonged to a family named Inglis (and was temporarily the residence of Charles X. of France), and Riccarton, which can boast of great antiquity indeed.

Among the missing charters of Robert I. is one to Walter Stewart, of the barony of Bathgate, with the lands of *Richardtown*, the barony of Rathew, of Boundington, and others in the Sheriffdom of Edinburgh. Thus, we see, it formed part of the dowry given by the victor of Bannockburn to his daughter the Lady Margery, wife of Walter, High Steward of Scotland, in 1316—direct ancestor of the House of Stewart—who died in his castle of Bathgate in 1328, his chief residence, the site of which is still marked by some ancient pine trees.

In the reign of King Robert III., the lands of



1, OLD SAUGHTON BRIDGE; 2, OLD SAUGHTON HOUSE; 3, BARNTON HOUSE; 4, CRAMOND CHURCH.

Riccarton, with those of Warriston, in the barony of Currie, were given by royal charter to Marion of Wardlaw, and Andrew her son, and have had many proprietors since then.

In the Privy Council Register we find that in 1579 the Lairds of Brighouse and Haltoun became

referred in the account of his town residence in Warriston's Close. He was born at Edinburgh about 1538, and in 1552 was entered as a student at St. Leonard's College in the University of St. Andrews, which he quitted three years subsequently, after receiving his degree of Bachelor of Arts.



COLINTON.

bound in caution, that the former shall pay "to Harie Drummond of Riccartoun, £100 on Martinmas next, the 11th November, in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, for behoof of William Sandeland and Thomas Hart," whom he had hurt and mutilated, "or else shall re-enter himself as a prisoner in the said Tolbooth, on the said day."

During the middle of the sixteenth century Riccarton became the property of the famous feudal lawyer, Sir Thomas Craig, to whom we have

He next studied at the University of Paris, and became deeply versed in Civil and Canon laws. Returning to Scotland about 1561, he was called to the bar three years afterwards, and in 1564 was made Justice-Depute.

In 1566, when Prince James was born in Edinburgh Castle, he wrote a Latin hexameter poem in honour of the event, entitled *Genethliacon Jacobi Principis Scotorum*, which, with another poem on his departure, when king, for England, is inserted in

the *Delitæ Poetarum Scotorum*. He was a convert to the Protestant religion, and the chief work of his pen is his learned book on feudal law. It has been well said that he "kept himself apart from the political intrigues of those distracting times, devoting himself to his professional duties, and in his hours of relaxation cultivating a taste for classical literature."

He was present at the entry of King James into London, and at his coronation as King of England, an event which he commemorated in a poem in Latin hexameters. In 1604 he was one of the commissioners appointed by the king to confer with others on the part of England, concerning a probable union between the two countries, a favourite project with James, but somewhat Utopian when broached at a time when men were living who had fought on the field of Pinkie.

He wrote a treatise on the independent sovereignty of Scotland, which was published in 1675, long after his death, which occurred at Edinburgh on the 26th of February, 1608. He married Helen, daughter of Heriot of Trabrown, in East Lothian, by whom he had seven children. His eldest son, Sir Lewis Craig, born in 1569, became a senator, as Lord Wrightslands.

On the death of his lineal descendant in 1823, Robert Craig of Riccarton (of whom mention was made in our chapter on Princes Street in the second volume of this work), James Gibson, W.S. (afterwards Sir James Gibson-Craig of Riccarton and Ingliston), assumed the name and arms of Craig in virtue of a deed of entail made in 1818. He was a descendant of the Gibsons of Durie, in Fife.

His eldest son was the late well-known Sir William Gibson-Craig, who was born 2nd August, 1797, and, after receiving his education in Edinburgh, was called as an advocate to the Scottish Bar in 1820. He was M.P. for Midlothian from 1837 to 1841, when he was returned for the city of Edinburgh, which he continued to represent till 1852. He was a Lord of the Treasury from 1846 to 1852, and was appointed one of the Board of Supervision for the Poor in Scotland. In 1854 he was appointed Lord Clerk Register of Her Majesty's Rolls and Registers in Scotland in 1862, and Keeper of the Signet. He was a member of the Privy Council in 1863, and died in 1878.

Riccarton House, a handsome modern villa of considerable size, has now replaced the old mansion of other times.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE ENVIRONS OF EDINBURGH (*continued*).

Colinton—Ancient Name and Church—Redhall—The Family of Foulis—Dreghorn—The Pentlands—View from Torphin—Comiston—Slateford—Graysmill—Liberton—The Mill at Nether Liberton—Liberton Tower—The Church—The Palm Well of St. Katherine—Grace Mount—The Wauchopes of Niddrie—Niddrie House—St. Katherine's—The Kaimes—Mr. Clement Little—Lady Little of Liberton.

THE picturesque little parish village of Colinton, about a mile and a quarter from Kingsknowe Station, on the Caledonian Railway, is romantically situated in a deep and wooded dell, through which the Water of Leith winds on its way to the Firth of Forth, and around it are many beautiful walks and bits of sweet sylvan scenery. The lands here are in the highest state of cultivation, enclosed by ancient hedgerows tufted with green coppice, and even on the acclivities of the Pentland range, at the height of 700 feet above the sea, have been rendered most profitably arable.

In the wooded vale the Water of Leith turns the wheels of innumerable quaint old water-mills, and through the lesser dells, the Murray, the Braid, and the Burdiehouse Burns, enrich the parish with their streams.

Of old the parish was called Hailes, from the plural, it is said, of a Celtic word, which signifies a

mound or hillock. A gentleman's residence near the site of the old church still retains the name, which is also bestowed upon a well-known quarry and two other places in the parish. The new Statistical Account states that the name of Hailes was that of the principal family in the parish, which was so called in compliment to them; but this seems barely probable.

The little church—which dates from only 1771—and its surrounding churchyard, are finely situated on a sloping eminence at the bottom of a dell, round which the river winds slowly by.

The ancient church of Hailes, or Colinton, was granted to Dunfermline Abbey by Ethelred, son of Malcolm Canmore and of St. Margaret, a gift confirmed by a royal charter of David I., and by a Bull of Pope Gregory in 1234, according to the above-quoted authority; but the parish figures so little in history that we hear nothing of it again till 1650,

when the village was occupied on the 18th August by ten companies of Monk's Regiment (now the Coldstream Guards), of which Captain Gough of Berwick was lieutenant-colonel, and Captain Holmes of Newcastle, major, prior to the storming of the fortalices of Redhall and Colinton, before the 24th of the same month. ("Records: Cold. Guards.") Redhall, in after years, was the patrimony of Captain John Inglis, of H.M.S. *Belliqueux*, who, at the battle of Camperdown, when confused by the signals of the admiral, shouted with impatience to his sailing-master, "Hang it, Jack! doon wi' the helm, and gang richt into the middle o't!" closing his telescope as he spoke.

Old Colinton House was, at the period of the Protectorate, occupied by the Foulis family (now represented by that of Woodhall in the same parish) whose name is alleged to be a corruption of the Norman, as their arms are *azure*, their bay leaves *vert*, in old Norman called *feullis*. Be that as it may, the family is older than is stated by Sir Bernard Burke, as there were two senators of the College of Justice, each Lord Colinton respectively—James Foulis in 1532, and John Foulis in 1541; and there was a James Foulis of Colinton, who lived in the reigns of Mary and James VI., who married Agnes Heriot of Lumphoy, whose tombstone is yet preserved in an aisle of Colinton Church, and bears this inscription:—

HERE, LYES . ANE . HONORABIL . WOMAN . A . HERIOT .
SPOVS . TO . J . FOULIS . OF . COLLINTOWN . VAS . QUHA .
DEID . 8 . AUGUST . 1593 .

They had four sons—James, who succeeded to the estate; George, progenitor of the house of Ravelston; David, progenitor of the English family of Ingleby Manor, Yorkshire; and John, of the Leadhills, whose granddaughter became ancestress of the Earls of Hopetoun.

Alexander Foulis, of Colinton, was created a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1634, and his son Sir James, whose house was stormed by the troops of Monk, having attended a convention of the estates in Angus, was betrayed into the hands of the English, together with the Earls of Leven, Crawford, Marischal, the Lord Ogilvy, and many others, who were surprised by a party of Cromwell's cavalry, under Colonel Aldridge, on August, 1651, and taken as prisoners of war to London. He married Barbara Ainslie of Dolphinton, but, by a case reported by Sir James Dalrymple of Stair, in 1667, he would seem to have been in a treaty of marriage with Dame Margaret Erskine, Lady Tarbet, which led to a somewhat involved suit before the Lords of Council and Session. After the Restoration he was raised to the Bench as Lord Colinton, and was

succeeded by his son, also a Lord of Session, and a member of the last Scottish Parliament in 1707, the year of the Union.

After that "he joined the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Athol, and many others of the nobility and gentry, in their celebrated protest made by the Earl of Errol, respecting the most constitutional defence of the house of legislature. He also joined in the protest, which declared that an incorporating union of the two nations was inconsistent with the honour of Scotland."

Further details of this family will be found in the account of Ravelston (p. 106).

The mansions and villas of many other families are in this somewhat secluded district; the principal one is perhaps the modern seat of the late Lord Dunfermline, on a beautifully wooded hill overhanging the village on the south. Colinton House was built by Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo, Bart. Near it, the remains of the old edifice, of the same name, form a kind of decorative ruin.

Dreghorn Castle, a stately modern edifice, with a conspicuous round tower, is situated on the northern slope of the Pentlands, at an elevation of 489 feet above the sea. John MacLaurin, son of Colin MacLaurin, the eminent mathematician, was called to the bench as Lord Dreghorn. A learned correspondence, which took place in 1790, between him, Lord Monboddo, and M. Le Chevalier, afterwards secretary to Talleyrand, on the site of Troy, will be found in the *Scots Magazine* for 1810.

The name of this locality is very old, as among the missing crown charters of Robert II., is one confirming a lease by Alexander Meygners of Redhall, to Robert, Earl of Fife and Menteith, of the barony of Redhall in the shire of Edinburgh, except Dreghorn and Woodhall; and of the barony of Glendochart in Perthshire, during the said Earl's life. In the early part of the eighteenth century it was the property of a family named Home.

Near Woodhall, in the parish of Colinton, is the little modern village of Juniper Green, chiefly celebrated as being the temporary residence of Thomas Carlyle, some time after his marriage at Comely Bank, Stockbridge, where, as he tells us in his "Reminiscences" (edited by Mr. Froude), "his first experience in the difficulties of housekeeping began." Carlyle's state of health required perfect quiet, if not absolute solitude; but at Juniper Green, as at Comely Bank, their house was much frequented by the literary society of the day; and, among others, by Chalmers, Guthrie, and Lord Jeffrey, whose intimacy with Carlyle rapidly increased after the first visit he paid him at Comely Bank. "He was much taken with my little

Jeannie, as well he might be"—wrote Carlyle in 1867—"one of the brightest and cleverest creatures in the whole world; full of innocent rustic simplicity and variety, yet with the gracefulest discernment, and calmly natural deportment; instinct with beauty to the finger-ends! . . . Jeffrey's acquaintanceship seemed, and was, for the time, an immense acquisition to me, and everybody regarded it as my highest good fortune, though in the end it did not practically amount to much.

from its resemblance to the Chinese petunse or kaolin, out of which the finest native china is made, it has obtained the name of *Petunse pentlandica*.

Boulders of granite, gneiss, and other primitive rocks, lie on the very summits of the Pentlands, and jaspers of great beauty are frequently found there. These summits and glens, though possessing little wood, are generally verdant, and abound in beauty and boldness of contour. The fine pas-



DREGHORN CASTLE.

Meantime it was very pleasant, and made us feel as if no longer cut off and isolated, but fairly admitted, or like to be admitted, and taken in tow by the world and its actualities."

A portion of the beautiful Pentland range rises in the parish of Colinton. Cairketton Craigs on the boundary between it and Lasswade, the most northerly of the mountains, are 1,580 feet in height above the level of the Firth of Forth; the Allermuir Hill and Capelaw Hill rise westward of it, with Castlelaw to the south, 1,595 feet in height. Cairketton Craigs are principally composed of clayey felspar, strongly impregnated with black oxide of iron. This substance, but for its impregnation, would be highly useful to the potter, and

tures sustain numerous flocks of sheep, and exhibit various landscapes of pleasing pastoral romance, while their general undulating outline alike arrests and delights the eye.

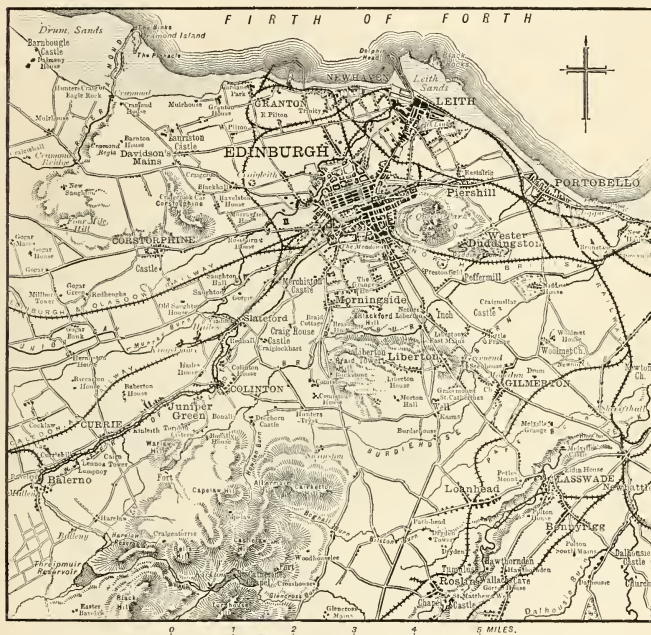
The view from Torphin, one of the low heads of the Pentlands, is said to be exactly that of the vicinity of Athens, as seen from the base of Mount Anchesimus. "Close upon the right," wrote Grecian Williams, "Brilessus is represented by the hills of Braid; before us in the dark and abrupt mass of the Castle rises the Acropolis; the hill of Lycabettus joined to that of Areopagus, appears in the Calton; in the Firth of Forth we behold the Ægean Sea; in Inchkeith Ægina; and the hills of the Peloponnesus are precisely those of the

opposite coast of Fife." But the distant views of Edinburgh are all splendid alike.

The northern slopes of these mountains command a clear view of one of the grandest and most varied landscapes in Scotland.

"The numberless villas in the vicinity of Edin-

burgh of hills and elevated situations, useful as well as ornamental—protecting, not injuring, cultivation. . . . The expanse of the Forth, which forms the northern boundary, adds highly to the natural beauty of the scene; and the capital, situated upon an eminence, adjoining an exten-



MAP OF THE ENVIRONS OF EDINBURGH.

burgh and gentlemen's seats all over the country are seen, beautiful and distinct, each amidst its own plantations," says a writer so far back as 1792, since which date great improvements have taken place. "These add still more to the embellishment of the scene from the manner in which they are disposed; not in extended and thick plantations, which turn a country into a forest, and throw a gloom upon the prospect, but in clear and diversified lines, in clumps and hedgerows, or waving on the brows

sive plain, rises proudly to the view and gives a dignity to the whole. Descending from the hills to the low country, the surface which had the appearance of a uniform plain undergoes a change remarkable to the eye. The fields are laid out in various directions according to the nature of the ground, which is unequal, irregular, and inclined to every point of the compass. The most part, however, lies upon a gentle slope, either to the north or to the south, in banks which are

extended from east to west over all the country. This inequality in the surface contributes much to the ornament of the view, by the agreeable relief which the eye ever meets with in the change of objects; while the universal declivity, which prevails more or less in every field, is favourable to the culture of the lands, by allowing a ready descent to the water which falls from the heavens." (Agricultural Survey of Midlothian.)

Situated in a hollow of the landscape, on the Colinton slope of the Pentlands, is Bonally, with its ponds, 482 feet above the sea-level. A peel tower, added to a smaller house, and commanding a pass among the hills, was finished in 1845 by Lord Cockburn, who resided there for many years.

There are several copious and excellent springs on the lands of Swanston, Dreghorn, and Comiston, from which, prior to the establishment of the Water Company in 1819, to introduce the Crawley water, the inhabitants of Edinburgh chiefly procured that necessary of life.

At Comiston are the remains of an extensive camp of pre-historic times. Adjacent to it, at Fairmilehead, tradition records that a great battle has been fought; two large cairns were erected there, and when these were removed to serve for road metal, great quantities of human bones were found in and under them. Near where they stood there still remains a relic of the fight, a great whinstone block, about 20 feet high, known as the Kelstain, or Battle Stone, and also as *Camus Stane*, from the name of a Danish commander.

Comiston House, in this quarter, was built by Sir James Forrest in 1815.

The Hunter's Tryst, near this, is a well-known and favourite resort of the citizens of Edinburgh in summer expeditions, and was frequently the headquarters of the Six Foot Club.

Slateford, a village of Colinton parish, is two and a half miles from the west end of Princes Street. It has a United Secession place of worship, dating from 1784, and is noted as the scene of the early pastoral labours of the Rev. Dr. John Dick. The Union Canal is carried across

the Vale of the Leith, and enters the parish here, on the west side by a lofty aqueduct bridge of eight arches, and passes along it for two and a half miles.

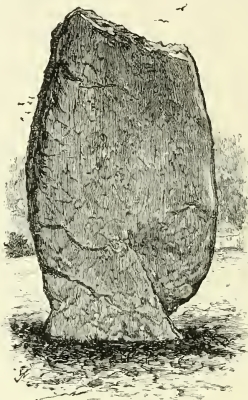
Near Slateford is Graysmill, where Prince Charles took up his headquarters in 1745, and met the deputies sent there from the city to arrange about its capitulation, and where ensued those deliberations which Lochiel cut short by entering the High Street at the head of 900 claymores.

Proceeding eastward, we enter the parish of Liberton, one of the richest and most beautiful in all the fertile Lothians. Its surface is exquisitely

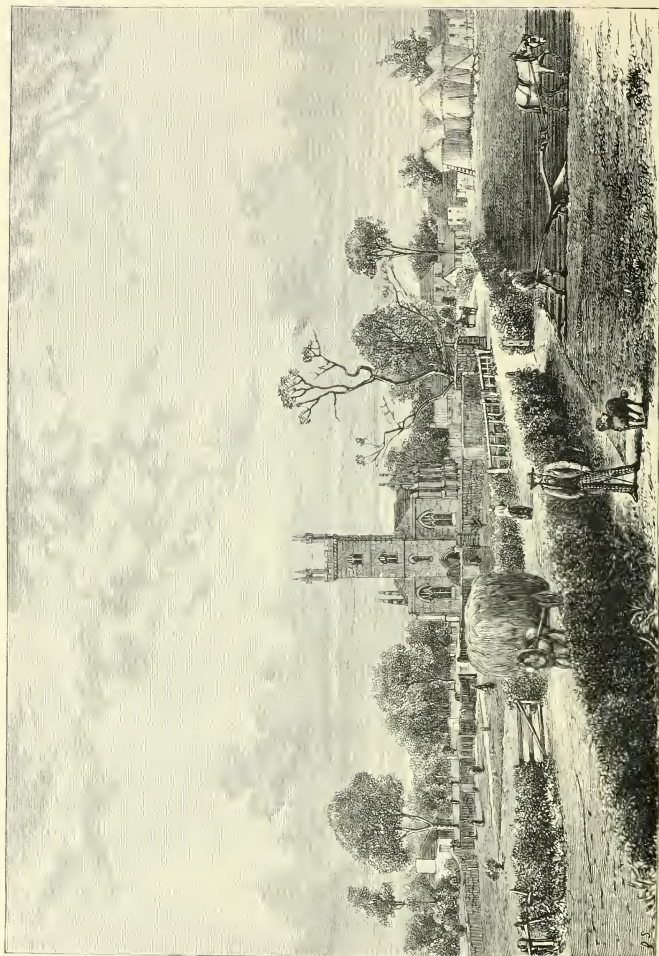
diversified by broad low ridges, gently rising swells and intermediate plains, nowhere obtaining a sufficient elevation to be called a hill, save in the instances of Blackford and the Braid range. "As to relative position," says a writer, "the parish lies in the very core of the rich hanging plain or northerly exposed lands of Midlothian, and commands from its heights prospects the most sumptuous of the urban landscape and romantic hills of the metropolis, the dark form and waving outline of the Pentlands and their spurs, the minutely-featured scenery of the Lothians, the Firth of Forth, the clear coast line, the white-washed towns and distant hills of Fife, and the bold blue sky-line of mountain ranges away in far perspective.

The parish itself has a thousand attractions, and is dressed out in neatness of enclosures, profusion of garden-grounds, opulence of cultivation, elegance or tidiness of mansion, village, and cottage, and busy stir and enterprise, which indicate full consciousness of the immediate vicinity of the proudest metropolis in Europe."

One of the highest ridges in the parish is crowned by the church, which occupies the exact site of a more ancient fauc, of which we have the first authentic notice in the King's charter to the monks of Holyrood, *circa* 1143-7, when he grants them "that chapel of Liberton, with two oxgates of land, with all the tithes and rights, etc.," which had been made to it by Macbeth—not the usurper, as Arnot erroneously supposes, but the Macbeth, or Macbether, Baron of Liberton, whose name occurs as witness to several royal charters of David I.



THE BATTLE OR CAMUS STONE, COMISTON.



LIBERTON.

between 1124 and 1153, according to the *Liber Cartarum Sanctæ Cruis*.

Macbeth of Liberton also granted to St. Cuthbert's Church the tithes and oblations of Legbordnard, a church which cannot now be traced.

The name is supposed to be a corruption of Lepertoun, as there stood here a hospital for lepers, of which all vestiges have disappeared; but the lands thereof in some old writs (according to the "New Statistical Account") were called "Spital-town."

At Nether Liberton, three-quarters of a mile north of the church, was a mill, worked of course by the Braid Burn, which David I. bestowed upon the monks of Holyrood, as a tithe thereof, "with thirty cartloads from the bush of Liberton," gifts confirmed by William the Lion under the Great Seal *circa* 1171-7.

The Black Friars at Edinburgh received five pounds sterling annually from this mill at Nether Liberton, by a charter from King Robert I.

Prior to the date of King David's charter, the church of Liberton belonged to St. Cuthbert's. The patronage of it, with an acre of land adjoining it, was bestowed by Sir John Maxwell of that ilk, in 1367, on the monastery of Kilwinning, *pro salute anime sue et Agnetis sponsæ sue*.

This gift was confirmed by King David II.

By David II. the lands of Over Liberton, "quhilk Allan Barounne resigned," were gifted to John Wigham; and by the same monarch the lands of Nether Liberton were gifted to William Ramsay, of Dalhousie, knight, and Agnes, his spouse, 24th October, 1369. At a later period he granted a charter "to David Libbertoun, of the office of sergandrie of the overward of the Constabularie of Edinburgh, with the lands of Over Libbertoun pertaining thereto." ("Robertson's Index.")

Adam Forrester (ancestor of the Corstorphine family) was Laird of Nether Liberton in 1387, for estates changed proprietors quickly in those troublesome times, and we have already referred to him as one of those who, with the Provost Andrew Yichton, made arrangements for certain extensive additions to the church of St. Giles in that year.

William of Liberton was provost of the city in 1429, and ten years subsequently with William Douglas of Hawthornden, Mechelson of Herdmanston (now Harviston), and others, he witnessed the charter of Patrick, abbot of Holyrood, to Sir Patrick Logan, Lord of Restalrig, of the office of baillie of St. Leonard's. ("Burgh Charters," No. XXVI.)

At Liberton there was standing till about 1840 a tall peel-house or tower, which was believed to

have been the residence of Macbeth and other barons of Liberton, and which must not be confounded with the solitary square tower that stands to the westward of the road that leads into the heart of the Braid Hills, and is traditionally said to have been the abode of a troublesome robber laird, who waylaid provisions coming to the city markets.

The former had an old dial-stone, inscribed "*God's Providence is our Inheritance.*"

Near the present Liberton Tower the remains of a Celtic cross were found embedded in a wall in 1863, by the late James Drummond, R.S.A. It was covered with knot-work.

The old church—or chapel it was more probably—at Kirk-Liberton, is supposed to have been dedicated to the Virgin Mary—there having been a holy spring near it, called our Lady's Well—and it had attached to it a glebe of two oxgates of land.

In the vicinity was a place called Kilmartin, which seemed to indicate the site of some ancient and now forgotten chapel.

In 1240 the chapelry of Liberton was disjoined by David Benham, Bishop of St. Andrews and Great Chamberlain to the King, from the parish of St. Cuthbert's, and constituted a rectory belonging to the Abbey of Holyrood, and from then till the Reformation it was served by a vicar.

For a brief period subsequent to 1633, it was a prebend of the short-lived and most inglorious bishopric of Edinburgh; and at the final abolition thereof it reverted to the disposal of the Crown.

The parochial registers date from 1639.

When the old church was demolished prior to the erection of the new, in 1815, there was found very mysteriously embedded in its basement an iron medal of the thirteenth century, inscribed in ancient Russian characters "THE GRAND PRINCE ST. ALEXANDER YAROSLAVITCH NEVSKOL."

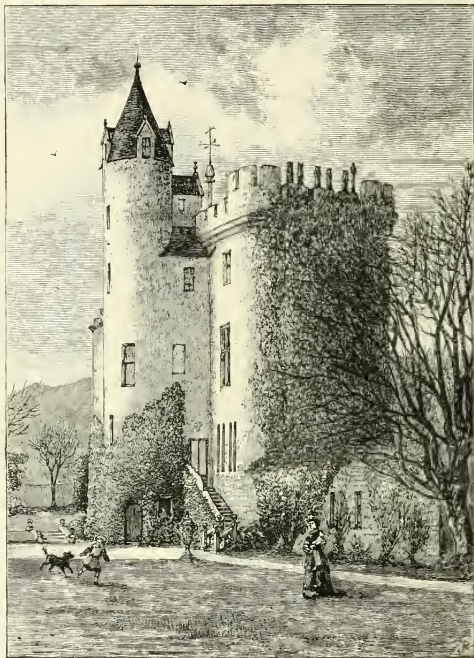
The old church is said to have been a picturesque edifice not unlike that now at Corstorphine; the new one is a tolerably handsome semi-Gothic structure, designed by Gillespie Graham, seated for 1,430 persons, and having a square tower with four ornamental pinnacles, forming a pleasing and prominent object in the landscape southward of the city.

Subordinate to the church there were in Catholic times three chapels—one built by James V. at Brigend, already referred to; a second at Niddrie, founded by Robert Wauchope of Niddrie, in 1389, and dedicated to "Our Lady," but which is now only commemorated by its burying-ground—which continues to be in use—and a few faint traces of

its foundation ; and a third near the Balm Well of St. Katherine ; it was dedicated to St. Margaret, but not a trace of it now exists.

The marvellous history of the well rests upon Boece and other very early authorities.

had a commission from St. Margaret, consort of Malcolm Canmore, to bring a quantity of holy oil from Mount Sinai. In this very place she happened by some accident to lose a few drops of it, and at her earnest supplication, the well



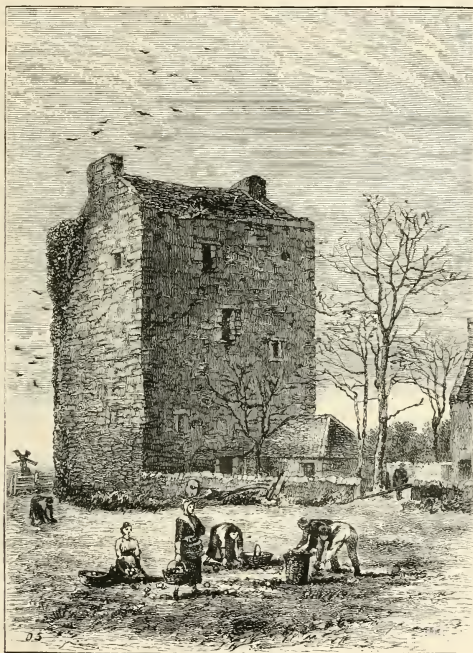
BONALLY TOWER.

On the surface of this well there are always floating oily substances of a black colour, called petroleum. "Remove as many of these as you please," says the editor of the *Scotsman's Library* in 1825, "still the same quantity, it has been observed, remains. It is called the Balm Well of St. Katherine. It was much frequented in ancient times, and considered as a sovereign remedy for several cutaneous disorders. It owes its origin, it is said, to a miracle in this manner: St. Katherine

appeared as just now described. When King James VI. was in Scotland in 1617, he went to visit it, and ordered that it should be fenced in with stones from bottom to top, and that a door and staircase should be made for it, that people might have more easy access unto the oily substances which floated always above, and which were deemed of so much importance. The royal command being obeyed, the well was greatly adorned, and continued so until the year 1650,

when Cromwell's soldiers not only defaced it, but almost totally destroyed it. It was repaired after the Restoration. Hard by this well," he continues, "a chapel was erected and dedicated to St. Margaret. St. Katherine was buried in the chapel, and the

distis not one suits the epoch of St. Margaret of Scotland, and St. Katherine of Sienna, with whom it is rather identified, was born in 1347. The probability is, that a woman named Katherine brought the oil from the tomb of St. Katherine of Alexandria,



LIBERTON TOWER.

place where her bones lie is still pointed out, and it was observed that he who pulled it down never prospered. The ground around it was consecrated for burying, and it was considered the most ancient place of worship in the parish. After the nunnery at the Sciennes was founded, the nuns there made an annual procession to this chapel and well in honour of St. Katherine."

Unfortunately for this popular legend, of five St. Katherines whose memoirs are given by the Bollandists

at Mount Sinai, and dying here was locally canonised as a saint by name or reputation.

The following is the chemical analysis of the water by Dr. George Wilson, F.S.A., as given in Daniel Wilson's "Memorials." "The water from St. Katherine's Well contains, after filtration, in each imperial gallon, 28.11 grs. of solid matter, of which 8.45 grs. consists of soluble sulphates and chlorides of the earths and alkalies, and 19.66 grs. of insoluble calcareous carbonates."

East of St. Katherine's is a rising ground now called Grace Mount, and of old the Priest's Hill, which probably had some connection with the well and chapel. The Cromwellians, who destroyed the former, were a portion of 16,000 men, who were encamped on the adjacent Galachlaw Hill, in 1650, shortly before their leader fell back on his retreat to Dunbar.

At the period of the Reformation the chapelry of Niddrie, with the revenues thereof, was attached to Liberton Church. Its founders, the Wauchopes of Niddrie, have had a seat in the parish for more than 500 years, and are perhaps the oldest family in Midlothian.

Gilbert Wauchope of Niddrie was a distinguished member of the Reformation Parliament in 1560. On the 27th of December, 1591, Archibald Wauchope, of Niddrie, together with the Earl of Bothwell, Douglas of Spott, and others, made a raid on Holyrood, attempting the life of James VI., and after much firing of pistols and muskets were repulsed, according to Moyses' Memoirs, for which offence Patrick Crombie of Carrubber and fifteen others were forfeited by Parliament.

Sir John Wauchope of Niddrie is mentioned by Guthrie in his "Memoirs," as a zealous Covenanter.

Niddrie House, a mile north of Edmonstone House, is partly an ancient baronial fortalice and partly a handsome modern mansion. The holly hedges here are thirty feet high, and there is a sycamore nineteen feet in circumference.

In 1718 John Wauchope of Niddrie, Marischal, was slain in Catalonia. He and his brother were generals of Spanish infantry, and the latter was governor of the town and fortress of Cagliari in Sardinia.

We find the name of his regiment in the following obituary in 1719:—"Died in Sicily, of fever, in

the camp of Randazzo, Andrew, son of Sir George Seton of Garleton—sub-lieutenant in Irlandas Regiment, late Wauchope's." (Salmon's "Chronology.")

In 1718 one of the same family was at the sea-battle of Passaro, captain of the *San Francisco Arres* of twenty-two guns and one hundred men. Lediard's History calls him simply "Wacup, a Scotchman."

The other chapel referred to gives its name to the mansion and estate of St. Katherine's, once the residence of Sir William Rae, Bart. of Eskgrove, the friend of Sir Walter Scott, who apostrophises him as his "dear loved Rae," in the introduction to the fourth canto of Marmion, and who, with Skene, Mackenzie, and others of the Old Edinburgh Light Horse, including Scott, formed themselves into a little semi-military club, the meetings of which were held at their family supper-tables in rotation. He was the third baronet of his family, and was appointed Lord Advocate in 1819, on the promotion of Lord Meadowbank, and held the office till the end of 1830. He was again Lord Advocate during Sir Robert Peel's administration in 1835, and was M.P. for Bute.

A little way to the south is a place called the Kaimes, which indicates the site of an ancient camp.

We have already, in other places, referred to Mr. Clement Little, of Upper Liberton, a founder of the College Library, by a bequest of books thereto in 1580. Two years before that he appeared as procurator for the Abbot of Kilwinning, in a dispute between him and the Earl of Eglinton (Priv. Coun. Reg.).

Lord Fountainhall records, under date May 22nd, 1685, that the Lady of Little of Liberton, an active dame in the cause of the Covenant, was imprisoned for harbouring certain recusants, but that "on his entering into prison for her she was liberate."

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE ENVIRONS OF EDINBURGH (*continued*).

Currie—Origin of the Name—Roman Camps—The Old Church and Temple Lands—Lennox Tower—Curriehill Castle and the Skenes—Scott of Malleny—James Anderson, LL.D.—"Camp Meg" and her Story.

CURRIE, in many respects, is one of the most interesting places in the vicinity of Edinburgh. The parish is in extent about five or six miles in every direction, though in one quarter it measures nine miles from east to west. One-third of the whole district is hill and moorland. Freestone abounds in a quarry, from which many of the

houses in the New Town have been built; and there is, besides, plenty of ironstone, and a small vein of copper.

Though antiquaries have endeavoured to connect its name with the Romans, as *Coria*, it is most probably derived from the Celtic *Corrie*, signifying a hollow or glen, which is very descriptive of the

locality. But the "Old Statistical Account" has the following version of it :—

"From its name—*Koria* or *Coria*—it seems to have been one of those districts which still retain their Roman appellation. This conjecture is supported by the following authors, who give an account of the ancient and modern names of places in Scotland: 1st. Johnston, in his '*Antiquitates Celto-Normannicæ*,' for the *Koria* of Ptolemy places Currie; 2nd, Dr. Stukeley, in his account of Richard of Cirencester's map and itinerary, for the *Koria* of Richard fixes Corstanlaw in the neighbourhood of Currie; 3rd, Sir Robert Sibbald, in his '*Roman Antiquities of Scotland*,' conceives it to have been the place near the manor of Inglishton, from a pillar dug up there, which place is likewise in the vicinity of Currie. These circumstances tend to prove that it must have been originally a Roman station—traces of which have lately been found in the neighbourhood" (Vol. V.).

The locality is very rich in ancient military remains, as the extract from the "Old Statistical Account" would lead us to expect. Indications of Roman stations are visible on Ravelrig Hill and Warlaw Hill.

The former crowns the summit of a high bank, inaccessible on three sides, defended by two ditches faced with stone, with openings for a gate. It is named by the peasantry the Castle Yett.

Farther eastward, commanding a view of the beautiful strath towards Edinburgh, is another station, traditionally called the General's Watch, or Post. These works are much defaced, the hewn stones having been carried off to make field dykes.

On Cocklaw Farm, there were, till within a few years ago, the remains of a massive round tower, eighteen feet in diameter. The ruins were filled with fine sand. It had some connection with the station on Ravelrig Hill, as subterranean passages have been traced between them.

On the lands of Harelaw—a name which implies the locality of an army—near the present farmhouse, there stood an immense cairn, of which three thousand loads were carted away, some time shortly before 1845. Within it was a stone cist, only two feet square, but full of human bones. In the same field was found a coffin of stone, the bones in which had faded into dust; amid them lay a piece

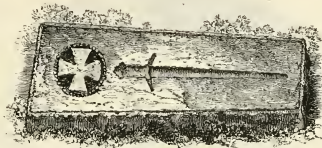
of earthenware. South of the great cairn were five large stones, set upright in the earth, to commemorate some now-forgotten battle; and at the bottom of the same field were found many stone coffins, which the late General Scott of Malleny re-interred, and he set up a tombstone, which still marks the place.

At Enterkins Yett, according to tradition, a bloody battle was fought with the Danes, whose leader was slain by the Scots and buried in the field giving rise to its name.

But, apart from these prehistoric vestiges, Currie has claims to considerable antiquity from an ecclesiastical point of view.

Father Hay records that the Knights of the Hospital had an establishment at Currie, then

called Kill-leith (*i.e.*, the Chapel by the Leith), which was a chief commandery. But there lies in the village churchyard a tombstone six feet long by two broad, on which there is carved a sword of the thirteenth century, with the guard depressed, and above it the eight-pointed cross of the Temple, encircled by a rosary of beads.



KNIGHT TEMPLAR'S TOMB, CURRIE CHURCHYARD.
(After a Sketch by the Author.)

It was for a time built into the wall of the village school-house.

In 1670 Scott of Bavelaw was retoured in the Temple lands and Temple houses of Currie. The fragment of the old church bore the impress of great antiquity, and when it was removed to make way for the present plain-looking place of worship, there was found a silver ornament supposed to be the stand of a crucifix, or stem of an altar candlestick, as it had a screw at each end, and was seven inches long by one and one-eighth in diameter. On a scroll, it bore in Saxon characters, the legend—

Jesus . fili . Dei . miserere . mihi.

It is now preserved in the Museum of Antiquities.

In the reign of David II., William of Disscyngtoun, relation and heir of John Burnard, had a grant of land in the barony of Currie; and under Robert III., Thomas Eshingtoun (or Dishingtoun), son probably of the same, had a charter of the lands of Longherdmanstoun, Currie, Redheughs, and Kilbaberton—all in the shire of Edinburgh.

Under the same monarch, William Brown of Colstoun had a grant of Little Currie, in the barony of Ratho; and afterwards we find Robert

Maitland granting a charter to Robert Winton "of the barony of Hirdmanston, called Curry." (Robertson's "Index to Missing Charters.")

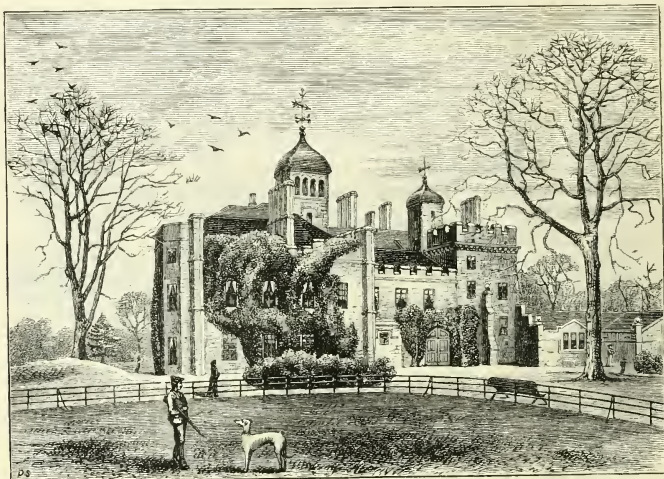
The present bridge of Currie is said to be above five hundred years old; and the dark pool below gave rise to the Scottish proverb concerning intense cunning—"Deep as Currie Brig."

Currie Church was an outpost of Corstorphine, and, with Fala, formed part of the property given by Mary of Gueldres to the Trinity College.

"Mr. Adam Letham, minister of Currie, 1568-76, to be paid as follows: his stipend *je li*, with the Kirkland of Curry. Andrew Robeson, Reidare (Reader at Curry; his stipend *xx lb.*, but (*i.e.*, without) Kirkland."

After the Reformation there was sometimes only one minister for four or five parishes.

In the seventeenth century, Mathew Leighton, nephew of the famous Archbishop of Glasgow, a prelate of singular piety and benevolence, was



NIDDRIE HOUSE.

It was a benefice of the Archdean of Lothian.

Even so late as the reign of Charles I., it does not appear to have been considered a separate parish from Corstorphine, for no mention is made of it in the royal decree for the brief erection of the see of Edinburgh, though all the adjoining parishes are noticed.

Till within a few years, iron *jougs* hung at the north gate of Currie Churchyard, at Hermiston (which is a corruption of Herdmanstown), at Maleny, and at Buteland, near Balerno.

Currie was one of the first rural places in Scotland which had a Protestant clergyman, as appears from the "Register of Ministers," published by the Maitland Club:—

curate of Currie during the reign of Episcopacy; and, singular to say, was not expelled from his incumbency at the Revolution in the year 1688, but died at an advanced age, and was interred in the church-yard, where his tomb is still an object of interest.

The parsonage of Currie is referred to in an Act of Parliament, under James VI., in 1592; and Nether Currie is referred to in another Act, of date 1587, granted in favour of Mark, Lord Newbattle.

Cleuchmaidstone is so named from being the pass to the chapel of St. Katherine in the valley below, and having a spring, in which, it is said, pilgrims bathed before entering it.

Some parts of the parish are very elevated.

The surface of the pond on Harelaw Muir is 802 feet above the level of the sea.

One of the chief antiquities of Currie is Lennox Tower, on a high bank overhanging the Water of Leith, and now called by the rather uncouth name of Lumphoy. It is a massive edifice, measuring externally fifty-five feet by thirty-five, with walls above seven feet in thickness. It is entered by an archway on the north, where the gate was secured by a horizontal bar, the socket of which

as cattle were apt to stray into it. The extent of the outer rampart, which goes round the brow of the hill, is given in the "Old Statistical Account" as measuring "304 paces, or 1,212 feet."

It was surrounded by a moat, and there can still be traced the remains of a deep ditch. Though small, it was undoubtedly a place of some strength.

Amongst the many conjectures of which it has been the subject, one declares it to have been a hunting-seat of James VI. and a residence of George



LENNOX TOWER.

still remains in the wall. It is all built of polished ashlar; the hall windows are arched, with stone seats within them, and the ascent to the upper storeys has been by a narrow circular stair, part of which still remains within the thickness of the wall, at the north-east angle, the steps of which are only three feet long.

It is said, traditionally, to take its name from the Lennox family, to whom it belonged; and the same vague authority assigns it as a residence to Mary and Darnley, and afterwards to the Regent Morton. It occupies very high ground, commanding a beautiful prospect of the Firth of Forth, and has a subterranean passage to the river, which was closed up about the end of the eighteenth century,

Heriot, by whom it was bequeathed to a daughter, "from whom, along with the adjacent land, it was purchased by an ancestor of the present proprietor."

It has been alleged that there existed a subterranean communication between it and Colinton Tower, the old abode of the Foulis family; and the common stock story is added that a piper once tried to explore it, and that the sound of his pipes was heard as far as Currie Bridge, where he perished. But people were still living in 1845 who had explored this secret passage for a considerable way.

"It is supposed that the garrison (in war time) secured by this means a clandestine supply of water, and that during a siege, when they were hard pressed

for provisions, and the enemy in confident expectation of starving them out, a soldier accidentally caught some fish in his bucket (in the act of drawing water), which the governor boastingly held out in sight of the besiegers. On seeing this unexpected store, the assailants hastily raised the siege, deeming it hopeless to attempt to starve a garrison that was so mysteriously supplied." It is probable that this episode occurred during the war between the king's and queen's party, which culminated in the siege of Edinburgh Castle in 1573.

Curriehill Castle, the ancient ruins of which stand on the opposite bank of the Leith, at a little distance, and which was the stronghold and for ages the abode of the Skenes, was a place of some note during that war. Among the six chief places mentioned as being fortified and garrisoned in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh are Lennox Tower, on the loyalists' or queen's side, and Curriehill for the king.

In Crawford of Drumsoy's "Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland," we find the following, under date 1572:—

"The siege of Nidderie-Seaton being raised for the relief of Merchiston, the governor found means to supply his masters at Edinburgh with some corn and about fifty or sixty oxen. Those who guarded the booty were in their turn taken by the Lairds of Colington and Curryhill, and imprisoned at Corstorphin. This galled the loyalists, lest it should dishearten the governor and garrison of Nidderie; and to let them see how much they resented the loss, the Lord Seaton was sent out with a hundred horse, who took the Laird of Curryhill out of his own house, and delivered him to the governor. The same day he lighted by chance upon Crawford of Liffnorris, who was coming into Leith, attended with fifty horse, to assist the Associates. These, with their leader, were taken without blows, and were sent next morning to the governor, to keep Curryhill company, but in a day or two were exchanged for those at Corstorphin. Seaton, however, kept the horses to himself, and brought them into Edinburgh loaded with provisions, which he bought at a double price from the country people; nor did the loyalists at any time take so much as one bushel of corn which they did not pay for, though they often compelled the owners to sell it."

Malleny and Baberton, in Currie, are said to have been the property of James VI.; and Alexander Brand, to whom he gave the latter house, was a favourite of his.

Eastward of Kinleith, at the north-east end of the Pentland range, are the remains of a camp above a pass, through which General Dalryell

marched with the Grey Dragoons and other horse to attack the Covenanters at Rullion Green, in 1666.

The following is the roll of the heritors of Currie Parish in 1691:—

Lord Ravelrig. Sir John Maitland of Ravelrig was a senator of the College of Justice, 1689—1710; afterward fifth Earl of Lauderdale, who early joined the Revolution party.

Robert Craig of Riccarton.

John Scott of Malleny.

Alexander Brand of Baberton.

Charles Scott of Bavelaw.

Lawrence Cunningham of Balerno, whose family was for three centuries resident there.

William Chiesley of Cockburn.

About the middle of the last century an English company endeavoured to work the vein of copper ore at Eastmiln, but failing to make it profitable, the attempt was abandoned.

Currie was celebrated in former days as the residence of several eminent lawyers; and, curiously enough, the principal heritors were at one time nearly all connected with the Court of Session. Of these, the most eminent were the Skenes of Curriehill, father and son, said, in the "Old Statistical Account," to have been connected with the royal family of Scotland.

John Skene of Curriehill came prominently forward as an advocate in the reign of James VI. In the year 1578 he appears in a case before the Privy Council, connected with Hew Campbell of Loudon, and others, as to the Provostship of the town of Ayr, and in the following year as Prolocutor for the magistrates of Stirling, in a case against the craftsmen of that burgh.

In the year 1588 he was elected to accompany Sir James Melville of Halhill, the eminent Scottish memorialist, on a mission to the Court of Denmark. "I told his Majesty" (James VI.), he records, "that I would chuse to take with me for a lawyer Mr. John Skeen. His Majesty said he judged there were many better lawyers. I said he was best acquainted with the German customs, and could make them long harrangues in Latin, and that he was good, true, and stout, like a Dutchman. Then his Majesty was content that he should go with me."

This mission was concerning the marriage of Anne of Denmark, and about the Orkney Isles. In 1594 Sir John Skene of Curriehill was appointed Lord Clerk Register, and in 1598 he seems to have shared that office with his son James. Three years before that he appears to have been an Octavian—as the eight lords commissioners, who

were appointed to look after the king's exchequer, "properties, and casualties," were named. ("Moyses' Memoirs.")

In April, 1598, he witnessed at Stirling the contract between James VI., Ludovick Stewart, Duke of Lennox, and Hugh, fifth Earl of Eglinton, for the marriage of the latter and Gabriella, sister of the duke. ("Eglinton Memorials.")

He is best known in Scottish legal literature by his treatise "De Verborum Significatione," and the edition of the "Regiam Majestatem," but Lord Hailes doubted if his knowledge of Scottish antiquities was equal to his industry.

In 1607, with reference to the latter work, Sir James Balfour records in his "Annales" that "The ancient Lawes of Scotland, collected by S^r John Skeene, Clerke of Register, on the Lordes of the Privy Counsaill's recommendation to the King, by their letters of the 4th of Marche this yeire wer ordained to be published and printed, on his Majestie's charges."

This work, which was printed in folio at Edinburgh in 1609, is entitled "REGIAM MAJESTATEM SCOTIÆ. The auld lawes and constitutions of Scotland, faithfullie collected furth of the Register, and other auld authentick Bukes, from the dayes of King Malcolm the Second vntill the time of King James the First." It contains the *Quoniam Attachamenta*, or Baron Laws, the Burgh Laws, the Forest Laws of William the Lion, and many other quaint and curious statutes.

His son, Sir James Skene of Curriehill, succeeded Thomas, Earl of Melrose, as President of the Court of Session in 1626. At what time he was made a baronet of Nova Scotia is unknown, but his death as such is thus recorded by Balfour:—

"The 20 of October (1663) deyed S^r James Skeine of Curriehill, Knight and Barronet, President of the Colledge of Justice, at his auen house in Edinburghe, and was interred in the Greyfriars ther." He was buried within the church, where his tomb was found a few years ago; and the house in which he died is that described as being "beside the Grammar School," within the south-east angle of the Flodden wall, and in after years the official residence of the Professor of Divinity.

Sir Archibald Johnston (Lord Warriston) was a considerable heritor in the parish of Currie. Maitland (Lord Ravelrig) we have already referred to, and also to Sir Thomas Craig of Riccarton. "The Scotts of Malleny, father and son, were likewise eminent lawyers at the same period, and the latter had a seat on the bench," says the "Old Statistical Account"; but if so, his name does not appear in the list of senators at that time.

The late General Thomas Scott of Malleny, who died at the age of ninety-six, served on the continent of Europe, and in the American War under the Marquis of Cornwallis.

He entered the army when a boy, and was a captain in the 53rd Foot in October, 1777. It is recorded of him that he carried some very important despatches in the barrel of his spontoon with success and dexterity, passing through the American lines in the disguise of an armed pedler. These services were recognised by Lord Melbourne, who gave him a pension without solicitation.

He belonged latterly to the Scots Brigade; was a major-general of 1808, and a lieutenant-general of 1813.

In 1882 his ancient patrimony of Malleny was purchased by the Earl of Rosebery.

James Anderson, LL.D., a miscellaneous writer of considerable eminence, the son of a farmer, was born at Hermiston, near Currie, in 1739. "His ancestors had been farmers," says the *Scots Magazine* for 1809, "and had for several generations farmed the same land, which circumstance is supposed to have introduced him to that branch of knowledge which formed the chief occupation of his life."

Among the companions of his youth, born in the same hamlet, was Dr. James Anderson, who in the early years of the present century was Physician-General of the Forces in Madras. They were related, educated together, and maintained a correspondence throughout life.

Losing his father at the age of fifteen, he entered upon the management of his ancestral farm, and at the same time attended the chemistry class of Dr. Cullen in the University of Edinburgh, studying also several collateral branches of science. He adopted a number of improvements, one of which, the introduction of a small two-horse plough, was afterwards so common in Scotland.

Amid his agricultural labours, so great was his thirst for knowledge, and so steady his application, that he contrived to acquire a considerable stock of information; and in 1771, under the *nom de plume* of "Agricola," he contributed to *Ruddiman's Edinburgh Weekly Magazine* a series of "Essays on Planting," which were afterwards published in a volume. In 1773 he furnished the article "Monsoon" to the first edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, in which, curiously enough, he confidently predicted the failure of Captain Cook's first expedition in search of a southern polar continent.

Previous to 1777 he had removed from Hermiston to a large uncultivated farm, consisting of

thirteen hundred acres, which he rented in Aberdeenshire, and which, by his skill and industry, he brought into a fine state of fertility. In the same year he wrote his "Observations on the Means of Exciting a Spirit of National Industry" with regard to agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and fisheries, and also several pamphlets on agricultural subjects, which gained him a high reputation; and in 1780 the University of Aberdeen conferred upon him the degree of LL.D.

quire into the state of the British fisheries in May, 1785, makes very honourable mention of Dr. Anderson's services; but we do not find that he was ever offered any remuneration, and he was too high-spirited and purely disinterested to ask for any.

After his return he resumed his literary labours in various ways, and, among other schemes, brought out a literary periodical called *The Bee, or Literary Weekly Intelligencer*, which was current from Decem-



CURRIE.

Quitting the farm, he returned to the vicinity of Edinburgh, with a view to the education of his large family, and partly to enjoy the literary society which then existed there.

About that time he circulated a tract on the establishment of the Scottish fisheries, with a view to alleviate much distress which he had witnessed on the coast of Aberdeenshire from the failure of the crops in 1782.

This excited the attention of the Government, and he was requested by the Treasury to survey the western coasts of Scotland, and obtain information on this important subject—a task which he performed with enthusiasm in 1784.

The report of the committee appointed to in-

ber, 1790, to January, 1794, and was very popular in Edinburgh.

In 1797 he removed to London, where much attention was paid to him by the Marquis of Lansdowne, at whose request, in 1799, he started a periodical, entitled *Recreations in Agriculture*. The greatest portion of this work was written by himself, but he pursued it no further than the sixth volume, in March, 1802. From thenceforth, with the exception of his correspondence with General Washington and a pamphlet on "Scarcity," he was unable to write more; and, feeling the powers of life begin to decline, devoted his leisure to the cultivation of a miniature garden.

A list of his publications, thirty in number, is

given in the *Scots Magazine* for 1809, but he contributed, in addition, various essays to several periodicals under different signatures.

He died in October, 1808, in his sixty-ninth year. His family consisted of thirteen children; one of his sons brought the art of wood-engraving to great perfection in London.

In his style Dr. Anderson was very copious, and sometimes, perhaps, inclined to be prolix; but in the perusal of his longest works it will be

supposed to have been a soldier's widow. With no companion but a cat, she was first found occupying a little hut she had constructed for herself in an angle of the trenches in the Roman camp above Dalkeith. Of this place she constituted herself cicerone, and was wont to speak of Julius Agricola and his officers as if she had known them all intimately. Dewar of Vogrie, taking pity upon her, had a little hut properly built for her occupation; but a storm demolished it, on which she returned



RULLION GREEN.

found difficult to omit anything without a visible injury to his train of reasoning, which is always conspicuous and guarded. Of his abilities these works contain abundant proofs; and, although a voluminous writer, there is no subject connected with his favourite pursuit—agriculture—on which he did not throw a new and vivid light; and his knowledge was not confined to one science alone.

About the year 1820 there was found dead in one of the old camps near Currie a peculiar kind of recluse, who had a craze for haunting such places, and was known by the name of "Camp Meg." She was a strange, half-witted creature, weird, wild-looking, and bronzed by exposure; but as she spoke with a good English accent, was

to her old den in the trenches. Then, after a time, she wandered away westward to another camp near Currie, also said to be one of Agricola's, and there "Camp Meg" was found in her old age, dead of exposure and destitution.

The village can boast of an excellent parochial library, which was founded by the late Rev. Dr. Thomas Barclay, long incumbent there, and afterwards Principal of the University of Glasgow.

Currie is somewhat famous for the longevity of its inhabitants. In 1790 a man named William Napier died there aged 113, who remembered the Revolution and the reign of Queen Anne. In 1793 there was a farmer still working in his 105th year; and there were many others whose age exceeded 90.

CHAPTER XL.

THE ENVIRONS OF EDINBURGH (*continued*).

The Inch House—The Winrams—Edmonstone and the Edmonstones of that Ilk—Witches—W. Linet—The Stenhouse—Moreduin—The Stewarts of Goodtrees—The Buckstane—Burdiehouse—Its Limekilns and Fossils.

A LITTLE way eastward of Nether Liberton stands the quaint old Inch House, built in the year 1617, during the reign of James VI., upon land which, in the preceding century, belonged to the monks of Holyrood—a mansion long the residence of the Little-Gilmours of Craigmillar, and of old the patrimony of the Winrams of The Inch and Liberton, a family, according to the *Archæologia Scotica*, descended from the Winrams of Wiston, in Clydesdale.

In 1644 George Winram of Liberton was a baron of Parliament. In the following year he accused the Commissioner for Aberdeen, Patrick Leslie, “as one unworthy to sit in Parliament, being a malignant, who drunk Montrose’s health”—a statement remitted to a committee of the House. (Balfour’s “Annales.”)

In 1649 he was made a Lord of Session, by the title of Lord Liberton, and was one of the commissioners sent to the young king in Holland, after seeing whom, he, with the others, landed at Stonehaven, and was with the Parliament at Perth in the August of the same year.

In October he sailed from Leith to visit the king again at Brussels on public business, obtaining a passage in a States man-of-war, in company with Thomas Cunningham, Conservator of Scottish Privileges at Campvere. In November he was again with the king at Jersey, with letters from the Committee of Estates, and landed at Leith from a Dutch war-ship, in February, 1650, charged with letters from Charles II. to the Parliament and General Assembly, prior to the king’s coronation in Scotland.

He served in the Regiment of the College of Justice, and being mortally wounded at the battle of Dunbar, died eight days after the defeat in that town.

His son, colonel in the Scottish army, was Lieutenant-Governor of Edinburgh Castle, under the Duke of Gordon, during the protracted siege thereof in 1688-9, and the latter was urged by Dundee to repair to the Highlands, and leave the defence of the fortress to Winram, who was deemed a loyal and gallant officer.

After the capitulation, in violation of its terms, he was made a prisoner in the fortress for some time, and after that we hear no more of him in history.

In 1726 The Inch and Nether Liberton belonged

to Sir Alexander Gilmour of Craigmillar, according to the Valuation Roll for that year.

In the middle of the eighteenth century the house was the residence of Patrick Grant, Lord Elchies, a senator of the College of Justice. Born in 1690, he was called to the bar in 1711, became a judge of the Court of Session in 1732, and of the Court of Justiciary three years subsequently. He was an able lawyer and upright judge, and collected various decisions, which were published in two quarto volumes, and edited by W. M. Morrison, advocate.

He died at the Inch House on 27th June, 1754, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, leaving behind him, as the papers of the time say, “the character of an honest man, a sincere friend, an able lawyer, universally regretted by all those whose esteem, when alive, he would have wished to gain.”

Edmonstone House, which is the seat of Sir John Don Wauchope, Bart., lies about a mile south of Niddrie, on high and commanding ground overlooking the hollow where Little France and Kingston Grange lie, and is an elegant mansion, surrounded by fine plantations. It was named Edmonstown, from Edmond, a Saxon follower of Margaret, the Queen of Malcolm Canmore, said to be a younger son of Count Egmont of Flanders, and from whom the Edmonstones of Duntreath and Ednum (chief branch of the family, but lately extinct) and all others of the name are descended.

A charter of the office of coroner for Edinburgh was given to John of Edmonstone by King David II., *pro toto tempore vite sue*, dated at Aberdeen in the thirty-third year of his reign. The same, or another having the same name, received from the same king a grant of the thanage of Boyen, in Banffshire. Sir John de Edmonstone, knight, was one of three ambassadors sent by Robert II. to Charles V. of France in 1374, to solicit his interposition with the Pope and Sacred College to procure a favourable decree in the suit prosecuted at the instance of Margaret Logie, Queen Consort of Scotland.

He married Isabel, daughter of Robert II., relict of James, Earl of Douglas, who fell at Otterbourne in 1388, and left two sons, one of whom was Knight of Culloden and first of the House of Duntreath.

The same Sir John seems to have possessed property in East Lothian.

In 1413-4 Gulielmus de Edmonstone, *scutifer*, was a baillie of Edinburgh, together with William Touris of Cramond, Andrew of Learmouth, and William of the Wood. ("Burgh Charters," No. XXI.)

It was on Edmonstone Edge that the Scots pitched their camp before the battle of Pinkie, and when the rout ensued, the tremendous and exulting shout raised by the victors and their Spanish, German, and Italian auxiliaries, when they mustered on the Edge, then covered by the Scottish tents, was distinctly heard in the streets of Edinburgh, five miles distant.

In 1629 the "Judicial Records" tell us of certain cases of witchcraft and sorcery as occurring in the little villages of Niddrie and Edmonstone. Among them was that of Katherine Oswald, a generally reputed witch, who acknowledged that, with others at the Pans, she used devilish charms to raise a great storm during the borrowing days of 1625, and owned to having, with other witches and warlocks, had meetings with the devil between Niddrie and Edmonstone for laying diseases both on men and cattle.

She was also accused of "bewitching John Nisbett's cow, so that she gave blood instead of milk. Also threatening those who disobliged her, after which some lost their cows by running mad, and others had their kilns burnt. Also her numerous cures, particularly one of a lad whom she cured of the trembling fever, by plucking up a nettle by the root, throwing it on the hie gate, and passing on the cross of it, and returning home, all which must be done before sun-rising; to repeat this for three several mornings, which being done, he recovered.

"Convicted, worried at a stake, and burnt."

A companion of this Katherine Oswald, Alexander Hamilton, who confessed to meeting the devil in Saltoun Wood, being batoonied by him for failing to keep a certain appointment, and bewitching to death Lady Ormiston and her daughter, was also "worried at a stake, and burnt." ("Spottiswoode Miscellany.")

Regarding the surname of Edmonstone, 1632, Lord Durie reports a case, the Laird of Leyton against the Laird of Edmonstone, concerning the patronage of "the Hospital of Ednempittall, which pertained to the House of Edmonstone."

The defender would seem to have been Andrew Edmonstone of that ilk, son of "umquhile Sir John," also of that ilk.

The family disappeared about the beginning of

the seventeenth century, and their land passed into the possession of the second son of Sir John Wauchope of Niddrie, Marischal, who was raised to the bench as Lord Edmonstone, but was afterwards removed therefrom, "in consequence of his opposition to the royal inclinations in one of his votes as a judge." His daughter and heiress married Patrick, son of Sir Alexander Don of Newton Don and that ilk, when the family assumed the name of Wauchope, and resumed that of Don on the death of the late Sir William Don, Bart.

The estate of Woolmet adjoins that of Edmonstone on the eastward. According to the "New Statistical Account," it was granted to the abbey of Dunfermline by David I. It belonged in after years to a branch of the Edmonstone family, who also possessed house property in Leith, according to a case in Durie's "Decisions" under date 1623.

In 1655 the Laird of Woolmet was committed to ward in the Castle of Edinburgh, charged with "dangerous signes and correspondence with Charles Stuart;" and in 1670 several cases in the Court of Session refer to disputes between Jean Douglas, Lady Woolmet, and others, as reported in Stair's "Decisions."

Wymet, now corrupted to Woolmet, was the ancient name of the parish now incorporated with that of Newton, and after the Reformation the lands thereof were included in James VI.'s grant to Lord Thirlstane.

The little hamlet named the Stennis, or Stenhouse (a corruption of Stonehouse, or the Place of the Stones) lies in the wooded hollow through which Burdiehouse Burn flows eastward.

In the new church of St. Chad, at Shrewsbury, in Shropshire, there lies interred a forgotten native of this hamlet—an architect—the epitaph on whose massive and handsome tombstone is quite a little memoir of him:—

"JOHN SIMPSON,

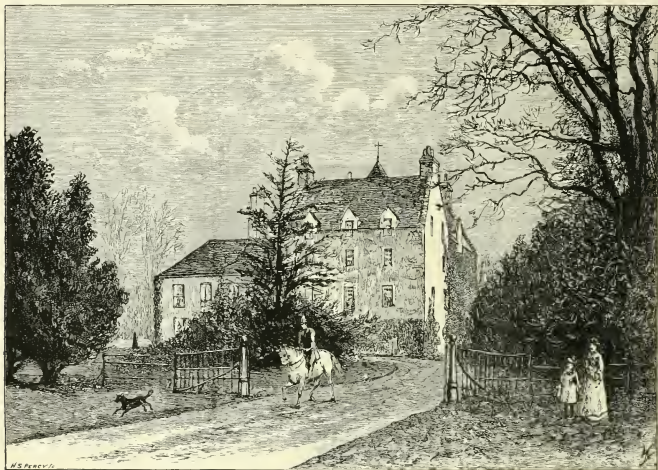
"Born at Stennis, in Midlothian, 1755; died in this parish, June 15th, 1815. As a man, he was moral, gentle, social, and friendly. In his professional capacity, diligence, accuracy, and irreproachable integrity ensured him esteem and confidence wherever he was employed, and lasting monuments of his skill and ability will be found in the building of this church (St. Chad's), which he superintended, the bridges of Bewdley, Dunkeld, and Bonar, the aqueducts of Pontysclite and Chirk, and the locks and basins of the Caledonian Canal. The strength and maturity of his Christian faith and hope were seen conspicuously in his last illness. To his exemplary conduct as a husband

and a father, his afflicted widow and daughters erect this memorial of affection and regret."

He designed and erected the column of Lord Hill, at Hawkstone, near Shrewsbury.

Adjoining the Stenhouse is Moredun, the property of Misses Anderson, of old called Goodtrees, when it belonged to a family named Stewart. It is now remarkable for its holly hedges, which are of great height.

tish, Roman, and English laws. He married Agnes, daughter of Trail of Blebo, by whom he had several children. He took an active part in the Revolution of 1688, and became Lord Advocate in 1689. He was made a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1695, according to Burke—in 1705, according to Beatson—and attained the reputation of being one of the most able and acute lawyers of his time, and of this his "Answer to Dirleton's Doubts" is considered a proof. From his nephew,



INCH HOUSE.

In the middle of the seventeenth century Goodtrees belonged to a family named McCulloch, which ended in an only daughter and heiress, Marion, widow of Sir John Elliot, who married, in 1648, Sir James Stewart of Coltness (a son of Stewart of Allanton), who was twice Provost of Edinburgh, in 1649 and 1659, but was dismissed from office at the Restoration as a Covenanter, and was even committed to the Castle. By this marriage he acquired the estate of Goodtrees, and, dying in 1681, was succeeded in Coltness by his eldest son, Sir Thomas Stewart (a baronet of 1698), while Goodtrees passed by bequest to his fourth son, James.

The latter was bred an advocate, and early distinguished himself by his knowledge of the Scot-

tish, Roman, and English laws. He married Agnes, daughter of Trail of Blebo, by whom he had several children. He took an active part in the Revolution of 1688, and became Lord Advocate in 1689. He was made a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1695, according to Burke—in 1705, according to Beatson—and attained the reputation of being one of the most able and acute lawyers of his time, and of this his "Answer to Dirleton's Doubts" is considered a proof. From his nephew,

He was born on the 10th of October (old style), Sir David Stewart, he purchased the estate of Coltness in 1712, and, dying in the following year, was succeeded by his son, Sir James Stewart, Bart., of Goodtrees and Coltness.

The latter, who was born in 1681, married, in 1705, Anne, daughter of Sir Hew Dalrymple of North Berwick, Lord President of the Court of Session. Like his father, he was a distinguished advocate. He became Solicitor-General for Scotland, and in 1713 was returned to Parliament as member for Midlothian. He died in 1727, and was succeeded by his only son, Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees, who was the most remarkable man of the family, and eminent as a writer on political economy.

He was born on the 10th of October (old style),

1713, at Goodtrees, and his first public education was received at the school of North Berwick, where he imbibed the elementary part of classical literature, and was removed to the University of Edinburgh at the age of fourteen; and his father being now dead, his mother was entrusted with the care of his education.

In 1734 he was called to the Scottish bar, and—according to a memoir of him by the Earl of Buchan, preserved among the “Transactions of the

mission to the French Court, where, fortunately for himself, he was detained till after the battle of Culloden; but being among those who were excepted in the Act of Indemnity, he was compelled to remain in exile for eighteen years.

In 1743, two years before the landing of the prince in Moidart, he had married Lady Frances, eldest daughter of David Earl of Wemyss. She shared with him, at Angoulême and elsewhere, his exile, during which he published at Frankfort in



EDMONSTONE HOUSE.

Antiquaries of Scotland”—afterwards travelled on the Continent, from whence he returned in 1740, “and became the general object of esteem and attention in his own country, not only on account of his excellent qualities, but by the elegance of his manners and the beauty of his person. His return to the bar was anxiously expected by his friends and countrymen, and his absence from it was imputed to the influence of certain connections of a political nature which he had formed abroad, and more particularly at Rome.”

There he had been presented to Prince Charles Edward Stuart, to whom he readily offered his services; and on the arrival of the latter at Holyrood, in 1745, he dispatched Sir James Stewart on a

1757, his “Apologie du Sentiment de Monsieur le Chevalier Newton,” or a vindication of Newton’s chronology; and in the same year, while settled at Tubingen, in Suabia, his “Treatise on German Coins,” written in German. In 1761 appeared his “Dissertation on the Doctrine and Principles of Money, as applied to German Coin,” and in 1767 his chief work on the “Principles of Political Economy.”

“While Sir James resided abroad,” says Lord Buchan, “during the war between France and Great Britain, he had the misfortune to have some letters addressed to him, proceeding on the mistake of his character and person, whereby he became innocently the object of suspicion as furnishing

intelligence to the enemy, which occasioned the imprisonment of his person until the mistake was discovered."

He returned home in 1767, and after obtaining a full pardon in 1771, "he repaired the mansion of his ancestors, improved his long neglected acres, and set forward the improvements of the province in which he resided."

In the year 1772 he published, at the request of the East India Company, a work on the principles of money, as applied to the coin of Bengal; and in 1773, on the death of Sir Archibald Stewart Denham, he succeeded to the baronetcy of Coltness, and died in 1780. His works, in six volumes, including his correspondence with the celebrated Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, whose acquaintance he made at Venice in 1758, were published by his son, Sir James Stewart Denham, who, when he died, was the oldest general in the British army.

He was born in 1744, and in 1776 was lieutenant-colonel of the 13th Dragoons (now Hussars), and in his latter years was colonel of the Scots Greys.

Towards the close of the last century, Goodtrees, or Moredun, as it is now named, was the property of David Stewart Moncrieff, advocate, one of the Barons of Exchequer, who long resided in a self-contained house in the Horse Wynd. Sir Thomas Moncrieff, Bart., of that ilk, was his nephew and nearest heir, but having quarrelled with him, according to the editor of "Kay's Portraits," he bequeathed his estate of Moredun to Lady Elizabeth Ramsay, sister of the Earl of Dalhousie.

He was buried on the 17th April, 1790, in the Chapel Royal at Holyrood, where no stone marks his grave.

At the western portion of the Braid Hills (in a quarter of St. Cuthbert's parish), and under a shoulder thereof 609 feet in height, where of old stood a telegraph-station, lies the famous Buckstane, which gives its name to an adjacent farm. The Clerks, baronets of Penicuik, hold their land by the singular tenure of being bound to sit upon the large rocky fragment here known as the Buckstane, and wind three blasts of a horn when the King of Scotland shall come to hunt on the Burghmuir. Hence the family have adopted as their crest a demi-forester proper winding a horn, with the motto, "Free for a blast."

About midway between this point and St. Katherine's is Morton Hall, a handsome residence surrounded by plantations, and having a famous sycamore, which was planted in 1700, and is fourteen feet in circumference. John Trotter of Morton Hall, founder of this family, was a merchant

in Edinburgh, and was born in 1558, during the reign of Mary.

A mile westward of Morton Hall are the remains of a large Roman camp, according to Kincaid's "Gazetteer" of the county.

Burdiehouse, in this quarter, lies three miles and a half south of the city, on the Peebles Road. "Its genteel name," according to Parker Lawson's "Gazetteer," "is Bordeaux, which it is supposed to have received from its being the residence of some of Queen Mary's French domestics; but it has long lost that designation. Another statement is that the first cottage built here was called Bordeaux."

Most probably, however, it received its name as being the abode of some of the same exiled French silk weavers who founded the now defunct village of Picardie, between the city and Leith. It is chiefly celebrated for its lime-kilns, which manufacture about 15,000 bolls annually. There is an immense deposit of limestone rock here, which has attracted greatly the attention of geologists, in consequence of the fossil remains it contains.

In 1833, the bones, teeth, and scales of what was conjectured to be a nameless, but enormous, reptile were discovered here—the scales, strange to say, retaining their lustre, and the bones their porous and laminated appearance. These formed the subject of several communications to the Royal Society of Edinburgh by Dr. Hibbert, who, in his earlier papers, described them as "the remains of reptiles."

In 1834, at the meeting of the British Association in Edinburgh, these wonderful fossils—which by that time had excited the greatest interest among naturalists—were shown to M. Agassiz, who doubted their reptile character, and thought they belonged to fish of the ganoid order, which he denominated sauroid, in consequence of their numerous affinities to the saurian reptiles, which have as their living type, or representative, the lepidosteus; but the teeth and scales were not found in connection.

A few days afterwards, M. Agassiz, in company with Professor Buckland, visited the Leeds Museum, where he found some great fossils having the same kind of scales and teeth as those discovered at Burdiehouse, conjoined in the same individual. It is now, therefore, no longer a conjecture that they belonged to the same animal. And in these self-same specimens we have the hyoid and branchiostic apparatus of bones—a series of bones connected with the gills, an indubitable character of fishes—and it is, accordingly, almost indisputable that the Burdiehouse fossils are the remains of fishes, and

not of reptiles. "Thus was dissipated the illusion, founded on the Burdiehouse fossils, that saurian reptiles existed in the carboniferous era. To this M. Agassiz assigned the name of 'megalichthys.'"

In the chalk formations hereabout fossil remains of the prickly palm have been frequently found, and they have also been found in the lime-pits of Gilmerton.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE ENVIRONS OF EDINBURGH (*continued*).

Gilmerton—The Kinlochs—Legend of the Burntdale—Paterson's Cave—The Drum House—The Somerville Family—Roslin Castle—The St. Clairs—Roslin Chapel—The Buried Barons—Tomb of Earl George—The Under Chapel—The Battle of Roslin—Relics of it—Roslin Village—Its old Inn.

GILMERTON, a village and *quoad sacra* parish, detached from Liberton, occupies the brow of rising ground about four miles south from the city, on the Roxburgh road, with a church, built in 1837, and the ancient manor-house of the Kinlochs, known as the Place of Gilmerton, on the south side of which there were in former times butts for the practice of archery.

The subordinate part of the village consists of some rather unsightly cottages, the abodes of colliers and carters, who sell "yellow sand" in the city.

Robert Bruce granted a charter to Murdoch Menteith of the lands of Gilmerton, in which it was stated that they had belonged of old to William Soulis, in the shire of Edinburgh, and afterwards he granted another charter of the same lands, "quhilk Soulis foresfecit" (*sic*), with "the barony of Prenbowgal (Barnbougale), quhilk was Roger Mowbray's." ("Index of Charters.")

This was evidently Sir William de Soulis, Hereditary Butler of Scotland, whose grandfather, Nicholas, had been a competitor for the crown as grandson of Marjorie, daughter of Alexander II., and wife of Allan Durward. William was forfeited as a traitor in English pay, and a conspirator against the life of Robert I. He was condemned to perpetual imprisonment by the Parliament in 1320.

After this, it is traditionally said to have been the property of a family named Heron, or Herring. At a much more recent period, the barony of Gilmerton belonged to John Spence of Condie, Advocate to Queen Mary in 1561, and who continued as such till 1571. He had three daughters. "One of them," says Scotstarvit, "was married to Herring of Lethinty, whose son, Sir David, sold all his lands of Lethinty, Gilmerton, and Glasclune, in his own time. Another was married to James Ballantyne of Spout, whose son James took the same course. The third to Sir John Moncrieff, by whom he had

an only son, who went mad, and leaped into the River Earn, and there perished."

In the next century Gilmerton belonged to the Somervilles of Drum, as appears by an Act of Ratification by Parliament, in 1672, to James Somerville, "of the lands of Drum and Gilmerton;" and after him they went to the family of Kinloch, whose name was derived from a territory in Fifeshire, and to this family belongs the well-known reel named "Kinloch of Kinloch." Its chief, Sir David, was raised to a baronetage of Nova Scotia by James VII., in the year 1685, but the title became extinct upon the failure of male descendants, though there has been a recent creation, as baronet of Great Britain, in 1855, in the person of Kinloch of that ilk.

At what period the Gilmerton branch struck off from the present stock is unknown, but the first upon record is Francis Kinloch of Gilmerton, who died in 1685, and was succeeded by his only son, Alexander Kinloch, who was created a baronet of Nova Scotia on the 16th September, 1686. He married Magdalene McMath, and had a numerous family. He had been Lord Provost of the city in 1677. His wife, who died in 1674, was buried in the Greyfriars, and the epitaph on her tomb is recorded by Monteith.

On his death, in 1696, he was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir Alexander Kinloch of Gilmerton, who married Mary, daughter of the famous General David, Lord Newark, who, after the battle of Naseby, drew off a whole division of Scottish cavalry, and, by a rapid march, surprised and defeated the great Montrose at Philiphaugh, and, in turn, was defeated by Cromwell at Dunbar.

His son, Sir Francis, the third baronet, married Mary, daughter and heiress of Sir James Rocheid of Inverleith, Bart., by whom he had three sons and three daughters. One of the former, Alexander, as already related in its place, took the surname and arms of his maternal grandfather on

succeeding to the estate of Inverleith. Sir Francis, who entailed the Edinburgh estate of Gilmerton, died 2nd March, 1747, and Sir James and Sir David succeeded in succession to Gilmerton, and died in 1795, at a place of the same name in Haddingtonshire. Sir Francis was Governor of the British Linen Company and Writer to the Privy Seal of Scotland. By his wife, Harriet Cockburn of Langton, he had five sons—Francis, his successor; Archibald Kinloch Gordon, a major in the army,

lunatic, and the title devolved upon his elder brother, who became Sir Francis, sixth baronet.

The old Place of Gilmerton has long since been deserted by the family, which took up their residence at the house of the same name in East Lothian.

A mile south of the old mansion is Gilmerton Grange, which had of old the name of Burndale, or Burntdale, from a tragic occurrence, which suggested to Scott his fine ballad of "The Gray



GILMERTON.

who assumed that name on succeeding to an estate; David, who served under Cornwallis in the American War, in the 80th Regiment or Royal Edinburgh Volunteers; Alexander, Collector of Customs at Prestonpans; and John, who died unmarried.

Sir Francis survived his father by only a short time, as the "Scottish Register" for the year 1796 records that he was killed by a pistol-shot in his forty-eighth year at Gilmerton, "fired by his brother, Major Archibald Kinloch Gordon, who was brought under a strong guard to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh to take his trial."

This unfortunate man, who had been captain in the 65th in 1774, and major in the old 90th Regiment in 1779, was eventually proved to be a

Brother." The tradition, as related to him by John Clerk of Eldin, author of the "Essay on Naval Tactics," was as follows:

When Gilmerton belonged to a baron named Heron, he had one daughter, eminent for her beauty. "This young lady was seduced," says Sir Walter, "by the Abbot of Newbattle, a richly endowed abbey upon the banks of the South Esk, now a seat of the Marquis of Lothian. Heron came to the knowledge of this circumstance, and learned also that the lovers carried on their intercourse by the connivance of the lady's nurse, who lived at this house of Gilmerton Grange, or Burndale. He formed a resolution of bloody vengeance, undeterred by the supposed sanctity of the clerical

character or by the stronger claims of natural affection. Choosing, therefore, a dark and windy night, when the objects of his vengeance were engaged in a stolen interview, he set fire to a stack of dried thorns and other combustibles, which he had caused to be piled against the house, and reduced to a pile of glowing ashes the dwelling and all its inmates."

In 1587 Gilmerton Grange was the property of Mark Kerr, Master of Requests in 1577, and for

each apartment there was a skylight-window. It was all thoroughly drained and finished about the end of 1724.

Alexander Pennicuik, "the burges-bard of Edinburgh," furnished the following inscription, which was carved in stone over the entrance:

"Here is a house and shop hewn in this rock with my own hand.—GEORGE PATERSON.

"Upon the earth there's villany and woe,
But happiness and I do dwell below ;



DRUM HOUSE.

whom Newbattle was erected into a temporal lordship in 1591. He died first earl of the house of Lothian.

The soft and workable nature of the sandstone at Gilmerton tempted a blacksmith named George Paterson, in 1720, to an enterprise of a very remarkable character. In the little garden at the end of his house he excavated for himself a dwelling in the living rock, comprising several apartments. Besides a smithy with a forge, there were a dining-room fourteen feet six inches long, seven feet broad, and six in height, furnished with a bench all round, a table, and bed recess; a drinking parlour, rather larger; a kitchen and bed-place; a cellar seven feet long; and a washing-house. In

My hands hewed out this rock into a cell,
Wherein from din of life I safely dwell :
On Jacob's pillow nightly lies my head,
My house when living and my grave when dead :
Inscribe upon it, when I'm dead and gone,
'I lived and died within my mother's womb.'"

In this abode Paterson dwelt for eleven years. Holiday parties came from the city to see him and his singular house, and even judges of the courts imbibed their liquor in his stone parlour. "The ground was held in feu, and the yearly duty and public burdens were forgiven him, on account of the extraordinary labour he had incurred in making himself a home."

He died about 1735, and his cave is occasionally

the resort of the curious still, according to Fullarton's "Gazetteer," and a long description of it appeared in the *Courant* for 1873.

Gilmerton was long characterised simply as a village of colliers of a peculiarly degraded and brutal nature, as ferocious and unprincipled as a gang of desperadoes, who rendered all the adjacent roads unsafe after nightfall, and whose long career of atrocities culminated in the execution of two of them for a singularly brutal murder in 1831. Its coal—which is of prime quality—was vigorously worked in 1627, and is supposed to have been famous a century earlier; but its mines have been abandoned, and the adjacent lime-works—the oldest in Scotland—were worked from time immemorial.

Half a mile to the eastward lies the ancient estate and manor-house of Drum, the residence of old of the Somerville family, secluded from the highway and hidden by venerable trees—a Scotch-Norman race, whose progenitor, William de Somerville, came into Scotland during the reign of David I., who made him Lord of Carnwath, and whose descendants figured in high places for several generations. His son obtained from William the Lion a grant of Linton in 1174, for slaying—according to tradition—a monstrous serpent, which was devastating the country. William, fourth of that name, was a commander at the battle of Largs; Thomas, his son, served under Wallace; and his son Sir Walter, the comrade of Bruce, married Giles, the daughter and heiress of Sir John Herring, with whom he obtained the lands of Drum, Gilmerton, and Goodtrees, in the parish of Liberton.

Unlike most Scottish titled families, the Somervilles were ever loyal to king and country.

John, third Lord Somerville of Drum, led the Clydesdale horse at the Battle of Sark, in 1449, and his son, Sir John, fell at Flodden, by the side of his royal master. James, sixth lord, served in the queen's army at Langside, and was severely wounded. Hugh, his son, recovered the lands of Gilmerton and Drum—which had gone into the possession of the Somervilles of Cambusnethan—and built the mansion-house of Drum in 1585; and four years after it was the scene of a sad family tragedy, which is related at some length in the "Domestic Annals of Scotland."

Hugh, eighth lord, who died there in 1640, in his seventieth year, was buried in Liberton Church; and James, his successor, served with distinction in the armies of France and Venice.

"James Somerville of Drum" (twentieth in descent from Sir Walter Somerville), "and tenth lord of that ilk," says the "Memorie of the Sommer-

viles," "died at Edinburgh 3rd January, 1677, in the 82nd year of his age, and was interred by his ladye's syde in the Abbey Church of Holyrood, maist of the nobilitie and gentrie in towne being present, with two hundred torches."

James, the tenth lord, was lieutenant-colonel of the Scots Guards, in which his son George was adjutant.

His eldest son, James, when riding home to Drum one night from Edinburgh, in July, 1682, found on the way two friends fighting, sword in hand—namely, Thomas Learmonth, son of an advocate, and Hew Paterson younger of Bannockburn, who had quarrelled over their cups. He dismounted, and tried to separate them, but was mortally wounded by Paterson, and died two days after at Drum, leaving an infant son to carry on the line of the family.

A son of the twelfth lord—so called, though four generations seem to have declined to use the title—was killed at the battle of St. Cas in 1758; and John, the fifteenth lord, is chiefly remarkable as the introducer of the breed of Merino sheep into Britain; and by the death of Aubrey-John, nineteenth Lord Somerville, in 1870, the title of this fine old Scottish race became dormant.

Though a little beyond our radius, while treating of this district it is impossible not to glance at such classic and historic places as Hawthornden and Roslin, and equally of such sylvan beauty as Lasswade.

Situated amid the most beautifully wooded scenery in the Lowlands, the Castle of Roslin, taking its name from *Ross*, a promontory, and *lyn*, a waterfall, crowns a lofty mass of insulated rock overhanging the Esk. This mass is bold and rugged in outline, and at one time was convertible into an island, ere the deep and moat-like gully on its western side was partly filled up.

Across this once open fosse a massive bridge of one arch has now been thrown, and to this the path from the village descends a rapid incline, through leafy coppice and by precipitous rocks, overlooked by the lofty hill which is crowned by the wonderful chapel.

Built of reddish stone, and luxuriantly clothed with ivy, the massive ruins form a most picturesque object amid the superb landscape. For the most part, all that is very ancient consists of a threefold tier of massive vaults, the enormous strength and solidity of which put even modern Scottish builders to shame. Above these vaults, and facing the vast windows of what must have been a noble banquetting-hall, is perched a mansion of comparatively modern date, having been erected in 1563, and

further repaired, as an ornate entrance seems to show, with its lintel, inscribed "S.W.S., 1622." The same initials appear on the half-circular pediment of a dormer window. Above this door, which is beautifully moulded and enriched, is a deep and ornate square niche, the use for which it is difficult to conceive.

From its windows it commands a view of the richly-wooded glen, between the rocky banks and dark shadows of which the Esk flows onward with a ceaseless murmur among scattered boulders, where grow an infinite variety of ferns. The eastern bank rises almost perpendicularly from the river's bed, and everywhere there is presented a diversity of outline that always delights an artistic eye.

The entrance to the castle was originally by a gate of vast strength, and the whole structure must have been spacious and massive, and on its northern face bears something of the aspect of old Moorish fortresses in Spain. A descent of a great number of stone stairs conducts through the existing structure to the bottom, leading into a spacious kitchen, from which a door opens into the once famous gardens. The modern house of 1563 is ill-lighted and confined, and possesses more the gloom of a dungeon-like prison than the comforts of a residence.

Grose gives us a view of the whole as they appeared in 1788—"haggard and utterly dilapidated—the mere wreck of a great pile riding on a little sea of forest—a rueful apology for the once grand fabric whose name of 'Roslin Castle' is so intimately associated with melody and song."

It is unknown when or by whom the original castle was founded. It has been referred to the year 1100, when William de St. Clair, son of Waldern, Count of St. Clair, who came to England with William the Conqueror, obtained from Malcolm III. the barony of Roslin, and was named "the seemly St. Clair," in allusion to his grace of deportment; but singular to say, notwithstanding its importance, the castle is not mentioned distinctly in history till the reign of James II., when Sir William Hamilton was confined in it in 1455 for being in rebellion with Douglas, and again when it was partly burned in 1447.

Father Richard Augustine Hay, Prior of St. Piermont, in France, who wrote much about the Roslin family, records thus:—

"About this time, 1447, Edmund Sinclair of Dryden, coming with four greyhounds and some rackets to hunt with the prince (meaning William Sinclair, Earl of Orkney), met a great company of rats, and among them an old blind lyard, with a

straw in his mouth, led by the rest, whereat he greatly marvelled, not thinking what was to follow; but within four days after—viz., the feast of St. Leonard, the princess, who took great delight in little dogs, caused one of the gentlewomen to go under a bed with a lighted candle to bring forth one of them that had young whelps, which she was doing, and not being very attentive, set on fire the bed, whereat the fire rose and burnt the bed, and then rose to the ceiling of the great chamber in which the princess was, whereat she and all that were in the dungeon (keep?) were compelled to fly.

"The prince's chaplain seeing this, and remembering his master's writings, passed to the head of the dungeon, where they were, and threw out four great trunks. The news of this fire coming to the prince's ears through the lamentable cries of the ladies and gentlemen, and the sight thereof coming to his view in the place where he stood—namely, upon the College (Chapel?) Hill—he was in sorrow for nothing but the loss of his charters and other writings; but when the chaplain, who had saved himself by coming down the bell-rope tied to a beam, declared how they were saved, he became cheerful, and went to re-comfort his princess and the ladies, desiring them to put away all sorrow, and rewarded his chaplain very richly." The "princess" was the Elizabeth Countess of Roslin, referred to in page 3 of Vol. I.

In 1544 the castle was fired by the English under Hertford, and demolished. The house of 1563, erected amid its ruins nineteen years after, was pillaged and battered by the troops of Cromwell in 1650.

At the revolution in 1688, it was pillaged again by a lawless mob from the city, and from thenceforward it passes out of history.

Of the powerful family to whom it belonged we can only give a sketch.

The descendants of the Norman William de St. Clair, called indifferently by that name and Sinclair, received from successive kings of Scotland accessions, which made them lords of Cousland, Pentland, Cardoine, and other lands, and they lived in their castle, surrounded by all the splendour of a rude age, and personal importance given by the acquisition of possessions by methods that would be little understood in modern times.

There were three successive William Sinclairs barons of Roslin (one of whom made a great figure in the reign of William the Lion, and gave a yearly gift to Newbattle, *pro salute animæ suæ*) before the accession of Henry, who, by one account, is said to have married a daughter of the Earl of Mar, and by another a daughter of the Earl

of Strathearn, the Rosabelle of Scott's beautiful ballad, which tells us—

“There are twenty of Roslin's barons bold,

Lie buried in that proud chapelle,

Each one the holy vault doth hold,

But the sea holds lovely Rosabelle.

And each St. Clair is buried there,

With candle, with book, and with bell ;

But the sea caves sung, and the wild waves rung,

The dirge of lovely Rosabelle.”

In 1264, Sir William, sixth of Roslin, was

heart to Jerusalem, and with whom he perished in battle with the Moors at Teba, in 1331. He left an infant son, who, in 1350, was ambassador at the Court of England, whither he repaired with a train of sixty armed horse. He married Isabella, daughter of Malise, Earl of Strathearn, and was succeeded by his son, Sir Henry Sinclair of Roslin, who was created Earl of Orkney by Haco, King of Norway, in 1379—a title confirmed by Robert II.

According to Douglas, he married Florentina, a



ROSLIN CASTLE AND GLEN. (After a Photograph by G. W. Wilson & Co.)

Sheriff of Edinburgh, Linlithgow, and Haddington (“Chamberlain Rolls”), and it was his son and successor, Sir Henry, who obtained from Robert I., for his good and faithful services, a charter of Pentland Muir, and to whom (and not to a Sir William) the well-known tradition of the famous hunting match thereon, which led to the founding of the chapel of St. Katherine in the Hope, must refer. With that muir he obtained other lands, which were “all erected into a free forestry, for payment of a tenth part of one soldier yearly, in 1317.”

His son, Sir William, was one of the chosen companions of the good Sir James Douglas, whom he accompanied in the mission to convey Bruce's

daughter of the King of Denmark. Nisbet adds that he was made Lord of Shetland and Duke of Oldenburg (which is considered doubtful), and that he was Knight of the Thistle, Cockle, and Golden Fleece.

William, third earl, resigned his earldom of Orkney in favour of King James III., and adopted that of Caithness, which he resigned in 1476 to his son William, who became distinguished by the baronial grandeur of his household, and was the founder of the chapel. It is of him that Father Hay writes as “a prince,” who maintained at the Castle of Roslin royal state, and was served at his table in vessels of gold and silver. Lord Dirleton was the master of his household, Lord Borthwick

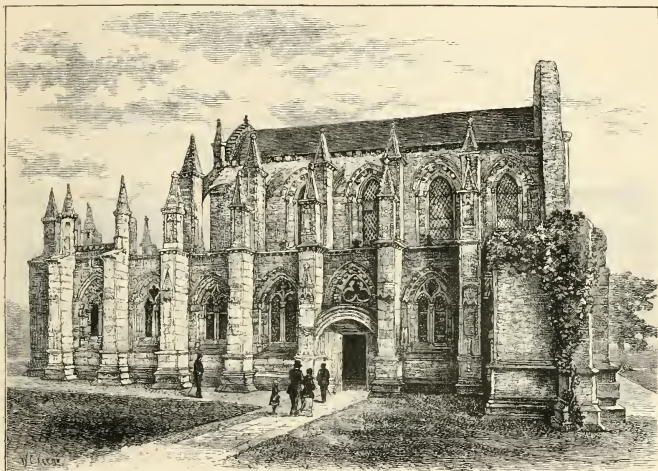
his cupbearer, Lord Fleming his carver, and these had as deputies, in their absence, the Lairds of Drummelzier, Sandilands, and Calder. His halls and apartments were richly adorned with embroidered hanging, and to the state adopted by his "princess Elizabeth" we have already referred.

The three sons of William, the third earl, conveyed the concentrated honours of the house in their respective lines. William, the eldest, inherited the title of Baron Sinclair, and was ancestor of the

raised in the year 1801 to the title of Earls of Rosslyn, in the peerage of the United Kingdom. James, second earl, succeeded in the year 1837, and now the Scottish seat of the family is at Dysart House, Fifeshire.

The St. Clairs of Roslin, from the time of James II. till they resigned the office in the last century, were the Grand Masters of Masonry in Scotland.

It may seem almost superfluous to describe an edifice so well known as the exquisite chapel of



ROSLIN CHAPEL :—NORTH FRONT.

Lords Sinclair of Herdmanston. The second son, also called William, continued the line of the Earls of Caithness; while the third son, Oliver, founded the more modern family, and connected it with the ancient one of St. Clair of Roslin. In 1583, Thomas Vans and Archibald Hoppringall, burgesses of Edinburgh, became caution for Edward Sinclair, eldest son of Sir William of Roslin, that his spouse, Christian Douglas, should have peaceable access to him in his father's Place of Roslin, and that he should duly appear before the Lords of Council to underlie the law with reference to a family dispute. ("Reg. of Council.")

Their descendant, William, last heir in the direct male line, died in 1778. A collateral branch was

Roslin, which was founded in the year 1446 by the then lord, and dedicated to St. Matthew. Only the chancel of the edifice was completed, but a cruciform structure must have been contemplated. Though certainly squat in outline, all the rare beauties of the chapel are concentrated in the design and wonderfully varied character of its mouldings, buttresses, and incrustations. It bids defiance to all the theories of Gothic architecture. Britton calls it "curious, elaborate, and singularly interesting;" and, in comparing it with other edifices of the same period, he adds, "These styles display a gradual advancement in lightness and profusion of ornament, but the chapel of Roslin combines the solidity of the Norman with the

minute decorations of the latest species of the Tudor age. It is impossible to designate the architecture of this building by any given or familiar term, for the variety and eccentricity of its parts are not to be explained by any words of common acceptance."

Though generally spoken of as if it were the chapel of the adjacent castle, this most costly edifice was erected as a collegiate church, to be ministered to by a provost, six prebendaries, and two choristers.

Captain Slezzer states that "there goes a tradition that, before the death of any of the family of Roslin this chapel appears to be all on fire;" and it was this brief line of that most prosaic writer which suggested the noble ballad of Scott. The legend is supposed to be of Norse origin, imported by the Earls of Orkney to Roslin, as the tomb-fires of the North are mentioned in most of the Sagas. The chapel was desecrated by a mob in 1688, and though partially repaired by General St. Clair about 1720, for more than a century and a half it remained windowless and mouldy. On Easter Tuesday, 1862, it was repaired, and opened for service by the clergy of the Scottish Episcopal communion.

In this building we have the common stock legend of one of the finest pieces of workmanship being completed by an apprentice during the absence of the master, who in rage and mortification puts him to death. The famous Apprentice's Pillar is called by Slezzer the "Prince's Pillar," as the founder had the title of Prince of Orkney. This pillar is the wreathed one, so markedly distinct from all the others, and was most probably the "Master's Pillar;" but among the grotesque heads, it was not difficult for old Annie Wilson, the guide, who figures in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1817, to find those of the irate master, the terrified apprentice, and his sorrowing mother.

It was from the MSS. of Father Hay, in the Advocates' Library, that the striking legend of the Sinclairs being buried in their armour was taken by Sir Walter Scott. He wrote at the commencement of the eighteenth century, and was present at the opening of the tomb, wherein lay Sir William Sinclair, who, he says, was interred in 1650, on the day the battle of Dunbar was fought; and he thus describes the body:—

"He was lying in his armour, with a red velvet cap on his head, on a flat stone. Nothing was spoiled except a piece of the white furring that went round the cap, and answered to the hinder part of the head. All his predecessors were buried in the same manner in their armour. Late Roslin, my gud father, was the first that was buried in a coffin, against the sentiments of King James VII.,

who was then in Scotland, and several other persons well versed in antiquity, to whom my mother would not hearken, thinking it beggarly to be buried after that manner. The great expense she was at in burying her husband occasioned the sumptuary Acts which were made in the next Parliament." This refers to the Act "restraining the exorbitant expense of marriages, baptisms, and burials," passed in 1681 at Edinburgh.

In a vault near the north wall, there lie, under a flag-stone, ten barons of Roslin, buried before 1690, according to the "New Statistical Account."

In the west wall of the north aisle is the tomb of George, fourth Earl of Caithness, one of the peers who sat on the trial of Bothwell, and who died at an advanced age. It bears the following inscription:—

"HIC JACET NOBILIS AC POTIS DOMINUS GEORGIUS, QUONDAM COMES CATHANENSIS, DOMINUS SINCLAR, JUSTICIARIUS HEREDITARIUS DIOCESES CATHANENSIS QUI OBIIIT EDINBURGI 9 DIE MENSIS SEPTEMBERIS, ANNO DOMINI 1582."

It is supposed that an authentic history of this family—one of the most remarkable in the three Lothians—might throw much light on the history of masonry in Scotland. Among the MSS. in Father Hay's collection there is one which acknowledges in remarkable terms the prerogatives of the Roslin family in reference to the Masonic craft.

"The deacons, masters, and freemen of the masons and hammermen within the Kingdom of Scotland" assert "that for as mickle as from adage to adage it has been observed amongst us and our predecessors that the Laids of Roslin have ever been patrons and protectors of us and our privileges, like as our predecessors has obeyed, revered, and acknowledged them as patrons and protectors, whereof they had letters of protection and other rights granted by his majesty's most noble progenitors." The MS. then proceeds to record that the documents referred to had perished with the family muniments in some conflagration; but that they acknowledge the continuance of the Masonic Patronage in the House of Sinclair. The MS. is dated 1630, and signed thus:—"The Lodge of Dundee—Robert Strachane, master—Andrew Wast and David Whit, masters in Dundee; with our hands att the pen, led be the Notar, underscrivand at our commands, because we cannot writ."

At least twenty-two special masons' marks are visible on the stones at Roslin.

The edifice has attached to it what is said to have been an under chapel, although it is on the

hillside, and not beneath, but is attached to its eastern end, the means of communication between the two being by a steep descent of steps. Its use has sorely puzzled antiquaries, though it forms a handsome little chapel, with ribbed arches and roof of stone. Under its eastern window is an altar, and there is a piscina and ambry for the sacramental plate, together with a comfortable fireplace and a row of closets.

"Its domestic appurtenances," says a writer, "clearly show it to have been the house of the priestly custodian of the chapel, and the ecclesiastical types first named were for his private meditation; and thus the puzzle ceases."

Near the chapel is St. Mathew's Well. The parish of Roslin possesses many relics and traditions of the famous three battles which were fought there in one day—the 24th of February, 1302:—

"Three triumphs in a day,

Three hosts subdued in one,

Three armies scattered like the spray

Beneath one common sun!"

On the 26th of January, 1302, the cruel and treacherous Edward I. of England concluded a treaty of truce—not peace—with Scotland, while, on the other hand, he prepared to renew the war against her. To this end he marched in an army of 20,000—some say 30,000—men, chiefly cavalry, under Sir John de Segrave, with orders less to fight than to waste and devastate the already wasted country.

To obtain provisions with more ease, Segrave marched his force in three columns, each a mile or two apart, and the 24th of February saw them on the north bank of the Esk, at three places, still indicated by crossed swords on the county map; the first at Roslin; the second at Loanhead, on high ground, still named, from the battle, "Killrig," north of the village; and the third at Park Burn, near Gilmerton Grange.

Meanwhile, Sir John Comyn, Guardian of the Kingdom, and Sir Simon Fraser of Oliver Castle (the friend and comrade of Wallace), Heritable Sheriff of Tweeddale, after mustering a force of only 8,000 men—but men carefully selected and well armed—marched from Biggar in the night, and in the dull grey light of the February morning, in the wooded glen near Roslin Castle, came suddenly on the first column, under Segrave.

Animated by a just thirst for vengeance, the Scots made a furious attack, and Segrave was rapidly routed, wounded, and taken prisoner, together with his brother, his son, sixteen knights, and thirty esquires, called sergeants by the rhyming English chronicler Langtoft.

The contest was barely over when the second column, alarmed by the fugitives, advanced from its camp at Loanhead, "and weary though the Scots were with their forced night march, flushed with their first success, and full of the most rancorous hate of their invaders, they rushed to the charge, and though the conflict was fiercer, were victorious. A vast quantity of pillage fell into their hands, together with Sir Ralph the Cofferer, a paymaster of the English army."

The second victory had barely been achieved, when the third division, under Sir Robert Neville, with all its arms and armour glittering in the morning sun, came in sight, advancing from the neighbourhood of Gilmerton, at a time when many of the Scots had laid aside a portion of their arms and helmets, and were preparing some to eat, and others to sleep.

Fraser and Comyn at first thought of retiring, but that was impracticable, as Neville was so close upon them. They flew from rank to rank, says Tytler, "and having equipped the camp followers in the arms of their slain enemies, they made a furious charge on the English, and routed them with great slaughter."

Before the second and third encounters took place, old historians state that the Scots had recourse to the cruel practice of slaying their prisoners, which was likely enough in keeping with the spirit with which the wanton English war was conducted in those days. Sir Ralph the Cofferer begged Fraser to spare his life, offering a large ransom for it.

"Your coat of mail is no priestly habit," replied Sir Simon. "Where is thine alb—where thy hood? Often have you robbed us all and done us grievous wrong, and now is our time to sum up the account, and exact strict payment."

With these words he hewed off the gauntleted hands of the degraded priest, and then by one stroke severed his head from his body.

Old English writers always attribute the glory of the day to Wallace; but he was not present. The pursuit lasted sixteen miles, even as far as Biggar, and 12,000 of the enemy perished, says Sir James Balfour. English historians have attempted to conceal the triple defeat of their countrymen on this occasion. They state that Sir Robert Neville's division stayed behind to hear mass, and repelled the third Scottish attack, adding that none who heard mass that morning were slain. But, unfortunately for this statement, Neville himself was among the dead; and Langtoft, in his very minute account of the battle, admits that the English were utterly routed.

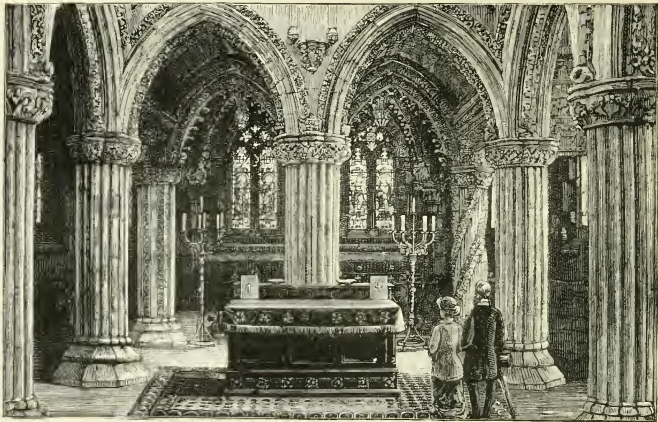
Many places in the vicinity still bear names con-

nected with the victory: the "Shinbones Field," where bones have been ploughed up; the "Hewan," where the onslaught was most dreadful; the "Stinking Rig," where the slain were not properly interred; the "Kill-burn," the current of which was reddened with blood; and "Mount Marl," a farm so called from a tradition that when the English were on the point of being finally routed, one of them cried to his leader, "Mount, Marl—and ride!"

Many coins of Edward I. have also been found hereabout.

confirmations of this charter from James VI. and Charles II. In modern times it has subsided into a retreat of rural quietness, and the abode of workers in the bleaching-fields and powder-mills.

In the old inn of Roslin, which dates from 1660, Dr. Johnson and Boswell, in 1773, about the close of their Scottish tour, dined and drank tea. There, also, Robert Burns breakfasted in company with Nasmyth the artist, and being well entertained by Mrs. Wilson, the landlady, he rewarded her by



ROSLIN CHAPEL:—THE CHANCEL. (After a Photograph by G. W. Wilson & Co.)

In 1754, near Roslin, a stone coffin nine feet long was uncovered by the plough. It contained a human skeleton, supposed to be that of a chief killed in the battle; but it was much more probably that of some ancient British warrior.

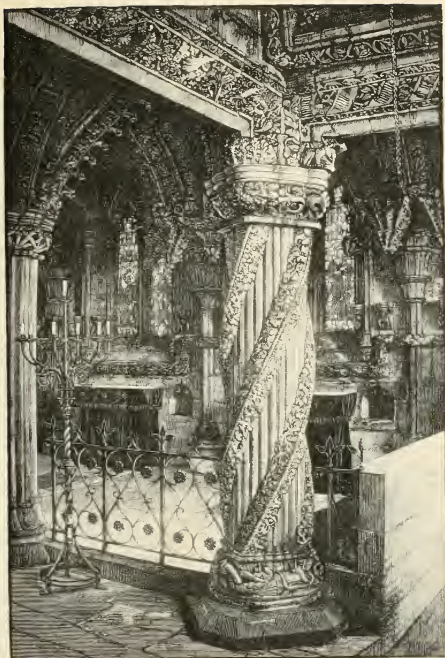
The village of Roslin stands on a bank about a mile east of the road to Peebles. About 1440, this village, or town, was the next place in importance to the east of Edinburgh and Haddington; and fostered by the care of the St. Clairs of Roslin, it became populous by the resort of a great concourse of all ranks of people. In 1456 it received from James II. a royal charter creating it a burgh of barony, with a market cross, a weekly market, and an annual fair on the Feast of St. Simon and Jude—the anniversary of the battle of Roslin; and respectively in the years 1622 and 1650 it received

scratching on a pewter plate two verses, which are preserved among his works, and run thus:—

"My blessings on you, sonsie wife!
I ne'er was here before;
You've gien us walth for horn and knife,
Nae heart could wish for more.
"Heaven keep you free frae care and strife,
Till far ayont fourscore;
And while I toddle on through life,
I'll ne'er gang by your door."

Burns and Nasmyth, it would appear, had spent the day in "a long ramble among the Pentlands, which, having sharpened the poet's appetite, lent an additional relish to the evening meal."

It is stated in a recent work that the old inn is still kept by the descendants of those who established it at the Restoration.



ROSLIN CHAPEL:—THE "'PRENTICE PILLAR.'" (*From a Photograph by G. W. Wilson & Co.*)

CHAPTER XLII.

THE ENVIRONS OF EDINBURGH—(*continued*).

Hawthornden—The Abernethys—The Drummonds—The Cavalier and Poet—The Caverns—Wallace's Cave and Camp—Count Lockhart's Monument—Captain Philip Lockhart of Dryden—Lasswade—The Ancient Church—The Coal Seams—"The Gray Brother"—Scott—De Quincey—Clerk of Eldin.

HAWTHORNDEN, the well-known seat of the Drummond family, stands on the south bank of the North Esk, amidst exquisitely picturesque and romantic scenery. Constructed with reference to strength, it surmounts to the very edge a grey and almost insulated cliff, which starts perpendicularly up from the brawling river. There it is perched high in air amid a wooded ravine, through which the Esk flows between two walls of lofty and

abrupt rock, covered by a wonderful profusion of foliage, interwoven with festoons of ivy—a literal jungle of mosses, ferns, and creepers. The greatest charm of the almost oppressive solitude is due to the bold variety of outline, and the contrast of colour, which at every spot the landscape exhibits.

On the summit of that insulated rock are still the ruins of a fortalice of unknown antiquity—a vaulted tower, fifteen feet square internally, with

walls seven feet thick, and the remains of a banquetting-hall with large windows, and walls five feet thick.

The more modern house of the seventeenth century, which has been engrafted on this fortress (probably destroyed by the English in 1544 or 1547) measures ninety feet long, with an average breadth of twenty-three feet, and exhibits the usual crowstepped gables, massive chimneys, and small windows of the period.

In the days of the War of Independence the Castle of Hawthornden belonged to a family called Abernethy. It was then the stronghold of Sir Lawrence Abernethy (the second son of Sir William Abernethy of Saltoun), who, though a gallant soldier, was one of those infamous traitors who turned their swords against their own country, and served the King of England.

He it was who, on the day Bannockburn was fought and when Douglas was in hot pursuit of the fugitive Edward II., was met, at the Torwood, with a body of cavalry hastening to join the enemy, and who added to the infamy of his conduct by instantly joining in the pursuit, on learning from Douglas that the English were utterly defeated and dispersed.

Three-and-twenty years after, the same traitor, when again in the English interest, had the better of the Knight of Liddesdale and his forces five in one day, yet was at last defeated in the end, and taken prisoner before sunset. All this is recorded in stone in an inscription on a tablet at the west end of the house. At this time, 1338, Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, emulating the faith and valour of Douglas, at the head of a body of knights and men-at-arms, whom his fame and daring as a skilful warrior had drawn to his standard, sallied from his secret stronghold, the vast caves of Hawthornden, and after sweeping the southern Lowlands, penetrated with fire and sword into England; and, on one occasion, by drawing the English into an ambush near Wark, made such a slaughter of them that scarcely one escaped.

For these services he received a crown charter from David II., in 1369, of Nether Liberton, and of the lands of Hawthornden in the barony of Conyrtoun, Edinburghshire, "*quihilk Lawrence Abernethy foris fecit*" for his treasons; but, nevertheless, his son would seem to have succeeded.

In after years the estate had changed proprietors, being sold to the Douglasses; and among the slain at Flodden was Sir John Douglas of Hawthornden, with his neighbour, Sir William Sinclair of Roslin.

By the Douglasses Hawthornden was sold to the Drummonds of Carnock, with whom it has

since remained; and the ancient families of Abernethy and Drummond became, curiously enough, united by the marriage of Bishop Abernethy and Barbara Drummond.

The most remarkable member of this race was William Drummond (more generally known as "Hawthornden"), the historian of the Jameses, the tender lover and gentle poet, the handsome cavalier, whom Cornelius Jansen's pencil has portrayed, and who died of a broken heart for the execution of Charles I.

His history of the Jameses he dedicates, "To the Right Honorable my very good Lord and Chief, the Earl of Perth," but it was not published till after his death.

The repair of the ancient house in its present form took place in 1638 and 1643, as inscriptions record.

Few poets have enjoyed a more poetical home than William Drummond, whose mind was, no doubt, influenced by the exquisite scenery amid which he was born (in 1585) and reared. He has repaid it, says a writer, by adding to this lovely locality the recollections of himself, and by the tender, graceful, and pathetic verses he composed under the roof of his historical home.

He came of a long line of ancestors, among whom he prized highly, as a member of his family, Annabella Drummond, queen of King Robert III. Early in life he fell in love with a daughter of Cunningham of Barnes, a girl whose beauty and accomplishments—rare for that age—he has recorded in verse.

Their wedding-day was fixed, and on its eve she died. After this fatal event Drummond quitted Hawthornden, and for years dwelt on the Continent as a wanderer; but the winter of 1618 saw him again in his sequestered home by the Esk, where he was visited by the famous Ben Jonson, who, it is said, travelled on foot to Scotland to see him. At the east end of the ruins that adjoin the modern mansion is a famous sycamore, called One of the Four Sisters. It is twenty-two feet in circumference, and under this tree Drummond was sitting when Jonson arrived at Hawthornden. It would seem that the latter had to fly from England at this time for having slain a man in a duel. Reference is made to this in some of Drummond's notes, and a corroboration of the story is given by Mr. Collier, in his "Life of Alleyn" the actor, and founder of Dulwich College.

Jonson stayed some weeks at Hawthornden, where he wrote two of the short pieces included in his "Underwoods" and "My Picture left in Scotland," with a long inscription to his host.

Drummond wrote most of his works in Hawthornden.

In the year 1643 he met accidentally Elizabeth Logan, daughter of Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig, who so closely resembled the girl he had loved and mourned so deeply, that he paid his addresses to and married her.

When the civil war broke out Drummond espoused the cause of the king, not in the field with the sword, but in the closet with his pen. He was constantly exposed, in consequence, to hostility and annoyance from the Presbyterian party.

On leaving the house visitors are conducted round the precipitous face of the rock on which it stands, by a mere ledge, to a species of cavern. There are seen an old table and seat. It was the poet's favourite resort, and in it he composed his "Cypress Grove," after recovering from a dangerous illness. No place could be better adapted for poetic reveries. "In calm weather the sighing of the wind along the chasm, the murmur of the stream, the music of the birds around, above, beneath, and the utter absence of an intimation of the busy world, must have often evoked the poet's melancholy, and brought him back the delightful hopes that thrilled his youthful heart. There were other times and seasons when it must indeed have been awful to have sat in that dark and desolate cavern : when a storm was rushing through the glen, when the forked lightning was revealing its shaggy depths, and when the thunder seemed to shake the cliff itself with its reverberations."

Drummond was the first Scottish poet who wrote in pure English ; his resemblance to Milton, whom he preceded, has often been remarked. The chivalrous loyalty that filled his heart and inspired his muse received a mortal shock by the death of Charles I., and on the 4th of December, 1649, he died where he was born, and where he had spent the most of his life, in his beautiful house of Hawthornden, and was buried in the sequestered and tree-shaded churchyard of Lasswade, on the south slope of the brae, and within sound of the murmur of his native Esk.

An edition of his poems was printed in 1656, 8vo ; another appeared at London in 1791 ; while since then others have been published, notably that under the editorship of Peter Cunningham, London, 1833. An edition of all his works, under the superintendence of Ruddiman, was brought out at Edinburgh in folio in 1711.

Over the door of the modern house, which is defended by three loopholes for musketry, and is the only way by which the edifice can be approached, are the arms of the Right Reverend William

Abernethy, titular Bishop of Edinburgh ; and near them is a panel with an inscription, placed there by the poet when he repaired his dwelling.

"DIVINO MUNERE GULIELMUS DRUMMONDUS JOHANNIS AURATI FILIUS UT HONESTO OTIO QUIESCERET SIBI ET SUCCESSORIBUS INSTAURAVIT, ANNO 1638."

In the house is preserved a table with a marble slab, dated 1396, and bearing the initials of King Robert III. thereon, with those of Queen Annabella Drummond, and on it lies a two-handed sword of Robert Bruce, which is five feet two inches in length, with quadruple guard which measures eleven inches from point to point. There is also a clock, which is said to have been in the family since his time ; there are a pair of shoes and a silk dress that belonged to Queen Annabella ; the long cane of the Duchess of Lauderdale, so famous for her diamonds and her furious temper ; and a dress worn by Prince Charles in 1745.

Below the house are the great caverns for which Hawthornden is so famous. They are artificial, and have been hollowed out of the rock with prodigious labour, and all communicate with each other by long passages, and possess access to a well of vast depth, bored from the courtyard of the mansion. These caverns are reported by tradition and believed by Dr. Stukeley to have been a stronghold of the Pictish kings, and in three instances they bear the appropriate names of the King's Gallery, the King's Bedchamber, and the Guard-room ; but they seem simply to have been hewn out of the solid rock, no one can tell when or by whom. They served, however, as ample and secret places of refuge and resort during the destructive wars between Scotland and England, especially when the troops of the latter were in possession of Edinburgh ; and, like the adjacent caves of Gorton, they gave shelter to the patriotic bands of Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalbousie and the Black Knight of Liddesdale, and, by tradition, to Robert Bruce, as a ballad has it :—

"Here, too, are labyrinthine paths
To caverns dark and low,
Wherein, they say, King Robert Bruce
Found refuge from the foe."

The profusion of beautiful wood in the opulent landscape around Hawthornden suggested to Peter Pindar his caustic remark respecting Dr. Johnson, that he

"Went to Hawthornden's fair scenes by night,
Lest e'er a Scottish tree should wound his sight."

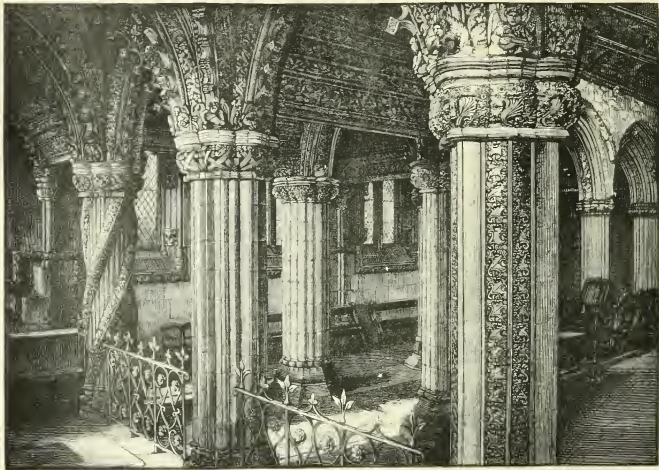
Half a mile up the Esk is Wallace's Cave—so called by tradition, and capable of holding seventy

armed men; at Bilston Burn is Wallace's camp, in the form of a half-moon, defended by a broad deep ditch—a semicircle of eighty-four yards. It is ten yards wide at the top and five yards at the bottom, with a depth now of three yards.

The Cast—a rugged path—at Springfield is a corruption of *Via ad castra*, and is, no doubt, an old Roman road, though in some places now six feet below the present surface ("New Statistical Account"); and at Mavisbank is a tumulus, wherewith

Lord of the Bedchamber to His Imperial Majesty Joseph II., Emperor of Germany, Knight of the Order of Maria Theresa, Count of the Holy Roman Empire, and General of the Imperial, Royal, and Apostolical Armies. Died at Pisa, in Italy, 6th February, MDCXC., in the LXIV. year of his age."

Captain Philip Lockhart, of the Dryden family, was one of the prisoners taken at Preston, in England, in 1715, and for having previously borne a commission in the British army, was tried by court-



ROSLIN CHAPEL:—VIEW FROM THE CHANCEL. (After a Photograph by G. W. Wilson & Co.)

have been found *stili*, *fibulae*, weapons, bridles, and Roman surgical instruments; and at a farm close by is another, wherein urns full of calcined bones have been excavated.

The Maiden Castle at Lasswade was situated some three hundred yards south of the Hewan, in a spot of exceeding loveliness. Nothing now remains of it save massive foundations, but by whom it was founded or to whom it belonged not even a tradition remains.

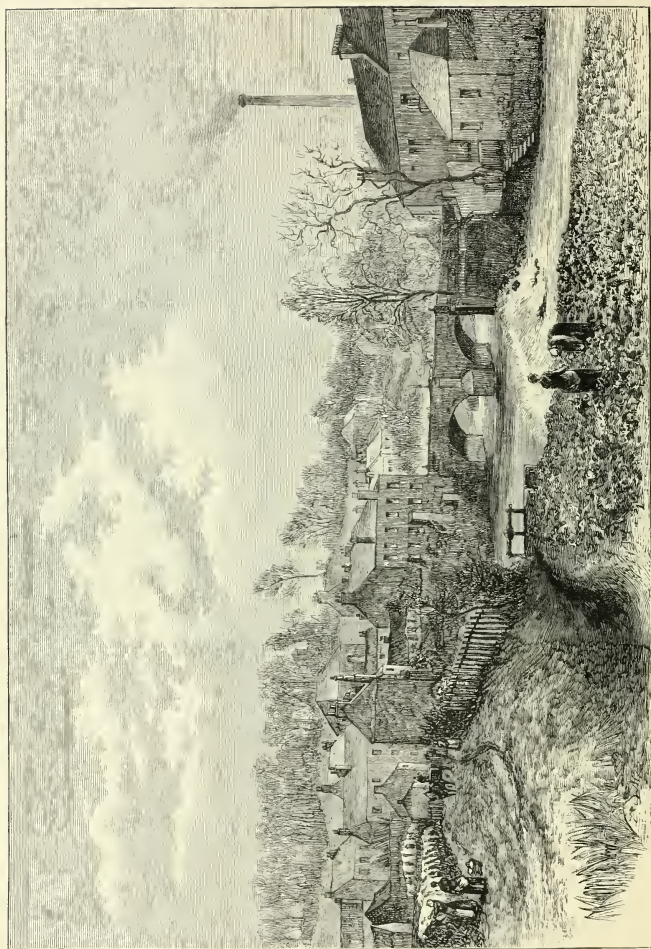
Near Mount Marl, and by the high road at Dryden, in a field, stands the great monument of one of the former proprietors of the estate, bearing the following inscription:—

"James Lockhart-Wishart of Lee and Carnwath,

martial; and by a savage stretch of power was, with Major Nairne, Ensign Erskine, Captain Shaftoe, and others, shot for alleged desertion.

Nairne and Lockhart denied that they could be guilty of desertion, as "they had no commission from, nor trust under, the present Government, and the regiment to which they belonged had been broken several years ago in Spain," and that they regarded their half-pay but as a gratuity for their past services to Queen Anne. Major Nairne was the first who perished.

"After he was shot, Captain Lockhart would not suffer the soldiers to touch his friend's body, but with his own hands, with help of the other two gentlemen, laid him in his coffin; after which he



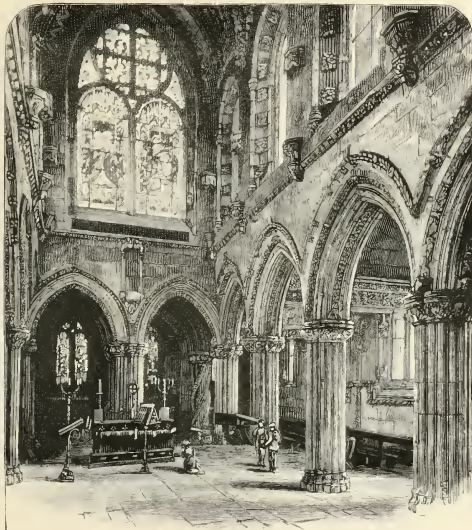
LASSWADE.

was shot, and the other two performed the like to his body ; then they were shot, and laid together, without a coffin, in a pit dugged for the purpose. Which tragical scene being thus finished, Mr. Nairne and Mr. Lockhart were decently buried." ("Letter to a friend in the king's camp," Perth, 1715.)

Count Lockhart was succeeded by his son

turesqueness and romance to any in Scotland. The river seems all the way to be merrily frolicsome, and rushing along a shelving gradient, now hiding itself behind rocks and weeping wood, and making sudden, but always mirthful, transitions in its moods."

A few ancient and many modern mansions and villas stud the banks of the glen above the ancient



FOSLIN CHAPEL :—INTERIOR. (After a Photograph by G. W. Wilson & Co.)

Charles. In the early years of the present century, Dryden was the property of George Mercer, a son of Mercer of Pittchar, in Perthshire.

In this quarter, on the north bank of the Esk, are the church and village of Lasswade, amid scenery remarkable for its varied beauty. The bed of the Esk lies through a deep, singularly romantic, long, and bold ravine, always steep, sometimes perpendicular and overhanging, and everywhere covered with the richest copsewood. "Recesses, contractions, irregularities, rapid and circling sinuosities, combine with the remarkably varied diversity of its sides, to render its scenery equal in mingled pic-

village of Lasswade, whose bridge spans the river, and the name of which Chalmers, in his "Caledonia," believes to be derived from a "well-watered pasturage of common use, or *laeswe*, in Saxon a common, and *weyde*, a meadow." In an old Dutch map it is spelt Lesserwade, supposed to mean the opposite of Legerwood—the smaller wood in contrast to some greater one.

The parish of Melville was added to that of Lasswade in 1633.

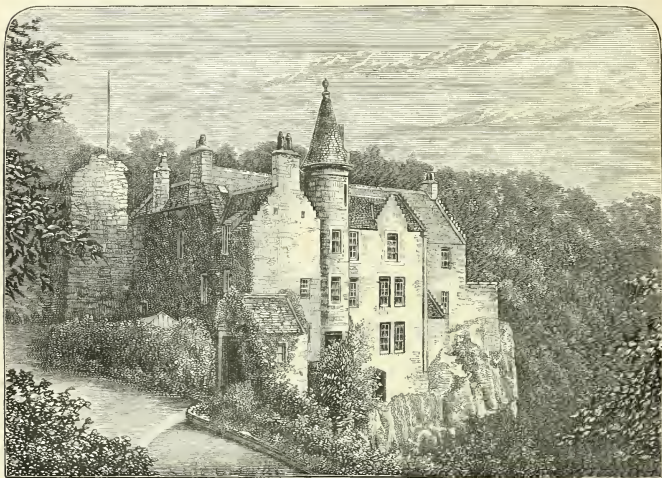
In the time of James III. the ancient Church of Lasswade was, by the Pope's authority, detached from St. Salvador's College at St. Andrews, to

which it belonged, and annexed to Restalrig. It stood on high ground, where its ancient square belfry tower, four storeys in height, was a very conspicuous object among a group of old trees, long after the church itself had passed away, till it was blown down by a storm in November, 1866. The effigy of a knight, with hands clasped, in a full suit of armour, lay amid the foundations of the old church as lately as 1855.

Tradition avers the tower had been occasionally

Great quantities of fruit, vegetables, and daily produce are furnished by Lasswade for the city markets. Save where some primitive rocks rise up in the Pentland quarter of the parish, the whole of its area lies upon the various secondary formations, including sandstone, clays of several kinds, and a great number of distinct coal-seams, with their strata of limestone.

On the western side of the Esk the metals stand much on edge, having a dip of 65° in some



HAWTHORNDEN, 1883. (After a Photograph by G. W. Witten & Co.)

used as a prison. A very florid cross at one time surmounted its west gable. The vault, or tomb, of Græme Mercer of Mavisbank, adjoins a fragment of the old church. The new one, a square and very unsightly edifice, was built in 1793, and the manse previously in 1789.

In the burying-ground are interred the first Lord Melville and his successors.

Lasswade has long been celebrated for the excellence of its oatmeal, the reputation of which, through Lord Melville, reached George III. and Queen Charlotte, whose family were breakfasted upon it during childhood, the meal being duly sent to the royal household by a miller of the village, named Mutter.

quarters. In the barony of Loanhead the workable coal seams are twenty-five in number, and vary from two to ten feet in thickness; and, by a cross level mine from the river, have been worked from the grass downward to the depth of two hundred and seventy feet.

On the eastern side of the Esk the metals have a dip so small—amounting to only 1 in 7 or 8—that the coal seams, in contradistinction to the edge-coals, as they are called on the west side, have obtained the name of “flat broad coals.” One of the mines on the boundary of Liberton was ignited by accident about the year 1770, and for upwards of twenty years resisted fiercely every effort made to extinguish its fire. Besides fur-

nishing supplies for local consumption and to other quarters, Lasswade sends about 30,000 tons of coal to Edinburgh every year.

Auchindinny is a small village situated on the right bank of the Esk at the boundary with Penicuik, and is about five-and-a-half miles distant from Lasswade. It is inhabited by lace and paper makers.

Scott, in his ballad "The Gray Brother," groups all the localities we have noted with wonderful effect:—

"Sweet are the paths, oh passing sweet !
By Esk's fair streams that run,
O'er airy steep, through copsewood deep,
Impervious to the sun.

"There the rapt poet's step may rove,
And yield the muse the day ;
There Beauty, led by timid Love,
May shun the tell-tale ray.

"From that fair dome, where suit is paid
By blast of bugle free,
To Auchindinny's hazel shade,
And haunted Woodhouselee.

"Who knows not Melville's beechy grove,
And Roslin's rocky glen,
Dalkeith, which all the virtues love,
And classic Hawthornden ?

"Yet never path from day to day,
The pilgrim's footsteps range,
Save but the solitary way,
To Burndale's ruined grange."

South of Lasswade Bridge, on the road to Polton—an estate which, in the early part of the eighteenth century, gave the title of Lord Polton to a senator of the College of Justice, Sir William Calderwood, called to the bench in 1711 in succession to Lord Anstruther—is a house into which a number of antique stones were built some years ago. One of these, a lintel, bears the following date and legend:—

1557. A. A. NOSCE TEIPSVM.

Lasswade has always been a favourite summer resort of the citizens of Edinburgh. Sir Walter Scott spent some of the happiest summers of his life here, and amid the woodland scenery is supposed to have found materials for his description of Gandercleugh, in the "Tales of my Landlord."

His house was a delightful retreat, embowered among wood, and close to the Esk. There he continued all his favourite studies, and commenced that work which first established his name in literature, "The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border," which he published at Edinburgh in 1802, and

dedicated to his friend and chief, Henry Duke of Buccleuch.

In prosecuting the collection of this work, Sir Walter made various excursions—"raids" he used to call them—from Lasswade into the most remote recesses of the Border glens, assisted by one or two other enthusiasts in ballad lore, pre-eminent among whom was the friend, whose untimely fate he lamented so long, and whose memory he embalmed in verse—Dr. John Leyden.

De Quincey, the "English opium-eater," spent the last seventeen years of his life in a humble cottage near Midfield House, on the road from Lasswade to Hawthornden, and there he prepared the collected edition of his works. He died in Edinburgh on the 8th December, 1859.

On high ground above the village stands Eldin House (overlooking Eldindean), the residence of John Clerk, inventor of what was termed in its day, before the introduction of ironclads and steam rams, the modern British system of naval tactics. He was the sixth son of Sir George Clerk of Penicuik, one of the Barons of Exchequer in Scotland, and inherited the estate of Eldin in early life from his father. Although the longest sail he ever enjoyed was no farther than to the Isle of Arran, in the Firth of Clyde, he had from his boyhood a passion for nautical affairs, and devoted much of his time to the theory and practice of naval tactics.

After communicating to some of his friends the new suggested system of breaking an enemy's line of battle, he visited London in 1780, and conferred with several eminent men connected with the navy, among others, Mr. Richard Atkinson, the friend of the future Lord Rodney, and Sir Charles Douglas, Rodney's "Captain of the Fleet" in the memorable action of 12th April, 1782, when the latter was victorious over the Comte de Grasse between Dominica and Les Saintes, in the West Indies.

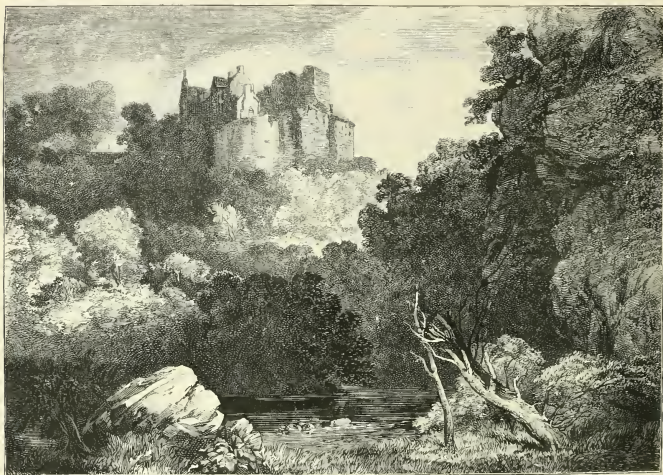
Since that time his principle was said to have been adopted by all our admirals ; and Howe, St. Vincent, Duncan, and even Nelson, owe to the Laird of Eldin's manœuvre their most signal victories.

In 1782 he had fifty copies of his "Essay on Naval Tactics" printed, for distribution among his private friends. It was reprinted in 1790, and second, third, and fourth parts were added in the seven subsequent years, and eventually, in 1804, the whole work was re-published anew, with a preface explaining the origin of his discoveries.

"Although Lord Rodney, as appears by a fragmentary life of Clerk written by Professor Playfair, in the 'Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh,' never concealed in conversation his obliga-

tions to Mr. Clerk as the author of the system, yet the family of that distinguished admiral, in his 'Memoirs,' maintain that no communication of Mr. Clerk's plan was ever made to their relative. Sir Howard Douglas, too, has come forward in various publications to claim the merit of the manœuvre for his father, the late Admiral Sir Charles Douglas.

In 1763 there were only three paper-mills in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, and the quantity of paper made amounted to only 6,400 reams. There are now more than twenty mills in the county of Edinburgh, nine of which are on the North Esk, and nine on the Water of Leith. The first paper-mill was built at Lasswade about 1750; and by



HAWTHORNDEN, 1773. (After an Etching by John Clerk of Eldin.)

The origin of the suggestion, however, appears to rest indisputably with Mr. Clerk, who died May 10, 1812, at an advanced age."

He was the father of John Clerk, Lord Eldin, already referred to in earlier portions of this work.

Paper has long been extensively manufactured at Lasswade.

Springfield, a mile and a half north of the Esk, is a hamlet, with a population of some hundreds, who are almost entirely paper-makers. It is situated in a sylvan dell remarkable for its picturesque beauty.

1794 the labourers at it received and circulated in the village £3,000 per annum. "Mr. Simpson, the proprietor of two mills in this parish," says the "Statistical Account" for the latter year, "has the merit of being the first manufacturer in this country who has applied the liquor recommended by Berthollet in his new method of bleaching for the purpose of whitening rags." He erected an apparatus for the preparation of it, and thus added greatly to the beauty and quality of the paper he produced.



LASSWADE CHURCH, 1773. (*After an Etching by John Clerk of Eldin.*)

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE ENVIRONS OF EDINBURGH—(*concluded*).

Melville Castle and the Melvilles—The Viscounts Melville—Sheriffnall—Newton—Monkton—Stonyhill—"The Wicked Colonel Charteris"—New Hailes—The Stair Obelisk—Lord Hailes—His Death.

MELVILLE CASTLE stands on the left bank of the North Esk, about five furlongs eastward of Lasswade, and was built by the first Viscount Melville, replacing a fortress of almost unknown antiquity, about the end of the last century. It is a splendid mansion, with circular towers, exhibiting much architectural elegance, and surrounded by a finely-wooded park, which excited the admiration of George IV.

Unauthenticated tradition states that the ancient castle of Melville was a residence of David Rizzio, and as such, was, of course, visited occasionally by Queen Mary; but it had an antiquity much more remote.

It is alleged that the first Melville ever known in Scotland was a Hungarian of that name, who accompanied Queen Margaret to Scotland, where he obtained from Malcolm III. a grant of land in Midlothian, and where he settled, gave his surname to his castle, and became progenitor of all the Melvilles in Scotland. Such is the story told by Sir Robert Douglas, on the authority of Leslie,

Mackenzie, Martin, and Fordun; but it is much more probable that the family is of French origin.

Be all that as it may, the family began to be prominent in Scotland soon after the reign of Malcolm III.

Galfrid de Melville of Melville Castle, in Lothian, witnessed many charters of Malcolm IV., bestowing pious donations on the abbeys of Holyrood, Newbattle, and Dunfermline, before 1165, in which year that monarch died.

He also appears (1153-1165) as *Viccomes de Castello Puellarum*, in the register of St. Marie of Newbattle. He witnessed two charters of William the Lion to the abbey of Cambuskenneth, and made a gift of the parish church of Melville (which, probably, he built) to the monastery of Dunfermline, in presence of Hugh, Bishop of St. Andrews, previously chaplain to King William, and who died in 1187.

Galfrid of Melville left four sons—Sir Gregory, his successor, Philip, Walter, and Waren. Of the last nothing is known, but the other three founded

families of note. Philip became sheriff of the Mearns, and ancestor of the Melvilles of Glenbervie; Walter, of the Melvilles in Fife; but Waren cannot be traced beyond 1178.

By the chartulary of Aberdeen, Sir Gregory of Melville, in Lothian, would seem to have witnessed a charter of Alexander II., confirming a gift of Duncan, eighth Earl of Mar, to the church of Aberdeen, together with Ranulph de Lambley, bishop of that see, who died in 1247.

His son William was succeeded in turn by his son, Sir John Melville, lord of the barony of Melville, between the years 1329 and 1344.

In the reign of King Robert II., the Melvilles of Melville ended in Agnes (grandchild and sole heiress of Sir John of that ilk), who married Sir John Ross of Halkhead, to whom and his heirs the estate passed, and continued to be the property of his descendants, the Lords Ross of Halkhead, till the middle of the eighteenth century, when that old Scottish title became extinct, and Melville passed into the possession of a family named Rennie.

The present castle, we have said, was built by the first Viscount Melville, who married, first, Elizabeth, daughter of David Rennie of Melville, and was raised to the peerage in 1802. As Henry Dundas—descended from the old and honourable house of Arniston, well known in Scottish legal history—he had risen to eminence as Lord Advocate of Scotland in 1775, and subsequently filled some high official situations in England. He married, secondly, Jane, daughter of John, second Earl of Hopetoun, by whom he had no family.

In 1805 he had the misfortune to be impeached by the House of Commons for alleged malversation in his office as Treasurer of the Navy, and after a full trial by his peers in Westminster Hall, was judged not guilty. On this event the following remarks occur in Lockhart's "Life of Scott":—

"The impeachment of Lord Melville was among the first measures of the new (Whig) Government; and personal affection and gratitude, graced as well as heightened the zeal with which Scott watched the issue of this—in his eyes—vindictive proceeding; but though the ex-minister's ultimate acquittal was, as to all the charges involving his personal honour, complete, it must be allowed that the investigation brought out many circumstances by no means creditable to his discretion—and the rejoicings ought not, therefore, to have been scornfully jubilant. Such they were, however—at least, in Edinburgh; and Scott took his full share in them by inditing a song, which was sung by James Ballantyne at a public dinner given in honour of

the event, 27th June, 1806." Of this song one verse will suffice as a specimen of the eight of which it consists:—

"Since here we are set in array round the table,
Five hundred good fellows well met in a hall,
Come listen, brave boys, and I'll sing as I'm able,
How innocence triumphed and pride got a fall.
Push round the claret—
Come, stewards, don't spare it—
With rapture you'll drink to the toast that I give:
Here, boys,
Off with it merrily—
MELVILLE for ever, and long may he live!"

It was published on a broadside, to be sold and sung in the streets.

Kay has a portrait of the first Lord Melville in the uniform of the Edinburgh Volunteers, of which he became a member in July, 1795, but declined the commission of captain-lieutenant.

Kay's editor gives us the following anecdote:—

During the Coalition Administration, the Hon. Henry Erskine held the office of Lord Advocate of Scotland. He succeeded Dundas (the future Viscount Melville), and on the morning of his appointment he met the latter in the outer house, when, observing that Dundas had already resumed the ordinary stuff gown which advocates generally wear, he said, gaily, "I must leave off talking, and go and order my silk gown," the official costume of the Lord Advocate and Solicitor-General. "It is hardly worth while," said Mr. Dundas, drily, "for all the time you will want it: you had better borrow mine."

Erskine's retort was very smart.

"From the readiness with which you make me the offer, Dundas, I have no doubt the gown is made to *fit any party*; but it shall never be said of Harry Erskine that he put on the *abandoned habits* of his predecessor."

The prediction of Dundas proved true, however, for Erskine held office only for a very short period, in consequence of a sudden change of ministry.

Lord Melville died on the 29th May, 1811, in the same week that saw the death of his dearest friend and neighbour, whose funeral he had come to attend, the Lord President Blair of Avontoun; and the fact of "their houses being next to one another with only a single wall between the bed-rooms, where the dead bodies of each were lying at the same time, made a deep impression on their friends."

He was succeeded by his eldest son, Robert Saunders-Dundas, as second Viscount Melville in Lothian, and Baron Dunira in Perthshire. He was born in 1771, and married Anne, daughter and co-heiress of Richard Huck Saunders, M.D., upon which he assumed the additional name of

Saunders. He was Lord Privy Seal, a Governor of the Bank of England, and Chancellor of the University of St. Andrews.

In 1822 he was visited by George IV. at Melville Castle, on which occasion the Midlothian Regiment of Yeomanry Cavalry was drawn up on the lawn. In his old age he was also visited at Melville Castle by Queen Victoria, in 1842.

Dying in 1851, he was succeeded by his son, Henry Dundas, as third Viscount Melville, K.C.B.

Viscount Melville, by his brother, Robert Dundas, who was born in 1803.

Melville Paper Mill, in this district, was one of the oldest in Scotland, and was long superintended by Mr. Walter Ruddiman, who was born in 1687, and died there, in his eighty-third year, in 1770. He was then the oldest master-printer in Scotland. He was the son of Thomas Ruddiman, a farmer of Boyndie, in Banffshire, and younger brother and partner of the eminent grammarian and scholar,



MELVILLE CASTLE, 1776. (After an Etching by John Clerk of Eldin.)

in 1849, and G.C.B. in 1865, in 1854-60, General Commanding the Forces in Scotland. He commanded the 83rd Foot during the suppression of the insurrection in Lower Canada in 1837, and also in repelling the attacks of the American brigands who landed near Prescott, in Upper Canada, in 1838. He was at the head of the 60th Rifles as Colonel-Commandant in 1863, after having led the Bombay column of the Indian Army throughout the Punjaub campaign in 1848-9, including the siege and storm of the town and capture of the citadel of Mooltan, the battle of Gujerat, and many subsequent operations of considerable importance.

He died in 1876, and was succeeded, as fourth

Thomas Ruddiman, the assistant-keeper of the Advocates' Library, who was born in 1674, and who is so well known in Scottish literature.

A mile eastward of Melville Castle is the place called Sheriffhall, where there are some green mounds that mark the site of an ancient camp, and where long stood an old house, in which traditionally George Buchanan is said to have written his "History of Scotland."

Half a mile distant from thence stands Newton Church, of old called Neaton, according to Chalmers's "Caledonia," thereby showing that "there was in the neighbourhood some *old* town." The more ancient edifice here was granted to the Abbey of Dunfermline in the twelfth century—a

gift ratified by Bishop Richard and Pope Gregory. There are many places in Scotland of the name of Newton.

In 1612 a Sir William Oliphant of Newton (but which is not very apparent) was appointed King's Advocate, and held the office till 1626. "He conquered the lands of Newton, the barony of Strabroke, and the Murrows, near Edinburgh," says Scott of Scotstarvit; "but was unfortunate in his children as any of the rest. For his eldest son, Sir James,

populous villages, consisting of long rows of red-tiled cottages that border the wayside, which are chiefly inhabited by colliers, and are known by the classical names of Red Raw, Adam's Raw, Cauld Cots, and Cuckold's Raw.

The present parish comprehends the ancient parishes of Newton, on the south-east, and Wymet—now corrupted, as we have said, into Woolmet—which also belonged to the abbey of Dunfermline, and were incorporated with the lordship and



MELVILLE CASTLE.

after he was honoured to be a Lord of Session, was expelled therefrom for having shot his own gardener dead with a hackbut. His eldest son—namely, Sir James, by Inchbraikie's daughter—in his drunken humours stabbed his mother with a sword in her own house, and for that fled to Ireland. He disposed and sold the whole lands, and died in great penury. The second brother, Mr. William, lay many years in prison, and disposed that barony of Strabroke and Kirkhill to Sir Lewis Stewart, who at this day (about 1650) enjoys the same."

Newton parish is finely cultivated, and forms part of the beautiful and fertile district between Edinburgh and the town of Dalkeith.

It abounds with coal, and there are numerous

regality of Musselburgh, and after the Reformation with James the Sixth's princely grant to Lord Thirlstane.

Three-quarters of a mile north of Newton Church is Monkton House, belonging to the Hopes of Pinkie, a modern edifice near the Esk, but having attached to it as farm offices an ancient structure, stated to have been the erection and the favourite residence of General Monk. Here is a spring known as the *Routing Well*, which is said, by the peculiar sound it makes at times, to predict a coming storm.

"The case is," according to the "Old Statistical Account" (Vol. XVI.), "that this well being dug many fathoms deep through a rock in order to get

below the strata of coal that abound in the fields, it communicates through the coal-rooms that are wrought with other shafts, which occasions a rumbling noise, that does not precede, but accompanies, a high wind."

According to the old Valuation Roll, Monkton was the property of Patrick Falconer between 1726 and 1738.

Stonyhill and Monkton, according to *Inquisitiones Speciales*, both belonged to John, Earl of Lauder-

of fit accompaniments of a very ancient and stately house.

Colonel Francis Charteris was a cadet of an ancient and honourable Dumfries-shire family, the Charteris of Amisfield, whose tall, old, stubborn-looking fortalice stands between the two head streams of the Lochar. After serving in the wars of Marlborough, the year 1704 saw him figuring in Edinburgh as a member of the *beau monde*, with rather an awkward reputation of being a highly successful



NEW HAILES HOUSE.

dale, at one time. The gardens of both appear to have been among the earliest in Britain; and entries in the household books of Dalkeith Palace show that fruit and vegetables (which, however, could scarcely have been so excellent then as now), came therefrom two centuries ago.

Stonyhill House, near New Hailes, the property of the Earl of Wemyss, seeming, in its present form, to be only the offices of an ancient mansion, was the residence, firstly, of Sir William Sharp, son of the ill-fated Archbishop Sharp, and his wife, Helen Moncrieff, daughter of the Laird of Randerston; and secondly, of the inglorious, or "wicked Colonel Charteris"; and it has remnants in its vicinity, especially a huge buttressed garden wall,

gambler. There is a story told of him that, being at the Duke of Queensberry's house in the Canon-gate one evening, and playing with the duchess, he was enabled, by means of a mirror, or, more probably, a couple of mirrors that chanced to be placed opposite each other, to see what cards were in the hands of Her Grace—Mary Boyle, daughter of Lord Clifford—through which means he won from her no less a sum than three thousand pounds sterling—a very great one at that time. (*"Domestic Annals of Scotland."*)

It is added that the duke was so provoked by this incident, that he got a Bill passed by the Parliament over which he presided as Lord High Commissioner, to prohibit all gambling beyond a

certain moderate sum ; but this part of the tale is a mistake, as no such statute was ever enacted by the Scottish Estates.

But as the Town Council at this date fulminated an Act of theirs, threatening vigorous action under an edict of 1621, concerning playing with cards or dice in public-houses, as "the occasion of horrid cursing, quarrelling, tipping, loss of time, and neglect of ordinary business," and directing the constables to be diligent in seeking out all offenders, Robert Chambers is led to think that it was at the duke's instigation, while smarting under the colonel's successful play, this step was taken.

Though a man of perilous and reckless reputation, among the subscriptions for the relief of the sufferers by a fire in the Lawnmarket in 1725, one of four guineas from Colonel Francis Charteris is the only contribution from a private individual. "Uncharitable onlookers," says Chambers, "would probably consider this as intended for an insurance against another fire on the part of the subscriber."

On a night in the month of February, 1732—a stormy night of wind and rain, as it was duly remarked to be—Colonel Francis Charteris died, at his old seat of Stonyhill. The pencil of Hogarth, which represents him as the profligate old gentleman in the "Harlot's Progress," has given artistic and historical importance to this remarkable man. Though his family in Dumfries-shire possessed but a very moderate income, he, by gambling and usury, amassed an enormous fortune, by which he was enabled to indulge in all his favourite vices on a scale that might be called royal and magnificent.

It has been said that "a single worthy trait has never yet been adduced to redeem the character of Charteris, though it is highly probable that in some particulars that character has been exaggerated by popular rumour."

His fortune amounted to what was then deemed the great sum of fourteen thousand pounds a year, of which ten thousand were left to his grandson, Francis Charteris Wemyss, second son of James, fourth Earl of Wemyss, who married Janet, his only daughter and sole heiress.

"When on his death-bed at Stonyhill," says the author of a work entitled "Private Letters," "he was exceedingly anxious to know if there were such a thing as hell ; and said, were he assured there was no such place (being easy as to heaven), he would give thirty thousand. . . . Mr. Cumming, the minister, attended him on his death-bed. He asked his daughter, who is exceedingly narrow, what he should give *him*. She replied that it was unusual to give anything on such occasions. 'Well, then,' says Charteris, 'let us have another

flourish from him !' so calling his prayers. There happened accidentally the night he died a prodigious hurricane, which the vulgar ascribed to his death."

His daughter was the mother of David, Lord Elcho, who commanded Prince Charles Edward's Life Guards, and, on being attainted, fled to France after Culloden. After this, Earl James—passing over his second son, Francis Charteris Wemyss, who married a daughter of Alexander, Duke of Gordon—made a conveyance of his estate in favour of his third son, James, who succeeded thereto on the death of the earl, in 1756 ; but the title was inherited by Francis in 1787, on the death of the exiled cavalier.

Midway between Stonyhill and Brunstane House stands the mansion of New Hailes, formerly the seat of the eminent Scottish historian, antiquary, and lawyer, Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes. It is situated about half a mile from the Firth of Forth, and is chiefly attractive on account of its containing his lordship's very valuable library, and being surrounded by a beautifully-disposed and well-wooded demesne.

Within the grounds, and in the immediate vicinity of the mansion, is a tall, slender, and handsome obelisk, erected by Lord Hailes in memory of Field-Marshal John, Earl of Stair.

In the grounds there may also be seen a curious tea-house, or arbour, in a Tuscan style of architecture, built and decorated by Frenchmen who were prisoners of war, and in its walls is a slab bearing a somewhat unintelligible motto.

The ancient chapel of St. Mary Magdalene stood within the property of New Hailes, but according to the "New Statistical Account," in 1845 the only relics of it surviving were a tombstone and some foundations near the sea, and partly covered by it.

We have already referred to Lord Hailes in our account of New Street, in the Canongate, and the curious discovery of his will after his death—a well-known anecdote, to which, however, the editor of "Kay's Portraits" takes an exception.

"His knowledge of the laws was accurate and profound," wrote his friend, Dr. Carlyle of Inveresk, after his death, "and he applied it in judgment with the most scrupulous integrity. In his proceedings in the criminal court, the satisfaction he gave the public could not be surpassed. His abhorrence of crimes, his tenderness for the criminals, his respect for the laws, and his reverential awe of the Omniscent Judge, inspired him on some occasions with a commanding sublimity of thought and a feeling solemnity of expression, that

made condemnation seem just as the doom of Providence to the criminals themselves, and raised a salutary horror of crime in the breasts of the audience. Conscious of the dignity and importance of the high office he held, he never departed from the decorum that becomes that reverend character, which, indeed, it cost him no effort to support, because he acted from principle and sentiment, both public and private. Affectionate to his family and relations, simple and mild in his manners, pure and conscientious in his morals, enlightened and entertaining in his conversation, he left society only to regret that, devoted as he was to more important employments, he had so little time to spare for intercourse with them." (*Sermon on Lord Hailes's Death*," by Rev. Dr. Carlyle. Edin. 1792.)

An anecdote of him when at the bar is noted as being illustrative of his goodness of heart. When he held the office of Advocate-Depute, he had gone to Stirling in his official capacity. On the first day of the court he seemed in no haste to urge on proceedings, and was asked by a brother advocate why there was no trial this forenoon?

"There are," said he, "several unhappy creatures to be tried for their lives, and therefore it is but proper and just that they should have a little time to confer with their men of law."

"That is of very little consequence," said the other. "Last year, when I was here on the circuit, Lord Kames appointed me counsel for a man accused of a capital offence, and though I had very little time to prepare, I made a very fair speech."

"And was your client acquitted?"

"No; he was most unjustly condemned."

"That, sir," said the advocate-depute, "is certainly no good argument for hurrying on trials."

When Sibbald started the *Edinburgh Magazine*, in 1783, Lord Hailes became a frequent contributor to its pages.

Lords Hailes, Eskgrove, Stonefield, and Swinton, were the judges of justiciary before whom Deacon Brodie and his compatriot were tried, and by whom they were sentenced to death in 1788.

He died in the house of New Hailes, in his sixty-sixth year, on the 29th of November, 1792, leaving behind him a high reputation in literary and legal society. He had been appointed a judge, in succession to Lord Nisbet, in 1766, and a commissioner of justiciary in 1777, in place of Lord Coalston, whose daughter, Anne, was his first wife. His grandfather was fifth brother of the Earl of Stair, and was Lord Advocate in the reign

of George I., and his father had been Auditor of the Exchequer for life.

His second wife was Helen Fergusson, a daughter of Lord Kilkerran, who survived him eighteen years, and died in the house of New Hailes on the 10th November, 1810.

It was long the residence of his daughter, and after her death became the property of her heir and relative, Sir C. Dalrymple Fergusson, Bart., of Kilkerran. Having no male issue, Lord Hailes's baronetcy (which is now extinct) descended to his nephew, eldest son of his brother John, who held the office of Lord Provost of Edinburgh in 1770 and 1771.

Our task—to us a labour of love—is ended. It has been our earnest effort to trace out and faithfully describe how "the Queen of the North," the royal metropolis of Scotland, from the Dunedin or rude hill-fort of the Celts, with its thatched huts amid the lonely forest of Drumsheugh, has, in the progress of time, expanded into the vast and magnificent city we find it now, with its schools of learning, its academies of art, its noble churches and marts of industry, and its many glorious institutions of charity and benevolence;—the city that Burns hailed in song, as "Edina, Scotia's darling seat," the centre of memories which make it dear to all Scotsmen, wherever their fate or their fortune may lead them. For the stately and beautiful Edinburgh, which now spreads nearly from the base of the Braid Hills to the broad estuary of the Forth, is unquestionably the daughter of the old fortress on the lofty rock, as the arms in her shield—the triple castle—serve to remind us.

We have attempted to depict a prehistoric Edinburgh, before coming to the ten centuries of veritable history, when a Christian church rose on the ridge or Edin of the Celts, to replace the heathen rites that were celebrated on Arthur's Seat and other hills; and no royal city in Europe can boast ten centuries of such stirring, warlike, and glorious annals—in which, however, the sad or sorrowful is strangely commingled—as were transacted in the living drama of many ages, the actors in which it has been our endeavour to portray. We have sought to recall not only the years that have passed away, but also the successive generations of dwellers in the old walled city of the middle ages, and their quaint lives and habits, with the change of these as time rolled on.

The history of Edinburgh is, in many respects, a history of Scotland from the time it became the residence of her kings, but one in which the peculiar domestic annals of the people are ne-

cessarily woven up with the warlike, even from the days when our forefathers, with their good swords and true hearts, were enabled to defend their homes and hills against all the might of England, aided, as albeit the latter often was, by Ireland, Wales, and all the chivalry of Normandy and Aquitaine ; and to hand down to future times the untarnished crown of a regal race as an emblem of what Scotland was, ere she peacefully quartered her royal arms and insignia with those of her adversary, with whom she shared her kings, and as an emblem of what she is still, with her own Church, laws, and constitution, free and unfettered.

The Old city—with its “stirring memories of a thousand years”—has records which are, in tenor, widely apart from those of the New; yet, in the former, we may still see the massive, picturesque, quaint and time-worn abodes of those who bore their part in the startling events of the past—fierce combats, numerous raids, cruelties and crimes that tarnish the historic page ; while in the New city, with its stately streets, its squares and terraces, the annals are all recent, and refer to the arts of Peace alone—to a literary and intellectual supremacy hitherto unsurpassed.

Yet, amid the thousands of its busy population, life is leisurely there ; but, as has been well said, “it is not the leisure of a village arising from the deficiency of ideas and motives—it is the leisure of a city reposing grandly on tradition and history, which has done its work, and does not require to weave its own clothing, to dig its own coals, or smelt its own iron. And then in Edinburgh, above all British cities, you are released from the vulgarising dominion of the hour.” For, as has been abundantly shown throughout this work, there every step is historical, and the past and present are ever face to face.

The dark shadow cast by the Union has long since passed away ; but we cannot forget that Edinburgh, like Scotland generally, was for generations neglected by Government, and her progress obstructed by lame legislation ; that it is no longer the chief place where landholders dwell, or the revenue of a kingdom is disbursed ; and that it is owing alone to the indomitable energy, the glorious spirit of self-reliance, and the patriotism of her people, that we find the Edinburgh of to-day what she is, in intellect and beauty, second to no city in the world.

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